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HISTORY OF DENVER

With Outlines of the Earlier History of the Rocky Mountain Country

EDITED FOR THE DENVER TIMES
BY JEROME C. SMILEY

With Many Illustrations

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

This volume, the contents of which historically "round out" with the close of the Nineteenth Century, represents, in a broad sense, a desire entertained through several recent years by my friend, Hon. Earl B. Coe; and at whose instance its preparation was undertaken.

The geological and palaeontological history outlined in Chapters I and II is based upon Le Conte's "Elements of Geology," Lyall's "Principles of Geology," Winchell's "Sketches of Creation," Dana's "Manual of Geology," Hutchinson's "Extinct Monsters," Marsh's "Jurassic and Cretaceous Reptiles and Birds, and Jurassic and Tertiary Mammals" (American Journal of Science), Reports by Prof. Cope of the University of Pennsylvania, Reports of the University of Wyoming, Wright's "Ice Age in North America," Hayden's "United States Geographical and Geological Surveys," Powell's "Exploration of Colorado River," Reports of the Smithsonian Institution, and reports of United States and other geological surveys. What is said concerning ancient man and pre-historic races, chiefly in Chapters III and IV, mainly rests upon Lyall's "Antiquity of Man," Foster's "Pre-Historic Races," Baldwin's "Ancient America," Short's "North Americans of Antiquity," Blacket's "Lost Histories of America," Bancroft's "Native Races," Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology—Smithsonian Institution, Post's "Cliff Dwellers and Pueblos," Chapin's "Land of the Cliff Dwellers," and, with respect to articles of handicraft and existing works and ruins, in part upon my own observations. Authorities for the general contents of Chapters V, VI and VII dealing with the Indian people, are the Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology—Smithsonian Institution, Reports of the Interior Department of the United States government, Catlin's "Indians of North America," Schoolcraft's "Memoirs" and his "Indian Tribes," Eastman's "Sioux," Dorman's "Primitive Superstitions," and Brownell's "Indian Races of America." The accounts of early Spanish and French explorers and adventurers in our west-southwest country, appearing in Chapters VIII, IX and X, largely depend upon Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" and his "Mississippi Basin," Lummis' "Spanish Pioneers," Bandelier's "Gilded Man" (El Dorado), Ladd's "Story of New Mexico," Greenhow's "History of Oregon and California," Sanland's "Missions of California," Prince's "Historical Sketches of New Mexico," Inman's "Old Santa Fe Trail," and Dumont's "Memoires Historiques sur La Louisiane." The historical outlines of Louisiana, Chapters XI and XII, are principally derived from United States Senate Documents (XIXth Congress), Waite's "American State Papers," Stoddard's "History of Louisiana," Gayarre's "History of Louisiana," Barbe-Marbois' "History of Louisiana, and of the Cession of that Colony by France to the United States of North America," Winsor's two works above mentioned, Herman's "Louisiana Purchase," and the Missouri Historical Society's Tracts.

For the history of the Rocky Mountain country from the purchase of Louisiana to the founding of Denver in 1858, the sources of information were, aside from some of the works already named and some traditions and reminiscences orally transmitted, Pike's "Account of an Exploring Expedition" (etc.), James' "Account of an Expedition [Long's] to the Rocky Mountains" (etc.), Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies," Reports of Fremont's Exploring Expeditions, Fremont's "Memoirs," Peters' "Life of Christopher Carson," United States Reports of Surveys for a Pacific Railroad, Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," Marcy's "Army Life on the Border," Barber's "History of the Western States," Inman's "Old Santa Fe Trail," Bancroft's "History of the United States," Bancroft's (H. H.) "History of Colorado" and his "History of Wyoming," Hayden's "Great West," the Missouri Historical Society's Tracts, and various reports and documents issued by the War and the Interior Departments of the National government. Many facts relating to the Colorado and of the old Kansas Territory were brought to light by an investigation at Topeka of records and documents in the archives of Kansas, and through information received from the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, and the Nebraska State Historical Society at Lincoln. From these sources, also, and from the statutes and records of the Territory and the State of Colorado, and from the records of Arapahoe county, much of the history of our State and county contained in this volume was derived. But in the preparation of these accounts, and also of various others having to do with events, affairs, conditions and incidents in Denver's pioneer era, I found help in Greeley's "An Overland Journey," Richardson's "Beyond the Mississippi," Hollister's "Mines of Colorado," McClure's "Three Thousand Miles in the Rocky Mountains," Fossett's "Colorado," Hall's "History of Colorado," and Bancroft's (H. H.) "History of Colorado."

In dealing with the history of Denver's founding and with various events that soon followed, the original records, or "minute" books, of the St. Charles Town Company, the Auraria City Town Company, and the Denver City Town Company, all of which are now recovered, and possessed by our State Historical and Natural History Society, were indispensable in marshalling the facts. The files of the Rocky Mountain News covering the pioneer years, which are the priceless property of Mr. William N. Byers, though in the Historical Society's keeping, afforded much of great historical value and which, in their absence, would have been utterly beyond recovery. For the city's subsequent history, the ordinances and records of the municipal government, and legislation by the Territory and the State, afforded important information. In this connection, also, the later files of the News, the files of the former Denver Tribune, of the Denver Times, the Denver Republican, and of the Denver Post, were fruitful concerning many events, circumstances and details, accounts of which are woven into this Story. The Census Reports of the United States supplied a large part of the limited statistical data presented; and for some other important facts incorporated in various chapters, requisitions made upon the War, the Treasury, the Interior and the Post Office Departments, at Washington, received the prompt and satisfactory attention that characterizes the transactions of the several executive divisions of our National government.

My acknowledgment of attention and assistance received is due Hon. George A. Clark, Secretary of State, of Kansas; Mr. George W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, at Topeka; Mr. W. J. Seever, Secretary of the Missouri State Historical Society, at St. Louis; Mr. Jay A. Barrett, Librarian of the Nebraska State Historical Society, at Lincoln; and Professor Stewart Culin, Director of the Department of Archaeology and Palaeontology, University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia.

I early placed myself in communication with several of Denver's conspicuous pioneers residing elsewhere: Dr. Levi J. Russell, of Heidenheimer, Tex.; Col. T. C. Dickson, of Cheyenne; Mr. E. P. Stout, of Cincinnati; Col. S. S. Curtis, of Omaha; Mr. W. H. H. Larimer, of Kansas City; the late Mr. Charles G. Chever, of Salem, Mass.; Mr. John A. Churchill, of Council Bluffs; Hon. Beverly D. Williams, of Little Rock, Ark., and Milton E. Clark, of Leavenworth. From these I obtained essential information not elsewhere available, and assistance in straightening out sundry tangles in the skein of our early local history. The aid received from Dr. Russell and Col. Dickson with relation to the beginning of things at the mouth of Cherry creek in 1858, derived from records they had made and preserved, could not have been rendered by any other men now living. Among other non-residents to whom I am indebted are Mrs. Katharine Denver Williams, of Natchez, Miss.; Mrs. Martha Marshall, of Briartown, Ind. Ter.; Mrs. Nina Jackson Atkins, of Bonham, Tex.; Dr. R. J. Pierce, of George's Creek, Ark.; Mr. Elam French, of Brandon, Vt.; Mr. John Easter, of Goldfield, Colo.; Mr. George W. Weidler, of Portland, Ore.; Mr. William Denver McGaa, of Pennington county, S. D.; and Mr. George R. Brown, Indian Trader at Rosebud Agency, S. D.

I desire to make special acknowledgment of my great obligations for the advice, suggestions, assistance and co-operation of Mr. William N. Byers, General Roger W. Woodbury, and Judge Wilbur F. Stone; and for their interested revisional reading of the manuscript before it passed to the press—a service also rendered by Dr. William F. Slocum, President of Colorado College at Colorado Springs. My obligations also extend to several other gentlemen of Denver, including Mr. Charles R. Dudley, Librarian of the Denver Public Library; Judge Hiram P. Bennet, Mr. E. B. Morgan, Mr. Peter Winne, Major Jacob Downing, Mr. Joseph C. Shattuck, Secretary of the University of Denver; Mr. E. A. Willoughby, Secretary of the Society of Colorado Pioneers; Mr. Andrew Sagendorf, and Mr. Frank M. Cobb; and would, also, were he living, to the late Judson H. Dudley.

Beyond some accounts of lawlessness in the pioneer times and of the applied remedies therefor, this Story of Denver does not enter into what may be termed the criminal annals of the city. Part of the circumstances and conditions of pioneer life here were so vividly reflected in certain deeds of violence, and in other iniquities of lesser gravity, that to have omitted accounts of them would have deprived the reader who is of these times of information necessary to a full understanding of the difficulties and dangers our pioneers had to meet and overcome. But it did not appear essential to record in this volume the crimes and viciousness of the subsequent years. The criminal annals of every important city in our country constitute a dark and gruesome part of its history. Like the others, Denver has had her share of the deeds of wicked men. To have related, even in outline, the circumstances attending these would have required an additional long chapter; and it certainly would not have been one especially acceptable to the reader, nor would it have possessed historical value of commanding interest. It is true that it would have included accounts of several crimes that were followed by extraordinary consequences, among which were the "Dr. Graves case," as it is commonly called; the deed that led to the lynching of Arata; and, while it was only incidentally associated with Denver's history, the shocking tragedy of November, 1900, in which the negro, Preston Porter, was the criminal figure. However, to have entered upon consideration of such as these would have seemed to imply a reason, if not an obligation, to refer to others of lesser note; and so, it appeared to me, would have led to making criminal annals a general subject. Therefore, and because of the very nature of such a part of any large city's history, I decided to exclude that subject; and this conclusion was unanimously approved by several Denver gentlemen whose judgment I highly esteem.

The greater number of the illustrations pertaining to pioneer Denver are in this volume first published. The photographs and drawings from which they were made were obtained in part here at home: from our Historical Society; from Mr. W. G. Chamberlain, a pioneer photographer; and from many others interested in the preservation of such things. But not a few of them were sent me by non-residents whom I have above named. The views of Colorado City, Black Hawk, Central City, and several other Colorado towns as they appeared in the autumn of 1865, together with the series of views in Denver at that time, are from sketches by Albert E. Matthews, published in 1866. He was an invalid, and subsequently while camping on Big Thompson creek, north of Boulder, died and was buried there in a lonely grave.

The engravings are the work of the Williamson & Haffner Company, of Denver, and in results prove the careful attention they received; and in the production of the volume equal care and attention were bestowed by the Blakely Printing Company of Chicago.

Assembling the facts in the broad history of our city called for much research. Records were widely scattered; yet, of every event that ranks as of actual, or even relative, importance, authentic record in some form was finally found. I do not doubt that some of our surviving pioneers will encounter in this volume more than one statement in conflict with long-cherished impressions. The minute-books of the several town companies of 1858 with respect to the organised beginnings of the city, (the contents of which are now for the first time, I believe, revealed in full and in proper sequence,) and the hitherto buried records of Kansas Territory with respect to our county's early history, will disturb many such impressions. In dealing with some minor details of which no record could be found—nor reasonably supposed to have ever been made—the reminiscences of several surviving pioneers whose positions in the pioneer community were such as afforded them opportunity for familiarity with its affairs, and whose interest in the city's history has never lagged, were followed. Occasionally there was some diversity of recollection concerning minor details, and in such instances "the preponderance of testimony" was accepted as more probably representing the facts.

However, such unverified recollections are the basis of but an insignificant part of the contents of the volume. Some reminiscences that have fugitively appeared in print were of good service, and verification of them was readily found; but many, many, others have gone forth apparently unconscious of the existence of authentic old records and of their deadly hostility to graceful and pleasing products of imagination.

JEROME C. SMILEY.

Denver, 1901.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINES OF GEOLOGICAL HISTORY—BEGINNINGS OF CONTINENT-MAKING—EARLY LIFE FORMS OF THE SILURIAN AND DEVONIAN AGES—CONTINENTAL DEVELOPMENT—CARBONIFEROUS PERIOD—MESOZOIC EPOCH AND EXPANSION OF THE CONTINENT—ERAS OF ENORMOUS REPTILES—NEW FORMS OF ANIMATE AND INANIMATE LIFE—FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT CULMINATING IN UPHEAVAL OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

THE great ranges and towering eminences of Colorado's mountains, whose evening shadows fall across a city unrivalled in the world in the noble beauty of its situation, are youthful giants in the geological order of creations forming the continent they divide. Away to the east their elder brothers rose from the deep and grew old and gray and stooped long before these of the west were born of one of Nature's convulsions by which she separated the waters from the land. Records of the development of land and evolution of life-forms in this hemisphere, where both are thought to have had beginning, are preserved in the rocks, drifts, landmarks, objects, signs and tracings, almost as definitely and as significantly as the words and pictures appear on these printed pages. The strange story of Nature's processes, as they moved in long and mighty strides through uncountable years, is filled with proofs of her awe-inspiring methods. Her every impress is a revelation of progress through the ages which stretch away and blend into that distant time when the earth was without form and void. This Denver land of billowy plain and lofty mountain peak is one of her great cemeteries, abounding with evidence of the vast changes wrought in the aspects of the earth, and in the forms and character of living things and living creatures that have successively existed here. It was the scene of much of Nature's most wonderful handiwork.

It is hard for the human mind to even faintly comprehend the conditions existing throughout the first Epoch, of inconceivable duration, in the earth's geological history; that long, darkened, Archæan Epoch after the world took form, spanning vast cycles of time in the later of which the earth is believed to have been enveloped by an unbroken sea, out of which not a vestige of land appeared; and when the dreary loneliness of the endless waters was intensified by the fury and uproar of the restless elements contending with each other. Rains poured down in ceaseless torrents from the dismal canopy of clouds; the lightnings flashed and flamed, and the crashing thunders echoed through the murky caverns of a sunless sky. In that tempestuous era the world was wrapped in noxious mists, shrouded in an overwhelming gloom, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. The massive bed of Archæan rock which is believed by most geologists to have then been the outer film of the earth's submerged primitive crust, was buried far below the angry waves of its ocean blanket whose poisonous waters bore not a living thing—neither of vegetation nor of animate creature. The more ancient masses of Archæan matter, which in later eras were raised above the surface of that enveloping sea, and in many places remain exposed, have not revealed the faintest trace of life in any form.

Millions of years swept by and then came an upward movement from the depths. The cooling, contracting planet wrinkled its engulfed and thickening crust, and across the upper part of what is now North America, the waters parted and land appeared above the dreary, far-reaching waste. This upheaval, this ridge of Archæan masses, came out of bondage to the desolate sweep of waters, on the eastern side of the continent. Because of its appearance there where now lies the valley of the St. Lawrence river, it has received the name "Laurentian Hills." This ancient range, generally believed to have been the first-born land of the earth's present surface, stretches across Canada in the direction of Lake Huron, then bends away to the northwest toward the shores of the Arctic ocean. Through inestimable centuries it was a lonely land of desolation, its bleak and barren areas of igneous rock looking down in solitude over the waste of waters covering everything else the world contained.

These upheavals of the sea-buried Archæan rock were not accomplished in quiet nor by the ways of peace. Nature's tremendous forces were in violent action throughout a long lapse of years. The folds of the emerging crust burst as they were thrust upward, giving vent to the imprisoned fiery fluids they had hitherto kept in subjection. From these great fissures were vomited rivers and torrents of boiling, blazing liquid matter which fell and flowed into the steaming sea, while the flooding tempests raged and drove above. The elements were in seeming furious warfare one with another amid the most appalling uproar; but there was harmony of purpose in it all.

By such ways and means as these, in the flood and with the fire, it is believed, were the beginnings of the continent made in that far-off time. Our side of the earth has been labeled the "new world," but geology teaches that the other side came out of the deep long after the Laurentian Hills were first uncovered by the retreating waters.

On and on through unknown ages the slow movement from beneath is supposed to have widened the area of that emerging region, crowding the waters back, and preparing a place on which humble forms of animate and inanimate life on land could come into being in later periods.

In the Laurentian later superimposed limestones deposited as the closing periods of this stormy Epoch blended into the one which followed, have been found what are thought to be fossil remains of a minute animate creature of disc-like form. It is held by many geologists to have been the beginning of life on our planet, a single species brought forth by the sea, and of microscopic fossil structure.

The Laurentian masses are supposed to rest on the primitive solid envelope embracing the entire globe. They are quartzites, granites, schists and gneisses, and are accompanied in some places by the greatest beds of iron ore known in any of the earth's strata. Here in this region of the west, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and the Dakotas, similar masses were later raised above the surface, bringing with them great quantities of iron; those in southern Utah being considered the largest deposits of iron ore in the world. The prevailing reddishness of much of the younger rock of Colorado, and of her soil, is due to the widely distributed oxide of this Laurentian iron—to the discoloration caused by ancient iron rust.

Through all subsequent ages that venerable range of Laurentian Hills has remained almost stable, and but little changed except by the erosive action of the elements. If it were not the primitive land, it is certainly the first of which there is any definite geological record. To this implied doubt some attention must now be given.

We have stated in the foregoing that the little creature, or supposed little creature, whose fossils are in the Laurentian limestones, is held by many geologists to have been the beginning of animate life. While this is true, the opinions of some other writers, who hold to contrary views, render some qualifications necessary. We quote from Fiske's "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy:"

> "Since there have been several enormously long alternating periods of elevation and of subsidence, it follows that all the older sedimentary strata must have been metamorphosed by volcanic heat. These oldest rocks have sunk to a depth of six or eight miles, down below the ocean floor, where they have been metamorphosed by the heat of the molten liquid below, and whence they have again been slowly shoved up above water level, with all traces of their organic contents obliterated. This process may have occurred so many times as to have destroyed all but the later records of life."

Fiske is also of the belief that the common term "Palæozoic" is a misnomer as applied to the Silurian eras that have long been so designated, and attributes the beginning of life to a period hopelessly inconceivable in its remoteness. The absence of organic remains in the rocks of older epochs has been and still is generally considered fair proof that life did not exist when they were formed; but this theory is questioned by the foregoing quotation. Of the probability of earlier living forms, Fiske says:

> "Within a few years Cambrian and Laurentian strata have been discovered carrying us back into an antiquity nearly twice as great as that to which we had reached with the Silurian rocks. It is now generally admitted that even the Laurentia strata are modern compared with the beginnings of life on our globe."

"Are all these Laurentians to be considered as stratified rocks, metamorphosed by internal heat long before they were upheaved?" "Being stratified they were, therefore, sedimentary rocks, and as it seems evident that the whole Archæan area was sea bottom at one time, where, then, was the ancient land from which were derived the sediments to form these rocks?" ask those who deny pre-Laurentian land and life. Beside iron, large deposits of graphite are found in company with Laurentian rocks, and the two in connection with the question of pre-Laurentian life, may possibly have significance. Concerning this Le Conte points out:

> "Iron is accumulated now, and therefore probably also in earlier times, only by means of decaying organic matter, and is, therefore, justly regarded as a sign of life and a measure of its quantity. Graphite is regarded as the highest anthracite condition of coal; and coal is a positive sign of organic matter, and therefore of the previous existence of life. Limestone, as we have seen, is now, and at previous geological times, usually, though not always, of organic origin."

Professor Winchell, in his "Sketches of Creation," more than thirty years ago surmised that low forms of life existed unknown ages before the Laurentian times which have been generally regarded as having been in the dawn of the earth's geological history.

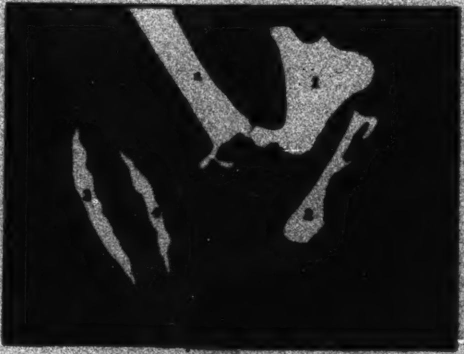
On the other hand many other distinguished geologists reject all these theories, and even reject the little Eozoon—dawn animal—of the Laurentian limestones as a thing of doubt, or one certainly unproved; and in maintaining their position assert that the Azoic—no life—masses of the Laurentian Hills constituted the first land of the earth, so far as geology has revealed; and that it is not worth while to try to go back of that, armed with nothing more substantial than surmises, and theories of possibilities

If the Archæan rocks are not absolutely the oldest —the primitive rocks next to the first solid envelope, as these last-mentioned geologists assert, no one knows what was before them, nor anything of the origin of the alleged sediments of which they may be formed. For some proof of what is, or was, the earth's primitive crust-film research has been made in vain. These Archæan rocks are of enormous thickness, and are believed to be equal to all the later rocks put together. The period of time they represent is probably as great as that of all the subsequent geological history of the earth; and as no one can say with any approach to certainty that life did or did not exist when they were formed, it may be well to turn, for consideration, to things that are better known.

Whatever may be the ultimate conclusion of the geologists concerning the beginning of animate creatures on the earth, it is known that the immeasurable Archæan Epoch was at last ended; and that the Palæozoic periods began under less murky skies and with the promise of sunshine to brighten the way through the coming years.

The great life-bringing Epoch, the so-called Primary, following the Archæan, has been divided for us by the geologists into four periods. The first of these, the Cambrian, was the primordial transition from the preceding, and is not of special interest here. The other three are the Silurian, Devonian, and Carboniferous—the Age of Invertebrates, the Age of Fishes and the Age of Coal Plants—and strange enough all of them were. In the first of these it is definitely and abundantly known that rude, primitive forms of the mystery we call Life, were developed. If, as it is said, history can not go back to its own absolute beginning, it may go to what is certainly known of it.

At this time—in the early ages of the Primary Epoch—the geography of this continent presented unpromising and watery aspects. The Laurentian Hills were in the east, and with them was a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast to the southward. Here in the west, a long, low, narrow, barren area of land extended from far down in Mexico northwestward to near Puget Sound, about on the line of the Sierra Nevadas; here where the Colorado mountains now stretch away, was another strip of like character, but of far smaller dimensions, extending northward into what is now Wyoming. It was merely a long, low, narrow island not far west of Denver's longitude. The accompanying maps of the ancient beginnings of the continent show these and subsequent configurations of the emerging land. How old these western areas were as compared with the Laurentian is unknown. But they must have soon followed the Laurentian, as they were here in the opening ages of the Primary Epoch.



North America in Primordial Times. (Black, present seas and lakes; shaded, parts of continent then covered by sea; white areas, then existing land. 1, Laurentian land; 2, Appalachian land; 3, Sierra land; 4, Region of Colorado ranges.)

The word "soon" used in this connection does not imply a brief interval of years. Geology can not measure time by so fleeting and infinitesmal an unit as a year. A million of years would probably be a more convenient counter. Furthermore, the geologists tell us of "lost intervals of time," and here preceding the definite records of the Palæozoic rocks occurs one of these intervals, the length of which can not even be guessed. There are many reasons for believing that during this era of blankness much wider areas of land existed, which were again submerged to the meager limits indicated by the map, which represents the present state of geological knowledge on this subject.

Between these strips of land in the east and in the west, the great Palæozoic Sea spread over the rest of the continent, submerging the broad valley of the Mississippi and all the rolling plains. The Rocky Mountains were not yet lifted from the deep when this wide sea united the waters of the Pacific and the Atlantic, and swept its surges over the site of Denver. The foundations of these great mountains and plains were beneath the billows, receiving the sediments of the same sea which rolled over the future lands of Babylon and Tyre.

Great changes in conditions came with the new, Silurian ages of this Epoch. Climates, as we have them now, seem not to have existed; a temperature, hot, and nearly uniform, encompassed the earth, and deluging rains drenched the meager land, eroding and leveling it, and washed the atmosphere of many of its impurities. But notwithstanding this there was a steady expansion from the small areas previously existing above the surface of the waters; and it may be stated here that this expansion continued through this Primary Epoch until, at the close of that grand division of geological history, the continent presented aspects similar, but not exactly, to those of the map representing the continent as it was in the Cretaceous period of the Mesozoic Epoch. The sun's rays had early begun to at times penetrate the cloud-masses, the elements were less violently disturbed, and a period of comparative peace ensued.

The primitive little creatures that had been endued with life in the early ages of this Epoch, became in the Upper Silurian division, of more definite individuality; but were still lowly forms. Simple sea-worms, sponges, sea-weeds, crinoids or "stone lilies," little embryo shell fish, and other diminutive bodies—myriads of them in all. The curious, pulpy animal forms of "star-fishes"—which were fishes only by courtesy, and because they lived in the sea—were also brought into being; and then came the first articulates, the trilobites, followed by other humble creatures of advanced complexity of structure. Of the singular plant-like forms, seeming to have been half vegetable, half animal, many were simple shapes, while others were elaborate and beautiful. The distribution of these early forms of life was wide-spread, and their numbers countless. The trilobites were the first to develop eyes, showing that the sun had then attained mastery of the clouds and mists, and that organs of sight had become necessary in the world. The large family of crustaceans multiplied and developed apace in the warm waters that had found comparative peace.

The fossil forms of all these creatures are present by millions in the sedimentary rocks everywhere.

The Silurian period drew to its close, and the multitudes of lowly beings brought into existence through its eras, began their exit from the stage of life. Many survived far into the succeeding Devonian age in which the fishes presented themselves, but the vast majority became extinct.

The Devonian was the prolific age of fishes, and they were a great stride from the preceding creatures from which they sprang; a far higher form, endowed with the back-bone, which all of us find so essential, physically and morally, in our own times. Following the fishes came the busy little reef-building coral animal to which the great limestone formations of the Devonian period are chiefly due. Though their numbers were beyond all computation, their unbuilding of the vast reefs and beds of this period must have required enormous lapses of time. The coral animal is one of the few survivors from that ancient era.

The Devonian fishes were the first vertebrates, and foreshadowed the coming of reptiles, birds and mammals. They were covered with large, stiff, thick scales—clad in a bony armor of them. These fishes were in great variety, and among them eventually appeared enormous sharks with huge jaws set with saw-teeth nearly as long and wide as the hand. Among these Devonian fishes was the gar-pike, whose descendants still exist. Finally a fish-creature appeared with fins enlarged to rudimentary wings or paddles—the herald of the reptiles; and new forms of crustaceans and mollusks abounded.

In all this lengthened time the area of land was gradually expanding; a large island had formed from Ohio to Tennessee in the closing Silurian ages, and the earth presented fairer aspects. In the Devonian age there was a marked development of plant-life. The former simple sea-weeds were now replaced by aquatic plants, and verdure brightened the landscape shores. Some of this vegetation still survives in the tropics. The Devonian period brought this development of fishes, of the coral animals and of many plants growing in the flooded lowlands. It must have been one of vast length, for the evolution of a vertebrated fish from an invertebrated lowly creature, required an enormous period of time. The production of the great, predatory family of huge sharks which then flourished was a process of long duration.

The flight of years by thousands and thousands through these middle ages in the strange history of the world, brought the end of the Devonian era, and prepared for the advent of still higher forms of animate and inanimate life. Greater areas of the earth appeared above the water. The long tongue of land stretching from northern Mexico to Puget Sound along the line of the Sierra Nevadas, and the short, narrow strip, lying north and south near the longitude of Denver, which had become exposed in early Silurian times, were slowly rising further out of the tide; and the sun's heat was still more effective on the surfaces. But the Rocky Mountains were yet unborn, and a shoaling sea rose and fell over the land where Denver stands, when the Carboniferous age set in.

The continent was still slowly rising, and the landscape now underwent many more changes. Wide-spreading marshes began stretching away over long distances, and in the broad sea, low islands came into view; still, the water was reluctant to yield, and held its sway in regions of great extent. The shark-like fishes, many now of huger size and strange form, were busily devouring their smaller neighbors and fellow-tenants of the gulfs and bays; the tireless little coral animal was still at his work; and hosts of marine creatures found abundant food in the warm waters in which they flourished. The elements were actively scouring down the older elevations, and making deltas, bars, and shoals of their materials.

This entire Epoch was one of steadfast continent-growth, and at this time the land had outlines not greatly different from those of the later Cretaceous period, to which similarity we have heretofore referred; but much of it was not permanent land. That great area which was later to become the coal-bearing strata, embracing all the coal deposits of the United States formed in this period, was in an uncertain state; sometimes swamp land, sometimes covered with sediments, and sometimes submerged by the sea. Although the continent had greatly grown, it was still small as compared with its present size. At the close of the preceding, Devonian period, vegetation had attained an advanced growth, apparently in preparation for what was next to occur.

This was the situation in earthly affairs when there sprang up a most extraordinary development of vegetation of a peculiarly light, porous or cellular kind. The vast swamps—and nearly all of the land had then become a swamp—were overgrown by impenetrable jungles, and crowded and matted with the luxuriant growth. Multitudes of graceful, palm-like trees were monarchs of these ancient thickets in which were myriads of strange, beautiful, and to us long-lost forms of plant and bush and tree. It was an age of rioting inanimate life, the like of which was never to be again. The purpose of this abounding vegetation was finally fulfilled. The atmosphere was purified of its noxious elements and higher creatures could live upon the soil. The preservation of these carboniferous stores was effected by the packing down of layer after layer of the decayed ancient vegetation which grew on alternating, gentle upheavals of the primitive soil, while beds of clay, sand and calcareous sediment were interposed between them by the returning waters following like alternations of gradual depressions of the land.

Of this simple process, but one requiring mighty agencies, Le Conte says:

> "Imagine, then, an old coal swamp, with its clay bottom full of dead stumps and roots, with its accumulations many feet deep of pure peat, with its surface covered with late-fallen leaves, broken branches, and prostrate trunks, and the still growing vegetation shading all. Now, imagine this overwhelmed and buried by sediments, subjected to powerful pressure and slow change, and we have all the phenomena of a coal-seam, with its underclay full of roots and its roof-shale full of impressions of leaves and flattened branches."

The vast deposits of anthracite and bituminous coal in Colorado are nothing but swamp muck buried and fossilized under such conditions. Not only was there never another period in the world's history when the available supply of carbon for vegetation was so great, but never, before nor after, were those frequent and gentle oscillations between submergence and emergence so long continued. These were the agencies which buried the successive crops of vegetable jungle, so that under the influence of internal heat and the pressure of subsequently superimposed masses, it was slowly baked and hardened into coal.

Centuries of centuries trooped by while all of this was going forward, and at last brought another change. Queer suggestions of new forms of life had appeared among the fishes, some of which were presenting reptilian features; and the myriads of crustaceans, and of mollusks dwelling in shells of many shapes and hues, were adding novelties to their order of animated creatures. Hitherto, organic life had been wholly aquatic, and subsisted on food found in the sea, for the land itself had been bare in the preceding ages of suitable provender for any creature.

A leading factor in the evolution of reptilian life was the formation of the extensive marshes of the Carboniferous era. Remains of the early saurians have been found in the upper coal deposits, indicating that these new beings had appeared in the closing ages of the great era of vegetation that now drew to its end, terminating the first grand division in the recorded geological history of the earth. The Permian, minor age, into which its closing years have been set off, was a time of transitions, of the upheavals and depressions which had so often occurred before; and the land now sunk again.

In considering the consequences of these slow and gentle upheavals and depressions, it should be remembered that a subsidence, in our own times, of the valley of the lower Mississippi, of only three hundred feet, would admit the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, up to the mouth of the Ohio river. A trifling depression in northern Illinois would furnish an outlet for the waters of the great lakes to the Gulf through the very channel in which they once flowed in ancient times. A subsidence of eight hundred feet would submerge nearly all the southern and middle States.

At the close of this indefinitely protracted Primary Epoch—these long Palæozoic periods, all this plains region here, and there were then no Rocky Mountains, was again covered by a great medi-terranean sea that extended, also, over nearly all the other territory now drained by the Mississippi, and had widely extended connections with the large, almost enveloping oceans. Fleets could have sailed upon it, and a vessel might have dropped her anchor on the submerged masses which afterward became the summit of Pike's Peak.

The vast Secondary, Mesozoic Epoch, with its still greater marvels, now dawned upon the earth; that long span of ages distinguished by an astounding development of reptilian life; with its three periods, Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous, representing the rise, progress, and decline of most wonderful animated creatures.

The ending of one and the beginning of another of these Grand Epochs were marked by extraordinary terrestrial revolutions which were followed by radical changes in conditions bearing upon all forms of living things, animate and inanimate. The great Appalachian upheaval came at the outset of this Epoch. Early in its Triassic period there was an enormous wrinkling of the crust below, causing the Alleghany ranges to push themselves above the flood where they might keep company with the ancient Laurentian Hills in the east, which then had stood almost alone so long, in the midst of the tide that ebbed and flowed over the beaches of their extended slopes.

Skeleton of Stegosaurus Ungulatus. (In life the creature was about thirty-five feet long.)

It is believed that these mountain-lifting processes were of great duration, and had their beginnings far back in the earlier ages; and that considerable areas of land existed in the great Utah basin region at this time. The earth was now in the first period of the long Mesozoic Epoch, which brought into the world a prodigious family of prodigious reptiles, with forms as queer as the names since given them.

Through this period reptilian life found most congenial conditions for its enormous development. New and strange forms had appeared, and the seas and marshes swarmed with uncouth creatures, fierce and rapacious, which were undisputed masters of their watery domain. Slowly developing new crustaceans and shell fish existed in myriads, and taken all in all, it was an age of life in the water, of marvelous aspects. At this time the highest order of animal was saurian in its chief attributes. No true mammals existed, no birds, and but few insects.

We shall not dwell upon the theories of Saurian development by environment, from certain fish-creatures coming down from the Devonian times, through the Carboniferous to this Triassic era. They got into the shallows, their heads were exposed and they had to change from their water-breathing gills—if it may be stated that way—to air-breathing lungs; and were compelled to adapt their fins to the purposes of legs and feet, and their jaws and teeth to a greater variety of uses. This was not quickly done, and the process involves another hopeless effort of the mind to measure off in years the period of its duration. All this region was exceedingly fruitful of such creatures in that far-off time.

Nature appears to have had fanciful moods, if we may judge her from some of her works. The seas were alive with strange marine monsters. The great Ichthyosaurus gave battle to the Plesiosaurus. Both were huge, part fish, but mostly reptile, air-breathing creatures progressed too far to live under water, but not far enough to dwell upon land. So these monstrous fish-lizards paddled around in the bays and lagoons, occasionally striking bottom and getting a hint of the use of legs, with which their successors were equipped. The waters swarmed with company for them—a masquerade of grotesque forms of fierce, voracious saurians of huge size, some being ten or twelve yards in length. Among them were the distant progenitors of many of our modern reptiles—the alligator, turtle, and so on—and of modern mammals.

In these times a most singular reptile-beast flourished and culminated his career. He was the Labyrinthodon, who had begun his development back in the Carboniferous period and had survived the trying vicissitudes of pioneer life in those changing eras, to become a connecting type, and was now to leave the stirring scenes with which he had been so long associated. He frequented the marshes and lowlands of what there was of this continent in his day, and here in the west found a most agreeable abode. He had escaped from the dominion of the water and was an air-breathing dweller on the land. With the head of a huge alligator, an animal-like or frog-like body as big as an ox, moving on four legs and with feet armed with great claws, he was a formidable adversary and an ugly object. It is well that we do not have to encounter him now.

In the strata of this period are found the remains of two or three supposed small mammals, the first-known of their order, which were a species of rodent suggesting the squirrel of our times, but immaturely developed and not clearly established.

The Crustacean and Mollusk families were not laggards in this busy era, and the fishes were not idle. All of these old forms were changing into a large variety of new ones, and many apparently original creatures placed themselves on record. The Shell-fish and Crustaceans were particularly conspicuous in their activity, and their humble lives were marked by developments as remarkable as those which distinguished the saurian monsters of the bays and seas.

In this Triassic period climates as we have them now were still almost unknown, and had little or no effect. It may be said, as has been said of them in the preceding eras, that they did not exist. An uniformly warm temperature still prevailed all over the earth, and the seas were still warm and fresh. The low Laurentian Hills far to the east, remained fixed in their primitive repose in company with their new Alleghany associates, but the Rocky Mountains were yet to come. Great marshes still stretched away over vast areas, and the forests and jungles of the Carboniferous times lingered in large expanses of the swampy lands, but were being displaced by new species of trees and plants springing from the enriched soil and under the favorable conditions of light, heat, moisture, and freedom from repressing influences. Vegetation had been flowerless and fruitless, but now came the harbingers of bloom and fruit upon plants and trees.

At the close of the Triassic period the landscape had again undergone many changes. Elevations, and dry areas of the earth's leveler surfaces, had become higher and wider as the land was slowly uplifted from the sea. The marshes had been gradually filling by materials washed down from the loftier places, and forests were extending their domain and growing luxuriantly under bettering surroundings.

The Jurassic period which now ensued, was the most remarkable of this Epoch of reptile life, and brought it to the summit of its development, with results that are weakly described as marvelously wonderful. Of them Le Conte, in his exhaustive work, "Elements of Geology," says:

> "The huge reptiles which form the distinguishing feature of this Mesozoic Age culminate in the Jurassic period. Their number and variety are so great that we can only select a few from each order for description. They were emphatically rulers in every department of Nature—rulers of the sea, of the land, and of the air."

The Ichthyosaurus had now become forty feet long, with an enormous head, in the jaws of which were sometimes two hundred large teeth; and with huge eyes fifteen inches in diameter. At the other end he was armed with a long, powerful tail with which he could thrash an enemy to death. The Nothosaurus, a monster alligator, fifteen yards long, had four good legs and feet, and was a fair traveler on land as well as in the water—a hungry and ferocious customer among his scaly relatives. A friend of his was the Teleosaurus, a long-headed, long-bodied, long-tailed variety of the ancient alligator family, conspicuous in the motley company, and at home either in the water or upon the land. With his legs removed his body would have suggested the form of a great, bone-plated serpent, rather than that of a quadruped.

A contemporary of these worthies, though probably not a friend, was the monster Hylæosaurus, a huge, compact, herbivorous reptile-beast, which could not be crowded into one of our largest freight cars if he were here to try it. He subsisted wholly upon vegetable food, took up his abode around these ancient inland seas, and is supposed to have been the progenitor of the whale and some other large mammals of far later times.

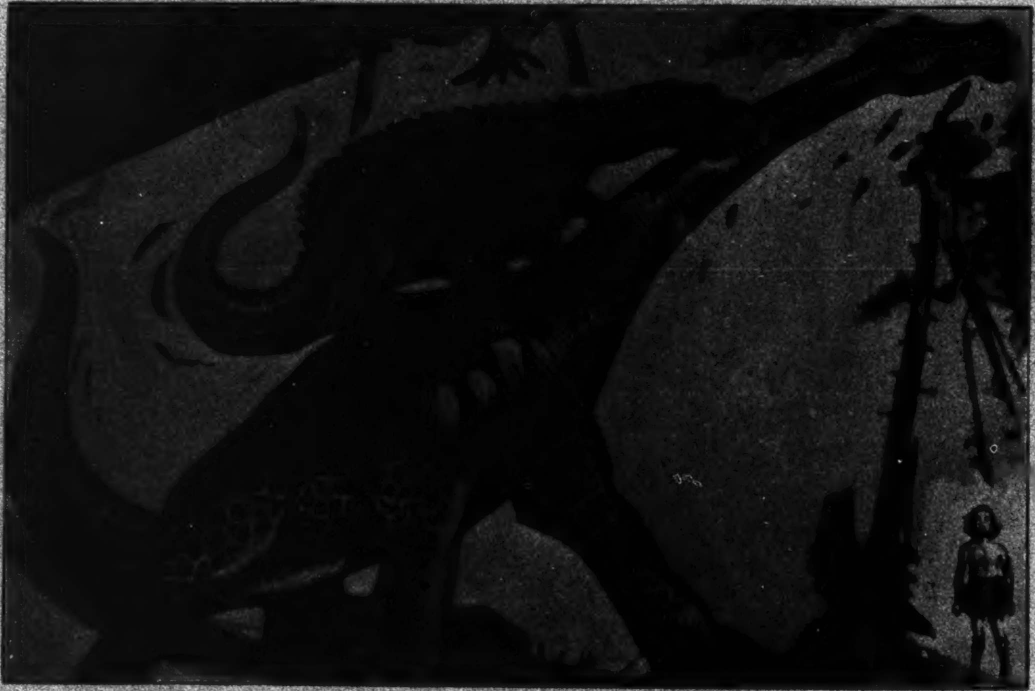
The Plesiosaurus with its small head, remarkably long, snake-like neck; stout, thick, turtle-shaped body, and its short tail, continued to do well with its length of thirty feet; while the Pliosaurus, a near kinsman of the Ichthyosaurus, and a distant relative of the queer Plesiosaurus, had elongated himself to forty feet and expanded proportionately in other directions.

The Iguanodon, an herbivorous monster, grew to be forty feet long with a bulk several times greater than that of an elephant. His thigh bones alone were near five feet long, and he is supposed to have been a mud-loving brute, after the habits of the hippopotamus.

With this pleasant neighbor was the Ceteosaur, from fifty to sixty feet long, standing ten feet high, with breadth and thickness to correspond—a most appalling beast. His thigh bones were like the trunk of a tree; about six feet long, twenty-seven and one-half inches in circumference at the shaft, and forty-six inches and forty-four and one-quarter inches in circumference at the respective ends.

But the greatest of all the monsters in this era of monsters were among those of the large family of Dinosaurs. While some of the tribe were small and comparatively insignificant creatures, others were, of all the reptilian horde, the most hugely organized, and probably the largest in bulk of any beasts that have ever existed on the face of the earth. Some of these ambitious creatures had learned to walk erect on their hinder legs, doubtless to the great envy of their less capable associates; and portentous objects they must have been as they stalked around with their bony visages looking down over the marshes and lagoons of their abiding places. Their remains were found on the Atlantic slope a half-century ago; and first discovered in the west near Canon City about twenty-five years since. The Iguanodon and the Ceteosaur above referred to were of this family.

A prodigious member of the Dinosaur species was the Camarasaurus, a recovered skeleton of one, found in southern Wyoming, and now in the museum of Natural History in the city of New York, shows that the living creature was eighty feet long, more than sixteen feet high at the hips and weighed something like ninety thousand pounds. Had he stepped on an animal the size of a horse he would have crushed it under his weight of forty-five tons. From foot to knee joint his leg measured ten feet in length; and from foot to hip joint sixteen feet. He was exclusively herbivorous, had an insatiable appetite, and he is believed to have lived to be five hundred years old. By his side a man would have looked like a mere toy creature, and more than sixty head of large horses would have been needed to balance him in the scales. While many of these monsters are believed to have died from inability in their old age to get within reach of sufficient forage to satisfy their enormous hunger, this particular individual perished by violence. Life had its troubles in those days, as well as now, and some of the vertebræ of this beast's neck were broken, and bear the marks of the huge teeth of another monster. There was at that time a smaller Dinosaur which was a flesh-eater, as proved by his teeth—a ferocious, leaping creature weighing ten or fifteen tons, which is believed to have been responsible for the larger one's death. How many meals the victim made for the victor can only be conjectured; and it is quite certain that no combat of modern times equaled that encounter.



Ideal Sketch of Leaping (Carnivorous) Dinosaur Attacking a Vegetarian Relative. (Human figure introduced to suggest proportional sizes.)

A still later discovery in the Dinosaur cemetery has revealed the remains of an individual of still more prodigious size than our acquaintance of the broken neck—of the most colossal beast whose bones have ever been taken from the strata of the earth. Think of a creature one hundred and thirty feet long, thirty feet high at the hips, and twenty-five feet at the shoulders, whose petrified skeleton weighs forty thousand pounds! Its remains were discovered ninety miles northwest of Laramie, Wyoming, in August, 1898, and exhumed almost complete in skeleton form in the summer of 1899. The others would appear as but little more than half-grown in comparison with it, and the largest elephant of modern times would be in size beside it about as an ordinary hunting dog is to a heavy draft horse. This monster was found by a party from the State University of Wyoming, and its remains are now in the possession of that institution. Of the living creature, Mr. W. H. Reed of the Geological Department of the University, and who directed the recovery of the fossilized skeleton, says:

"An accurate idea of a living Dinosaur is practically out of the question. According to my opinion, I should say that the animal now being brought to light weighed in life about 60 tons, that he had a neck 30 feet in length, and a tail perhaps 60 feet in length. His ribs are about nine feet in length, and the cavity of his body with the lungs and entrails out, would have made a hall 34 feet in length, 16 feet in width, and arched over probably 12 feet in height. Such a space, if properly arranged, would seat at least 40 people. A round steak taken from the ham of the animal would have been at least 12 feet in diameter, or more than 35 feet in circumference, and would have had a solid bone in the middle 12x14 inches, with no hollow for marrow. A set of fours in cavalry could easily have ridden abreast between his front and hind legs, provided he had not objected. Every time he put his foot down it covered more than a square yard of ground and must have fairly shaken the earth. The smallness of the head of this animal is a peculiar thing. I should say that the head of this mighty Dinosaur was probably not larger than a 10-gallon keg. He must have been a very sluggish creature, as his brain cavity would certainly not warrant the belief that that organ weighed to exceed four or five pounds."

Prior to the discovery of the Camarasaurus' fossil remains, the largest known representative of this great family was the skeleton of a Brontosaur recovered by Professor Marsh, and which was almost complete. It was restored and mounted by him in 1891 and is now in the museum of Yale University. In life it was about seventy-five feet long and weighed probably forty tons.

The Dinosaur fraternity flourished over a large portion of the United States, but appears to have been especially fond of this region along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains, though in their time the mountains did not exist. Professor Marsh, of Yale, and the late Professor Cope of the University of Pennsylvania, began their search for the fossil remains of these and other ancient creatures, in Colorado and Wyoming in 1877, and did some of their fruitful work within sight of Denver. Continuing their researches for ten or twelve years, they inspired others to take up the work which is still being enthusiastically followed with most extraordinary results, as we have seen. Professor Marsh, who died in March, 1899, was an enthusiast in these pursuits, and as one result of his labors the museum of Yale University contains the restored skeletons of several hundred ancient creatures disinterred in our State and in Wyoming, including several of these extraordinary reptilian monsters of the Dinosaur tribe which when clothed in flesh were of almost unbelievable dimensions.

Evidently contemporary with the tribe of Dinosaurs were certain kinsfolk of theirs whose general growth went more to length and less to bulk—greatly elongated quadrupedal reptile-beasts. Of yet other mighty pioneers of the Rocky Mountain region, Le Conte says:

Thighbone of a Dinosaur; length 72 inches. (From a photograph.)

"The size of some of these reptiles is almost inconceivable. The thigh bone of an Atlantosaur was more than eight feet long, and a vertebræ of an Amphicœlas, found by Cope, was six feet to the top of the spinous process. The Atlantosaur has been estimated to have been one hundred and twenty feet long!

But the lofty pride of these ancient and prominent Colorado families was somewhat humbled about these times by the appearance of a new fashion of reptile, which could fly. The uncouth Pterodactyl was a singular combination of lizard and bat. He had not reached the dignity of a bird with its feathers, and his flying was rather a sailing downward from some eminence of the landscape. His wings were like those of a bat, and his head on a slender long neck, while it had a great alligator mouth, suggested in other respects, that of a bird. There were giants as well as pigmies among these winged reptiles that flourished on our great plains, remains of some found in Kansas showing them to have been monsters in size as well as in appearance.

However, the real birds with hollow bones and feathery plumage, appeared soon after and began flying above the geological horizon. While Professor Marsh was recovering the bones of the great reptiles, he found here in the Rocky Mountains, in the strata of this period, the remains of the first types of the feathered creatures that winged their way over that old landscape. They are now called the Archæopteryx (ancient-bird), and the Laopteryx (stone-bird), and certainly deserve their seemingly aristocratic names. They still retained reptilian attributes, notwithstanding their feathered clothing.

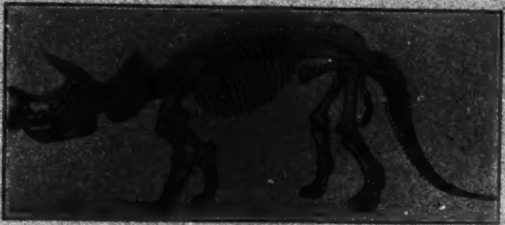
Our old, modest and retiring associates in this strange story, the Crustaceans and Shell-fish, and fine family of true fishes, were doing well their part all through these times, when the Dinosaurs were pretending not to notice the Pterodactyls. Among the encrusted and enshelled families many varieties of new and elaborate forms had appeared—curious and beautiful. The fishes were also making creditable displays in the great exposition of the period. In the sea had come the progenitor of the hideous octopus, or alleged devil-fish, and he was already making experiments, which became practices with his descendants.

The vegetation was undergoing great changes and presenting beautiful forms. Forests contained numerous growths new to this period and including most of those of the previous one, but nearly all of a kind unknown in our times, were flourishing and spreading. As might be expected from such improved conditions for vegetation, insects in considerable numbers had made their advent, about one hundred and fifty species of such flying and creeping things being known to have existed at this stage.

From the Triassic forms of the little embryo mammals, about three dozen species were now developed, Professor Marsh having found that number during his researches here. They were, with one exception, Marsupials, the strange connecting links from the reptiles to true mammals. Though they became abundant and spread over all portions of the earth, they must have had a hard time of it dodging and hiding from the all-dominant reptiles. Of the direct, little-changed descendants of these mammalian pioneers, the opossum is the only survivor in our country.

The terrestrial changes wrought in this period were vast and conspicuous, producing permanent alterations in the aspects of the partly formed continental landscape, especially in the western division. The Black Hills of the Dakotas were upheaved, the primitive Archean rocks of that region, and all that rested upon them, being projected above the surface out of the water that had so long submerged them. The inland sea became still shallower here in our own locality, and its final recession was foreshadowed. It had undergone many changes, and in the southeast, under the altered conditions, had again become broadly connected with the ocean so that nearly oceanic conditions prevailed over its deeper parts.

As this period drew near its close the surface of the earth presented the aspects of an assembling continent, more or less divided and encompassed by the sea, which was still a body of nearly fresh water, shallow near the shores, but of considerable uniform depth at a distance from their lines. The air and the water were warm, and the whole surface of the earth enjoyed a more than tropical temperature. The air was clear, and the evaporating power of the sun resulted in the downpour of copious rains which were washing away at the elevations of the land and distributing their materials over wider areas. Rivers and streams were few, and none of any considerable size.



Skeleton of Triceratops Prorsus. (In life the creature was about thirty feet long.)

But the great geological event of the Jurassic period was reserved for its close. The enormously thick off-shore rocky masses along what was then the Pacific coast were crushed together by a tremendous horizontal movement, and heaved upward into the now magnificent range of the Sierra Nevadas. But all the ridges, peaks and canons—all that constitutes the grand scenery of our mountain ranges—are to a great extent the results of erosion through subsequent ages of vast duration.

So, with this crowning achievement, the Jurassic period passed away, leaving its multitudes of huge and strange beasts, and its myriads of lesser living beings, to the decline the closing era of their long and eventful Epoch was destined to commit most of them.

The Cretaceous period was, from our standpoint, a great transitional era. The Mesozoic exaggerated forms of life were to pass out, leaving modified descendants to perpetuate their declining species, and new types, those of the ancestors of our modern forms were to come in. As the one retired the other advanced, so, that as this period drew to its close, so did the reign of the marvelous reptiles of this wonderful Epoch.

At that time the eastern and western shore lines of the continent were much farther inland than now, and the proper limits of the Gulf of Mexico were far to the north and west, as compared with their present bounds. From the Gulf extended the persistent shallow sea over large portions of this region here—but to this we shall refer again. The Pacific washed the foot-hills of the Sierras, to the east of which the uplifted basin area stretched from far down in Mexico to the distant northwest, and North America was still divided into two continents. To the eastward the permanent area of land had longer been relatively larger and was more rapidly extending. The oscillations of the central part of the continent had kept this wide separating sea going and coming, ebbing and flowing, baring the land and then flooding it again, through the past ages, but the tendency of all the movements was in the direction of its final withdrawal.

The uplifting of the Sierras resulted in great changes in the vegetation as it did in many other ways. Blooming and fruiting plants, and fruiting and nut-bearing trees became abundant. A very large proportion of the descendants of these are familiar to us in our forests, orchards and gardens now.

Many of the former marine creatures, to which we need not again refer by name, were developing, changing or dying off as best suited the purposes of Nature, but the result was a great stride forward in advancement, variety and complexity of structure, to which was added pronounced improvement in both grace and beauty of form. Among the fishes the true modern types, some of gigantic size compared with that of their present representatives, appeared for the first time. In our own times there are nearly a hundred species of fishes which have existed from this Cretaceous period, so that we may consider that the fishes now pass from our narrative, and with them we will let all their marine kindred go, also.

But our ancient, lazy reptilian friends hung on for a long time, and were most reluctant to get out of the way of the higher and better creatures which were coming. As evidence of their right to stay and live, they brought out in these Cretaceous times a few new, and in the direction of length, bigger examples than they ever had before. In the wide sea then existing in this region, and before the Rocky Mountains were lifted above its level, a huge saurian form developed rapidly and attained enormously elongated proportions. This was the Morosaurus, a ferocious monster whose growth ran mostly to length, and was the longest known among reptiles, though not the greatest in bulk. When the bed of that ancient sea was afterward elevated into the Rocky Mountain chains, the times became very hard for Morosaurs, and this monstrous creature found himself confronted by new conditions of life that were not agreeable, and that led to his extinction; but he left a great plenty of his bones here in Colorado.

They also brought forward a sort of lizard-bird, the Ornithotarsus, thirty-five feet long, standing twelve to fifteen feet high. Two of another kind, flying reptiles, here in the west, spread their wings from twenty to twenty-five feet. Still another, had toothless jaws four feet long, and an expanse of wing of twenty-two feet.

If these were not enough to establish reptilian claims to a continued existence, they had turtles thirteen feet long and fifteen feet wide across the extended flippers, remains of which in well-preserved condition have been discovered.

Finally they had developed creatures that were more bird than saurian—mostly bird. They had prepared for this a long time before, for there are the fossil records of a bird-like being whose footprints in the sedimentary rocks are eighteen inches long, who had a stride of four feet, and stood fourteen feet high; supposed to have been a huge, wingless creature like the ostrich, too big to fly with any comfort or purpose. But these newer bird-forms were good flyers and swift, and while they had the keel-like breast-bone and the general other anatomy of birds, and wore feathers, they had, for their size, abnormally long and powerful jaws or bills, in which a great array of teeth were set, above and below.

The Dinosaurs and their numerous kindred, as large as ever, if not larger, stalked through this period to their doom; and with them went the great majority of the fierce and scaly host that had developed and matured in the inconceivable span of years stretching across this closing Epoch.

There was a surprise in store for the geologists when they began their search for the remains of mammals in the deposits and formations of this Cretaceous period. They found none, though they have looked long and patiently. The Jurassic Marsupials, now expected to have advanced several stages, seem to have entirely disappeared. Of this a noted authority says:

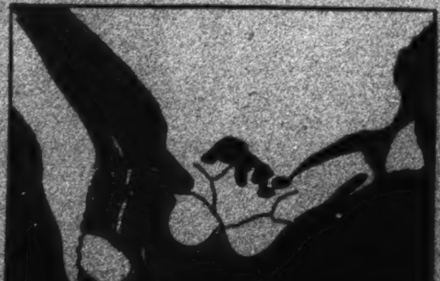
"It is the most remarkable fact that although Marsupial mammals have been found in the Jurassic, and probably existed in considerable numbers then, yet not one has been found in the Cretaceous. We know they existed at that time, for they are found in the Tertiary of both Europe and America, and still exist in Australia and elsewhere; and it is a well-established law in Palæontology that if a type becomes extinct it never reappears: Evolution never goes backward: Nature never repeats herself. It is probable, therefore, that during the Cretaceous the Marsupials which doubtless existed had been driven to some other portion of the earth, where we shall yet find their remains when our knowledge of the globe is more complete; and in them we shall also probably find the transitions or earliest progenitor of the True Mammals of the Tertiary."

The great central feature of this Epoch was its extraordinary development of reptiles. That it was pre-eminently so may be shown by a comparison of its creatures with their descendants in the present times. There are now on the whole face of the earth, only six large reptiles over fifteen feet long—three in America, two in India, and one in Africa—and none over twenty-five feet long. It may also be said that none of these bear any comparison in bulk or length with many of those of this distant Epoch, which left in the United States alone, distinct, we might say perfect, records of one hundred and forty-seven species, most of them of gigantic size; and the mountains and plains of Colorado are their crowded cemeteries.

The natural conditions which produced these wonderful results were commanding conditions. They dominated all forms of animate life. The age impressed its character on all living creatures, even on those in many respects above the ruling forms. The few mammals were reptilian mammals; the more abundant birds were reptilian birds. While the present known types of that physical life are but a fraction of all that then existed, all that are known, all that have been revealed bear certain testimony to the universal prevalence of the reptilian influences in that period of the world's history.

How have all these remains been preserved? Their situations indicate several processes. Sometimes the bones, occasionally those of complete skeletons little disturbed, are found in beds of clay or marl, as if the animals had mired down and perished in their helplessness. In other places the remains are found in sandstone strata, occasionally in masses several feet thick and so mixed up that it is difficult to assort and assign them to their original relations; this would suggest their indiscriminate deposition in favorable places along the banks of streams. Still larger accumulations are found where at one time are supposed to have been the mouths of rivers, the carcasses of the animals after death having been carried down these streams and deposited in their estuaries; as vast heaps and reefs of fossil bones are found in some places. In all their situations they were later covered by sediments in those times of frequent watery revolutions, the sediments, excepting some marls and clays, under the weight of subsequently superimposed masses, hardened into rock, and sealed up imperishably through all succeeding ages the bone-forms of these ancient creatures. Thus they are found between or imbedded in the rocky sheets—the great leaves of Nature's record book. These processes were accompanied by conditions that did not invite rapid decay and disintegration; and therefore we may see to-day the fossil bones, perfectly preserved, of beings which lived and died probably millions of years ago. It is believed that through the later geological eras some of these fossilized remains became covered with from twenty thousand to thirty thousand feet of strata. The upheaval by which the Rocky Mountains were formed tilted these vast beds, and subsequent erosion by the elements has thus brought to light what is left of creatures that lived and flourished in these remotely distant Mesozoic ages.

The fishes of these ancient times have been preserved in the rocks of Colorado in prodigious numbers. In many places along the South Platte in the vicinity of Denver the exposed strata contains hundreds of them, their forms perfectly preserved in a fossilized condition, and their crystallized coverings frequently presenting iridescent hues. In the northwestern part of the State, along the tributaries of the Green river, there are multitudes of them.



North America in Cretaceous Times.

Colorado is a vast Golgotha for myriads of the creatures of these Epochs and those of subsequent ages. The strata of the San Juan region for hundreds of feet in thickness is especially rich in the numbers and varieties of these relics of ancient life.

Many curious and beautiful results of petrifaction are found in abundance, in the fossil wood of this region. Trunks of trees, branches, stumps, are converted into objects of most beautiful varieties of color and shading, which are revealed by cutting and polishing the material. The grain, texture and foldings are faithfully retained by the minerals which have replaced the original matter. This is exquisitely shown where there were knotty places in the ancient tree. These fossils are frequently found in ancient river-drift, showing that the wood had been carried there before the change set in. In the mountain-elevations of a later time they lie where they fell, and where they have rested for thousands and thousands of years.

The Cretaceous era, the third and last division of the strange Mesozoic Epoch, closed upon an earth that presented continents with outlines foreshadowing their present figures. Through its ages the wide, inland sea extended northwestward here in our country, covering the region of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains as far west as the present Wahsatch range, and it is believed on to the Arctic ocean, dividing North America into two continents of comparatively limited area, with islandic places like the Black Hills, standing above its surface. But it was slowly narrowing and receding, though its shallow waters still covered considerable areas of the land, with low islands and tongues of soil emerging here and there.

The great deposits of the varieties of coal called lignites, so abundant in many large sections of Colorado—one vast measure of it underlying Denver and extending in a wide belt beneath the foothills and the plains from Pike's Peak northward into Wyoming—were formed during this period. Remarkable changes had occurred in the luxuriant forest growths. The old Carboniferous species were fast passing away, and some of the trees of our own times had made their appearance. The oak, beech, hickory, maple, walnut, poplar, sycamore, sassafras and willow had their representatives in the woodlands of the closing ages of this period, with those of the laurel, myrtle and fig. More and dryer and better soil gave vegetation a sounder and harder fiber, and a less riotous growth was one of the results.

The warm temperature of air and water had continued, in modified degree, but atmospheric and terrestrial conditions were more greatly changed. Frequent deluging rains had scoured down the land and the slow rising of the continent combined with the consequences of this erosion, was fast enlarging the expanse of marsh and lowland.

Another tremendous terrestrial revolution was now impending. The land had been, as of old, rising and falling preparatory to its practically final adjustment much as we have it now, and the tide was ebbing and flowing over its changing shores, as the giant, weary of his old position, was preparing himself for a new one, like a restless sleeper who causes the covering upon him to rise and fall in harmony with his movements.

As this great Mesozoic Epoch was inaugurated by the upheaval of the Alleghany ranges, its Jurassic period marked by the elevation of the Sierras, its closing, Cretaceous, era ended with a vast addition to the work of making the continent. The lofty mountain ranges of the Rockies began to slowly raise their heads from the welter that so long had engulfed them. The whole western half of the continent was bodily upheaved, not suddenly, violently nor explosively, but with a steady, majestic movement that was the beginning of the end of continent-making. The slow movement upward, caused chiefly by horizontal shifting, but greatly assisted by internal pressure, produced the series of tremendous continental wrinkles that constitute these mountain ranges. The enormous buried masses of stratified rocks were crumpled as sheets of paper may be between the hands, crushed together, heaved upward and left standing almost vertical, cracked, split, broken, as our miners find them now, in confused masses, and shoved up into the clouds, through the closing ages of this Cretaceous period. In some places small areas escaped the general dislocation and disruption. The beautiful mountain parks of Colorado were lifted like bowls, retaining waters that had formerly swept over them and which now made them mountain lakes, or little isolated seas, and kept them so for untold after years.

This terrestrial revolution abolished the great interior sea which had previously divided North America into practically two continents, and permanently elevated, at last, the land of the Denver region.

CHAPTER II.

Outlines of Geological History, Continued—Tertiary Epoch and Changed Conditions—Revolution of Life Systems—Prolific Ages of Mammals—Continental Changes—Quaternary Epoch—Age of Glaciers—Period of Floods—Final Continental Adjustment—Effects of Erosion—Quaternary Mammals—Pioneer Man on the Western Hemisphere.

The tremendous achievement by which the Rocky Mountains were formed, as with the older lofty elevations of the continent, was attended by violent volcanic action. As the masses of stratified rock were slowly uplifted they reached a point where the strain could no longer be resisted, broke apart in places along the crest and released the molten matter of the interior which poured forth with tremendous energy in fiery torrents which did not cease to flow for many years—for ages. This upheaval brought the precious and other metals to or near the surface, and placed in accessible position the broad foundations of Colorado's prosperity.

These enormous physical changes were followed by climatic changes correspondingly great. These changes were potent in closing the careers of the huge reptilian forms of animate life that so long had dominated in countless numbers and endless variety, on land and in sea, and which now passed away. They also prepared for changes equally great in the lesser forms of life, and in the character of vegetation with which the country was overspread. The earth was again on the threshold of a new Epoch with its new conditions, new types of living creatures, and new aspects of land and water.

A great depression is still a physical feature of the mid-continent; the Mississippi flowing southward through it, and the Mackenzie, the Mississippi of the north, draining it into the Arctic ocean—a condition provided for by this final revolution in continent-making at a time when the generations of men were yet slumbering in the chambers of the future.

The inauguration of each of these great Epochs, it is to be remembered, was characterized by a geological revolution—disruptions, upheavals, emissions of heat and vapors from beneath the crust, dashing of waters against coast barriers, destructive ocean tides, and streams, and the more or less complete extinction of the living beings that were developed in the preceding Epoch. In the repeated changes that were wrought the grain of sand upon the streamlet's border may have been incorporated successively into a dozen different formations, each in turn disintegrated to be inwrought in the rocky sheets of the next following age.

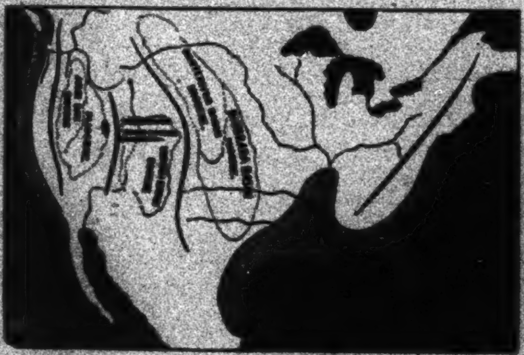
As to these Epochs, the human mind, as we have heretofore remarked, is destitute of ability to form any conception of their length in years. Terming them epochs, eras, ages, and periods, is only employing words that convey no intelligent part of their true import as limitations or divisions of these enormous lapses of years. They were, however, apparently of different lengths. The Carboniferous was nearly as long as the Silurian and Devonian combined; the Cretaceous more than equal to the Triassic and Jurassic, the latter being much the shorter of the three forming the Secondary Epoch; while in the Tertiary, which we have now reached, the Eocene period seems to have been nearly as long as the Miocene and Pliocene periods put together, with the latter very much the shorter. These are the suggestions presented by the relative thickness of the strata of each period; but it can not be properly assumed that they are conclusive. The conditions of one period may have been such as to result in much larger sedimentary deposits than those of another, and in some instances there are indications that they were so. This renders almost gratuitous any attempt to define even the relative duration of these long eras of wonderful processes.

In this connection it seems proper that we should state that we have termed these grand divisions "Epochs," and their sub-divisions "periods," for the reason that they seemed more convenient forms of expression. As strictly technical terms they are not employed just as geologists would use them, but for purposes not intended to be technical, they may be admissible.

With the Third—the Cenozoic Epoch, the transition from the ancient to the modern geological history of the earth is held to have begun. Cenozoic conditions with modifications continued through all the succeeding ages to our own times, and some of the authorities consider them as having been parts of one great Epoch. But for our purposes here we will regard the periods as constituting two Epochs, the Tertiary and the Quaternary, a division authorized by many authorities. The Cenozoic inaugurated the commencement of things, and of many forms of life, as they now are.

North America had become a continent, as the accompanying map indicates, not greatly different from its present outlines. The southeastern coastline of the Atlantic was farther inland, submerging Florida; the Gulf of Mexico projected up the Mississippi valley in a broad tongue-shaped form to the mouth of the Ohio River, and covered Louisiana and most of Texas; on the Pacific the Sierras were the coast line; the Coast Range, the last of our great mountain chains to be formed, having been yet beneath the waves of that ocean. In the three different periods of this Epoch great lakes of fresh water successively existed here in this western region. These also are shown upon the map. The oceans were not yet more than brackish, and the climate was so mild and salubrious that evergreens, palms and figs grew as far north as the Dakotas, indicating gentle conditions such as Florida now enjoys.

If the reader could be taken back over the years and placed on an eminence in this ancient landscape he might look down upon a country of fair prospects, far more luxuriant in its vegetation than it ever has been in modern times, but much the same in its principal physical aspects. He would, moreover, be the only human being on the face of the earth, and the first to gaze upon Nature's wide expanse of land, lake and stream, unchanged by the presence of that most restless of all created beings, man.



North America in Tertiary Times. (Dotted lines indicate places of Tertiary fresh water lakes; black lines, course of mountain chains.)

Vast changes had occurred. The great reptiles were gone, leaving only a few of their emaciated and impoverished descendants; the whole life-system was revolutionized. The sharks and whales were commanders in the watery dominions, some of the former being seventy feet long, and armed with angular teeth six and one-half inches high and six inches wide at the base; birds flew in the air and sung in the trees; animals of all sizes from small to huge, some of whose presumed descendants are with us now, roamed over the rich savannas or secluded themselves in the fruitful forests and jungles; insects and creeping things had begun careers, of which many are not yet ended; and the sun smiled down upon a vast region of abounding fertility and exceeding beauty.

Plant-life now began to flourish, under what would seem to us to be natural conditions, in the first, the Eocene period of this Epoch, and brought forth new and beautiful forms, numbers of which exist to this day, but which then found favorable circumstances in latitudes much farther north than they may now endure. Greenland and the sub-Arctic Canadian territory enjoyed temperate, if not tropical, climates and their results; the cypress and the magnolia of Louisiana grew around the lower end of Hudson's Bay. The Big Trees of California date their ancestry in these Tertiary times, and our oaks and the other familiar forest friends which are already noted as having come in the Cretaceous period, were now venerable patriarchs in the far-reaching woodlands. The minor plants and herbage had changed in character so much, and had become so near alike many we know so well, that our solitary visitor to this country in these old times would not have felt himself to be a stranger in a strange land. Through the Miocene and the Pliocene periods, and into the Quaternary Epoch, these developments, and confirmations of familiar identities in trees, and plants and flowers, went on, until nearly all we now have were gracing the ancient landscapes, in type and form much as we may see them now, and until primitive man had come to enjoy the fruitfulness with which they were so abundantly endowed.

While these higher orders of vegetation were so abundant, probably more abundant than now, so were some of the very low orders—perhaps more of animal than vegetable character. Vast deposits, made in Tertiary times, of the lowest order of single-celled organisms, have been observed in California and elsewhere. These consist wholly of the silicious shells of these microscopic objects, and they are so small that a cubic inch of this infusorial earth, as it is called, is estimated to contain the remains of forty billions of them. These atomic creatures still exist in the frigid parts of the oceans; and the ooze in the deep places in Lake Tahoe, where sediments do not encroach, is composed wholly of such infusorial shells.

Through the three periods of this Epoch enormous numbers of Mollusks existed, the Tertiary rocks embracing vast masses of their fossilized remains. It may be stated here that the Tertiary oyster, if it possessed in corresponding degree the flavor of its modern descendant, would have delighted the eyes and stomach of the epicure, for the California and Oregon variety filled a shell thirteen inches long, eight inches wide and six inches through. Of the shell-fish of these old times a considerable number survive.

It is so with insects, too; the bees, butterflies, ants, and many others of that time closely resembled their representatives present now. In a broad sense, this may be said of all the invertebrates, the differences in many instances being apparent only to the trained observer. It is only among the genera and species of mammals that the changes have been conspicuous from those times to our own.

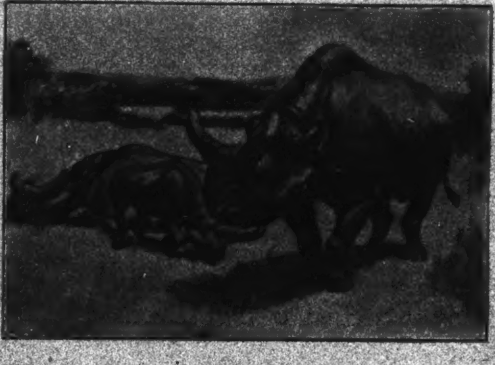
Great masses of fossilized insects of this Epoch have been found in Colorado. In beds of them buried in the fresh-water shales at Florissant, the remains of over one thousand different species have been recognized. The curious manner in which some of these Tertiary insects have otherwise been preserved calls for brief mention. They are frequently found in amber, the fossil resin of coniferous trees, often quite transparent, and in which may be seen the perfect forms of the insects; the slender legs, the gauzy wings, and all the delicate parts as they were when the creatures were endued with life. The manner in which they were entangled, enclosed and preserved may be observed in our own times. The gum issuing from such trees is at first in the form of semi-liquid transparent tears. Flies, gnats, and other insects alighting on these, stick fast, are enveloped by the further exudations, and thus preserved indefinitely. The legs of these little prisoners, both in modern and fossil resin, are often found broken by the struggles of the insects to extricate themselves.

But it will be among the fine array of mammals of this Epoch that we will find subjects of the greater interest. We shall no longer consider the periods separately as we have those of preceding Epochs, for the reason that in this one the dividing lines are less distinct, and the circumstances of the three Tertiary divisions blend more smoothly into each other. Beside this, we have passed the eras of continental revolutions and their consequent revolutions of life-systems.

At this juncture it should be said that the elevation of the Rocky Mountain ranges was probably not completed until long after the advent of Tertiary times. The presence of fragments of Tertiary rocks on the summit of Long's Peak seems to testify that the front range of Colorado's mountains was not completed as to uplift until far into the new Epoch.

Our overgrown reptile friends and their associates had long since made their adieus. We have reminders of them in Crocodiles, Turtles, Snakes, Frogs and Lizards, but the rulers of the animate worlds were now the mammals and the birds. In the deposits of the Eocene period in Wyoming five species of Snakes, some of them eight feet long, and nine kinds of Crocodiles, have been found. In other countries, in the formations of this Epoch, have been discovered the fossils of the last reptilian effort to produce gigantic forms. This was a Miocene turtle with a shell twelve feet long, eight feet wide, and seven feet high in the roof. From point of extended head to tip of projected tail the creature probably had a length of twenty feet. After this the whole reptilian tribe sunk to its present unimportant and uninteresting level, abhorred by man, bird and beast.

The mammals appear to have come in with a bound, and the geologists can account for the apparent suddenness of their advent only upon the hypothesis that there was another of the lost intervals immediately preceding them. In the early ages of Tertiary times the earth seems to have swarmed with animals. This was conspicuously so here on the plains and in the Rocky Mountains. The rapidity of development and swiftness of succeeding changes is attributed partly to the pressure of changed climate and other natural conditions, and partly to the migrations of different species. Even the order next to man in higher development, the Monkeys, appeared in the throng. These, however, were not the higher types of Monkeys, but lemurs, which are held to have been the connecting links with other orders. Of one of these creatures, the Mesopithecus, the fossil bones are found here along the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and in other parts of Colorado. In the San Juan region and in that of Green River, Professor Cope found eighty-seven different species of vertebrates, two-thirds of which are mammals. The geological cemeteries of Colorado abound with such relics.



Titanothere Family—Bull, Cow and Calf—and Ideal Tertiary Landscape.

While types of general orders survived, the definite species of ancient mammals changed completely several times in the course of the Tertiary Epoch. These changes produced remarkable results all over the earth, but nowhere more than in our own country, and especially here in the west. Other parts were also prolific. In the Gulf States a marine mammal, the Zeugloden, an ancestor of the whale, left skeletons of a length exceeding seventy feet. In places their vertebræ, eighteen inches long and twelve inches in diameter, are so numerous in the soil that planters have used them for making fences, and have put them in heaps and burned them to rid the land of such incumbrances. In the Gulf States nearly all the remains are of marine mammals of varying proportions; but things are different when we turn to the region of the Rocky Mountains, where the records are continuous and the most complete which have ever been revealed anywhere.

The beds of the Colorado mountain basins, and those of other ancient fresh-water lakes here in the west, have yielded still greater results to geological explorers. Among the earlier of the Tertiary mammals were many conspicuous for their size or physical peculiarities. The Paterofeles was a great Tiger and, as its name suggests, the progenitor of the Cat family. The Mesonyx was another large carnivorous animal of the same species, which appears to have soon become extinct. The Coryphodon was a beast like the Tapir, but some individuals grew to be as large as an Ox, and all flourished in extraordinary numbers. The Paleosyopos was larger than a Rhinoceros, had a horn two feet long on the end of his nose, and wore a thick hide that was studded with protuberances like door-knobs. The Dinoceras was of the Coryphodon type, a creature of more than elephantine proportions, but not an Elephant, for he had only the rudiments of a trunk. To compensate for this deficiency, he had six huge horns—three pairs—on his head, like those of a Rhinoceros, but much larger; to these were added canine teeth eight inches long. Altogether he was well equipped for offensive or defensive warfare, if his enemy would keep to his front. The Tinoceras was a relative, but much larger, his skull, alone, measuring four feet in length. It was also fitted with a similar number of huge ripping-horns and tearing canine-teeth. The Metamynodon was a swimming Rhinoceros much larger than his modern namesake, but otherwise resembling him. The Hyracodon, a relative of the other, and sometimes referred to as the "running Rhinoceros," had developed into a beast much like a Horse in appearance, and was quick and light in its movements. The Elothere might be described as a giant, two-toed Pig, but notwithstanding its resemblance to our modern animal, it was really not a Pig. It was a huge creature with a skull four feet long. The Titanothere—giant beast—was the largest of his times, and flourished in great numbers in the ancient lake country bordering on the base of the Rocky Mountains. He was herbivorous, twelve feet high at the shoulder, sixteen feet long, and the culmination in the development of an old race of mammal beasts. He had two huge ugly strong horns on his snout and was well-nigh impregnable unless attacked in the rear. The Uintathere, a kinsman of the Titan, was a big, stupid animal with a body the size of an Elephant's, short legs, and a brain no larger than a Dog's. His career was brief and he early became extinct—probably from lack of wit to take care of himself after smarter creatures with sharp appetites appeared.

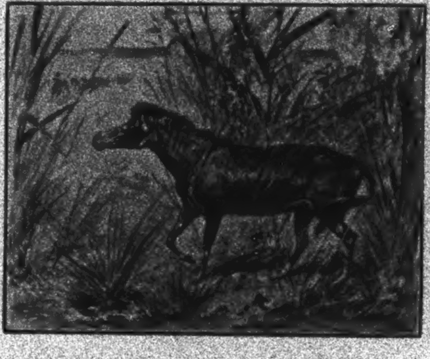
But the strangest revelations of the Tertiary beds of this region are the remains of the Eohippus, the earliest horse, a little animal, four hands or sixteen inches high, and no larger than a Fox; having three toes on the hind feet, and four perfect ones, and one rudimentary, on the front feet. The remains of these queer little creatures, which did not stand much above the ankle of the Titanothere's front legs, and which were the ancestral relatives of our modern Horses, are found wherever the Tertiary rocks are exposed.

Toward the middle of this Epoch the progenitor of the Deer family appeared in the Protoceras, an animal of light and graceful movements and much in advance of his immediate predecessors. Another new type, or a highly developed old one, was the Oreodon, a creature intermediate between the Hog, Deer, and Camel, and which roamed all over the country west of the Missouri river to Oregon.

Most of these earlier Tertiary mammals were herbivorous, the carnivori having been decidedly in the minority. Their remains are found principally in the bed deposits of the fresh-water lakes, which were of great extent here in the west at different times in this Epoch, as the map of the Tertiary geography shows. About ten thousand feet of strata accumulated over the graves of these creatures, but between the tilting of the rocks by slow upheaval and the persistent effect of erosion, their bones have come to light in many places. It is to be remembered that the Rocky Mountains were once much higher than now, probably three times higher, and that the washing, scouring, and leveling of all this region has been going on all the time through many ages.

Of the Tertiary mammals already mentioned Professors Cope and Marsh recovered, principally in Colorado, the skeletons of one hundred and fifty individuals, and during their researches in our State Professor Marsh came upon the remains of a group of extraordinary animals which had the head of a Bear, the body of a Tapir and the teeth of a rodent.

As the Tertiary Epoch passed into its third and last period much of the fauna of this region assumed the forms and character of creatures familiar to us. In the upper strata of this Epoch are found the remains of the Elephant, of a Mastodon smaller than that of the succeeding eras, and of many carnivorous creatures which flourished in those days. The relics of Wolves, Foxes, and Cats are present, and with them those of Moles, Squirrels, Bats, Marsupials, and many little Monkeys. Out on the plains, in places where erosion has done much work, there have been collected by Professor Hayden the fossil bones of nearly forty different species of mammals of the closing Tertiary period; among them being those of the Hyena, Wolf, Tiger, and Panther; and of the Rhinoceros, Deer, Camel and Horse families. Camels were quite abundant, and appear to have survived until comparatively recent times, for their remains are scattered over large areas of the plains, and in the river valleys to the eastward. Both the Camel and the Horse seem to have originated, says Le Conte, on this continent instead of on the eastern; and they appear to have multiplied to such an extent here in the west, that Professor Dana says "the large number of camels and horses gives a decided Oriental character to the fauna." These later Tertiary animals were nearly all connecting types, but the cavities in their skulls show them to have been, for their relative sizes, remarkably small-brained creatures—unusually so.



Progenitor of the Horse—sixteen inches high.

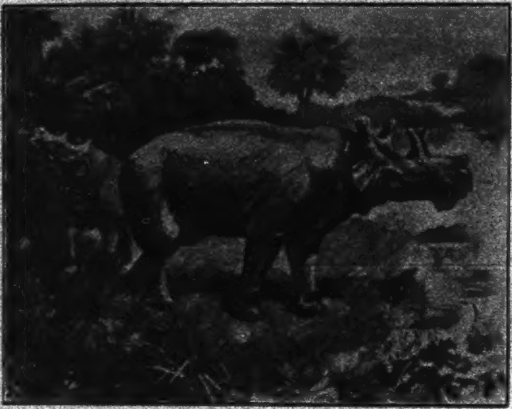
On the other side of the earth animal life developed forms not yet found on this side, but that does not necessarily imply that they were not here. They simply have not been found. Among them were many singular beings. Scores of American types have not yet been found elsewhere, but this, also, is not conclusive. It is, however, believed that numerous orders originated here, and that they or their descendants made their way into Asia and Europe by way of the northwest where, in ancient times, there was a direct connection by land, which has left evidences of its former existence. The same may be said of the great reptiles of the Mesozoic period—that they populated the seas and early land of the eastern hemisphere by the emigration thither of their descendants; though, of course, the land avenue to that side of the world was of no utility to the strictly marine branches of that large and singular family.

Up to the Tertiary Epoch all bird-like creatures, as elsewhere briefly stated, had been more or less reptile birds; that is, they were dominated in varying degree by the surrounding reptilian conditions and influences from which they had sprung. Now there were true birds of many kinds through these approaches to the geological modern ages. Here there were Eagles, Hawks, Woodpeckers and many others of our familiar feathered friends. There were also birds of which we have no present representatives, and some of gigantic proportions. In 1877 Professor Cope announced his discovery, in the vast fossil beds in the San Juan basin, of a bird twice the size of the modern Ostrich and much resembling the fowls of that ornithological family.

During this Epoch some, but not all, of the terrestrial finishing touches were given the continent. The ancient Cretaceous sea which divided the continent through here from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic ocean and covered the site of Denver, had been obliterated by the continental upheaval which made the Rocky Mountains and raised the plains to the light of the sun, at the outset of this Epoch. During the Eocene period there appeared several great lakes of fresh water in the plateau region west of the Colorado mountains. At the close of the Eocene there was a rise in that plateau which drained off its lakes, but caused a depression here in the region of the plains, not sufficient to let in the sea again, but enough to form extensive, shallow, fresh-water lakes, in the succeeding Miocene period.

At the close of this second period occurred the great terrestrial event of the Tertiary Epoch. The off-shore sea-bottom of the Pacific was jammed into crumpled folds by an irresistible horizontal contraction of the earth's crust aided by internal pressure, and the western Coast Chain of mountains was thrown up. As of old, the crests of the folds broke apart and there ensued a season of most violent volcanic activity which flooded large areas of the newly-made country with enormous quantities of lava, and which is not yet at an end, if the recent report (autumn of 1898) of the discovery of a smoldering volcano in the distant part of Alaska shall prove to be true. With the Coast Range upheaval there came a further slight depression of the plains, and a lowering of the Utah basin. So, in both these regions large fresh-water lakes existed through the Pliocene period, and which did not disappear until the final continental adjustment was accomplished in the succeeding Quaternary Epoch. But the western side of the continent was practically finished in all the region lying between the latitude of Denver and the waters of the Pacific Ocean.

One consequence of these Tertiary contributions toward continent-making was to greatly increase the erosive power of the comparatively small and sluggish streams of the western basin. The Miocene depression of that section probably checked it for a while, but it is believed that in these eras the Colorado river began its mighty work, of which we will give some account in the succeeding pages.



Ideal Tertiary Landscape and Great Four-Horned Uintathere.

We now come to some consideration of the fourth and last of the Grand Divisions of the geological history of the earth — the Quaternary Epoch, the one possessing for mankind the greatest direct interest, for it brought man into the busy scenes of action. It, also, has been separated for us into three periods, the Glacial, Champlain, and Terrace.

The crust of the earth was not yet at rest; there were to be many oscillations, before quiescence came to it. The first of these, in which everything in high latitudes was lifted from one thousand to two thousand feet, clear around that belt of the world, was followed by great climatic changes, and by one of the most extraordinary phenomena in the known history of the globe.

This upheaval in the north changed that region from its semi-tropical character over large portions, to one of most rigorous cold. Whether this alone was responsible for what now ensued is not within our province to discuss at any length. But about this geological time there accumulated in the Arctic regions enormous masses of snow-ice which were constantly augmented until a prodigious polar ice-cap was formed. Urged and pushed by the weight of its persistent accretions this mass moved southward. Increasing in size as it proceeded, it became an enormous winding-sheet of ice, from three thousand to six thousand feet thick. This gigantic ice-mantle moved on slowly and majestically southward, its magnitude and weight steadily increasing, until it covered the upper half of the entire northern hemisphere. In the Mississippi valley its most southerly point was about the junction of the Ohio river with the Mississippi. From that termination its huge and rugged front bore away northeasterly, and northwesterly. In the west it extended over the larger part of Kansas, and thence lined away northwest into Montana whence a huge peninsula projected southward covering the Rocky Mountain region to a point below the southern limits of Colorado, and which was its farthest extension south on any part of the globe. The invaded area of the Pacific slope was of relatively smaller extent, and the whole is fairly indicated by the accompanying map. The general southern limits may be plainly followed in the wreckage left, clear across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Similar conditions prevailed across northern Asia and Europe, extending there to about fifty degrees north latitude.

From its lofty advancing wall this great sheet stretched out huge icy fingers that were enormous glaciers in themselves, and which projected far away from the parent mass. These frozen fingers lent to the southern line of the mantle the aspect of an enormous comb. The radical climatic changes covered the Rocky Mountains here with a shroud of ice hundreds, perhaps thousands, of feet thick, which spread over their slopes, down upon the plains, covering the land where Denver stands, and far beyond, as with a great blanket. From this mountain mass lateral glaciers pushed out, creating vast physical evidences of their presence, which permanently exist in many places.

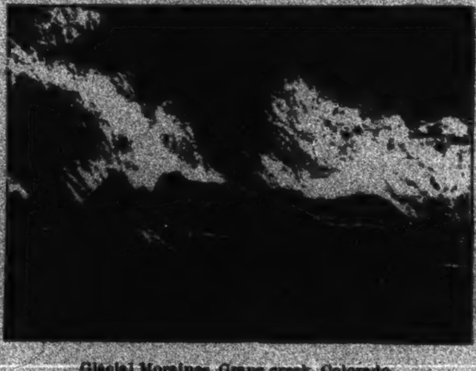
The consequences of this extraordinary visitation were tremendous all over the country. As the great mass irresistably moved forward, it crowded before it the soil of the earth, ground and crushed the rocks it encountered, and bore with it prodigious quantities of debris accumulated on its way.

When the movement ceased and climatic conditions again changed, as both eventually did, the icy mass began slowly melting away under the restored power of the sun over these enveloped latitudes, and rivers and torrents of water flowed from its mighty breast. After it had retreated to the far northland of its birth, the uncovered land it had overwhelmed, revealed the tremendous changes its presence had wrought over the face of the country. Pre-glacial rivers, of which traces still remain, had been buried; hills and valleys had disappeared and new ones in new places were in existence; the land was strewn with vagrant bowlders which had been fragments broken from granite ledges in the distant north, rounded by the grinding they received while on their reluctant journey, and left behind when their master retraced his steps. The system of great lakes was formed on what before had been an elevated plateau through which ancient rivers flowed on their way to the sea. The marks and seams and scars left by this prodigious engine are visible to this day over the large area of the United States, upon which it extended its mighty power.

The ice sheet did not continuously retreat. When its front had retired to the northern latitudes of the United States it paused, and then seems to have advanced again as if determined to renew its attack on the country it had invaded. This intention, however, was reconsidered, and the final retreat was made.

We shall not attempt to enter upon any detailed consideration of the theories advanced to account for this strange phenomenon. It is, with geologists, confessedly one of the most difficult problems with which they have to deal; and they do not offer us any explanation which to them meets all the circumstances of the situation. They know that an Arctic terrestrial upheaval of from one thousand to two thousand feet occurred, and that this would and did cause important climatic changes over North America, and was partly responsible, at least, for the extremely frigid climatic conditions which ensued. But that this elevation, in itself, was capable of producing consequences so extraordinary, is not clear—not acceptable to those especially qualified to judge.

Of the many theories advanced, one is that there was subsequent subsidence of the Arctic area, and that in the interval between elevation and subsidence, the effect of elevation there was sufficient to cause what followed. Another is that the chief causes were cosmical. This theory, originally advanced by Croll, has received much consideration, and is, Le Conte says, the only one of the kind entitled to serious attention. Wright also regards it worthy of attention, and so do many English geologists. It attributes the phenomenon to "the combined influences of the precession of the equinoxes and secular changes in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit;" and therefore provides for a recurrence of maximum north-polar frigidity with similar continental consequences, once in every twenty-one thousand years, just as it has occurred with that periodicity in all the ages of the past. The details of this theory involve astronomical problems to which extended reference here would be out of place.



Glacial Moraines, Grape creek, Colorado.

This great moving mantle of ice strewed all the country it visited with vast miscellaneous deposits of geological rubbish. The deposits are mixtures of clay, sand, gravel, pebbles, angular stones of all sizes, unsorted, unstratified, unfossiliferous. Much of this was distributed and heaped into great banks and bars by the torrents flowing from the glacier's melting front, when its recession set in. Bowlders, many of enormous size, of granite and other alien rock, were left scattered promiscuously over the region hundreds of miles from their parent sources. On removing this drift-covering, the country rock on which it rested is found polished, planed, plowed and scratched, the markings always consistent with the direction of the glacier's movement. Modern glaciers leave, on a small scale, just such evidences of their operations.

The divisions of this Epoch—the Glacial, Champlain, and Terrace periods—were short as compared with the long eras of the preceding Epochs, and the last two were much shorter than the age of ice. This renders it expedient to consider the Epoch as a whole, rather than to take it up by periods, in what may be further said about it. As stated, in preceding stages the continent and its landscapes presented modern general aspects as they were before man began his work upon them; life in the sea and life in the air were, practically, as they now exist; mammalian life was in a transition stage; and over all man was about to assume command.

But the earth was not yet to be at rest. After all that had been done; after all the long ages of development through which the world had come from chaos to seeming completeness; after it had at last become a place of grandeur and beauty, there was to be another visitation by flooding waters, drowning vast areas of the lovely landscapes.

At the culmination of the Glacial period, the previously upraised regions of the north began to sink, and continued to do so until there was a subsidence of from five hundred to one thousand feet below its present level. This brought on a time of submerged sea-coasts, flooding inland lakes, and wide-spreading rivers. These conditions existed in Europe as well as in North America. The Atlantic came far in upon the eastern water-shed and the Pacific encroached upon its new-made coasts; in the central region vast fresh-water lakes were formed; from the Dakotas stretching far to the north a great inland sea of fresh water came into existence, its surplus flowing both northward and southward, and receiving from northern glaciers huge icebergs which floated on its bosom. West of the Rocky Mountains similar lakes covered large districts, though not to such an extent as they did to the eastward of the mountains. Salt Lake, however, was nine hundred feet higher than its present level, and flooded the larger portion of Utah. The obstructed and embarrassed rivers added to the flooding by spreading over their valleys, and the land was burdened by the excess of water. This was not, it is to be understood, a continental submergence, but rather a flooding of the relatively lower portions of it after the northern depression had occurred.

It is thought that the inauguration of this subsidence, and the consequences which then ensued may have been instrumental in causing the recession of the great glacial movement, but the events of these eventful times can not be definitely outlined. It is a comparatively easy matter for the geologists to tell us what was done, but when they consider when it was done and how, and what were the potential causes, the circumstances are quite different. It is held probable that nearly all existing lakes in North America may date their origin in these two periods of the Quaternary Epoch. During these watery times enormous quantities of sediments were deposited upon the flooded regions, and constitute the most conspicuous geological feature of the period. But there came, at last, the final continental adjustment, the northern regions rose again, to their present levels, carrying with them in lesser degree the regions of the south, the flooding water drained into the oceans, and the continent became as we know it now.

This was effected principally in the Terrace period, which ended with the advent of modern geological times, and has its name from the great river-terraces in that part of the continent east of the Rocky Mountains, and which the streams cut out of the flood-deposits of the Champlain period. In explanation of this one of our authorities says:

> "Nearly all of the rivers in the eastern portion of the continent, over the Drift region, are bordered with high terraces, which have been cut wholly out of an old flood-plain deposit belonging to the Champlain Epoch. In fact, these rivers show first an elevation, then a depression, and finally a partial re-elevation; in other words, all the oscillations of the Quaternary period are recorded by them.
>
> "An examination of the rivers north of the fortieth parallel shows: (1) An old river bed far deeper and broader than the present; (2) this deep and broad river bed is filled up, often several hundred feet deep, by old river deposit; (3) into this old river deposit the shrunken stream is again cutting, but is still far above the bottom of the old river-bed. This cutting into the old river-deposit produces bluffs and terraces on each side. It is evident that the great river bed was gouged out during the Glacial Epoch; the filling up took place during the Champlain, and the cutting and terracing during the Terrace Epoch."

The causes of these flooded conditions in the times of the final adjustment of the continent were several. The depression of the land by which the sea entered into old estuaries, and low places, it had occupied in earlier ages; the great abundance of water supply from the melting mantle of ice; and the smaller angle of slope of the rivers, by reason of which the waters in their lower parts ran off less rapidly, and therefore were more swollen; and therefore, also, deposited greater quantities of sediments on the areas covered, which they otherwise would have carried out into the deep sea.

Terrestrial movements and phenomena were now ended, and earthly peace had come at last. Plants and invertebrate creatures were almost identical with those we have now, with but one suggestive qualification; the preserved plants and shells indicate an Arctic climate then in now comparatively temperate regions. The species found are still living, but living farther north, plainly pointing to a migration of species northward after the Glacial times.

Erosion by the elements effected results in the present aspects of the continental landscape second only to those of the great uplifting terrestrial revolutions. Much of the mountain ruggedness we see is the consequence of atmospheric and other chemical action, assisted by the motive power of water and the mechanical scouring effect of the sediments borne along by its currents. The mountain peaks and domes owe much of their present outlines to these agencies; the canons and gulches are their work; the slopes of the plains, of the river valleys, the isolated buttes and pinnacles like those of the Garden of the Gods, are all the workmanship of the elements in which water performed nearly the whole of the labor. Acting upon physical conditions created by the terrestrial revolutions, one of which was a great interior depression in central North America, and the other mountain ranges in parallel contiguity to the oceans, it has scoured and scoured, carried and carried, levelled and levelled, gnawing away at the land and bearing it off to the depths of the sea; it has tirelessly, ceaselessly followed its purpose to distribute the continent over the floor of the ocean, and bring back again the surface dominion of an universal, world-enveloping waste of waters. How long it will take to regain the command of the globe it possessed in the childhood of the planet, is beyond the power of man to compute; but the time will come when it will have recovered its ancient authority, and land will no longer be above the level of the sweeping, surging tides.

These continent-gnawing teeth of the elements may be likened to the Teeth of Time. They were busy at their work in the Tertiary periods, and have never paused for an hour nor a minute since then. In the Bad Lands of the Dakotas, those populous cemeteries of old-time life, are afforded most striking examples of erosive action. But it is to the great River Colorado of the southwest that we must turn if we wish to more fully comprehend the tremendous consequences of its persistent industry. The region drained by the Colorado, or more accurately speaking, that immediately tributary to the river, proper, is an old, old land. As we have seen, it had its beginnings in the far-off Silurian ages, since when most of it appears to have long existed unsubmerged, and with slowly expanding areas which kept on widening until the mountain upheavals completed the western aspects of the continent. Through this ancient land the Colorado has cut its prodigious gorges until it has severed all the strata of geological history and gone a thousand feet or more into the Archæan granite.

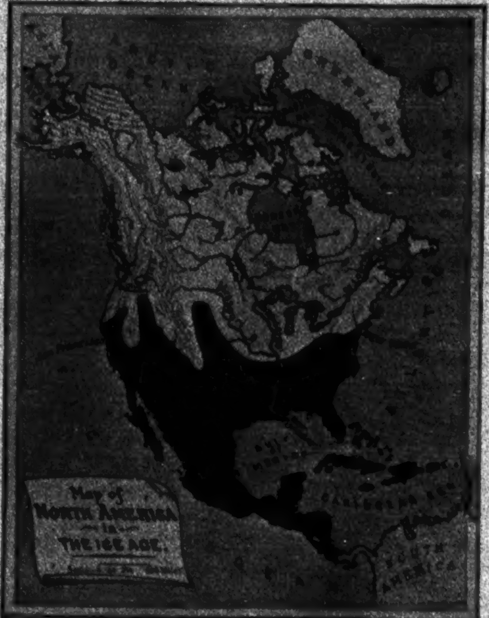
So slowly has this river's work been done that a man's life-span of three score years and ten, brings no evidence of subsidence that is perceptible to his view. Yet, this erosion has gone on so long that it has cut more than six thousand feet down into the great plateau it bisects—more than a mile. Its progress through the lower granites was, of course, far slower than in the softer strata that lies above. But suppose its average subsidence were of sufficient speed to enable a man to observe and record it. This he could readily do if it were as much as two feet within his life-time. But even this comparatively rapid progress would involve the lapse of near two hundred thousand years. Yes, these canon gashes are, indeed, the incisions of the Teeth of Time!

This Colorado plateau is nearly level, and is constituted of a mass of horizontal strata. The present surface formations are mostly of the later Carboniferous period and the Mesozoic Epoch. All the other vast masses once above them were long since taken away by the elements. Gigantic broad benches of terraces, rising step by step to the distant upper level of the region far in the horizon, have been formed in these strata we have mentioned, which are, moreover, occasionally interrupted by evidences of tremendous volcanic action. Far down in its canons the River Colorado winds its way through this forsaken land.

These gorges continue for a distance of nearly three hundred miles, and vary in depth from three thousand to upward of six thousand feet. In many places the rocky walls of these appalling chasms are sheerly vertical and an over-tossed stone will fall unobstructed to the surface of the sky-lighted stream in the depths below. The walls of the gorges show above the granite at the base, two or three thousand feet of Palæozoic sandstones, shales, and limestones; a thousand feet or so of sub-Carboniferous limestones; and twelve hundred feet of Carboniferous sandstone and limestone. Farther up the stream the chasms in their upper sections extend through Triassic and Cretaceous strata that have escaped the denudation which the elements have wrought on their extensions to the southward.

These circumstances show that the Colorado has done its mighty work in comparatively recent geological times, though they also point to a vast antiquity for it, if we attempt to measure the limitations by the standard of years. There was a time when this river flowed upon a surface endowed with fertile soil, watered by rivulets and minor streams which nourished a fair and luxuriant vegetation. Water may be considered as the life-blood of the earth. Through all these ages the Colorado has been sapping the very foundations of that dying region and, as Professor Winchell points out, is literally draining it to death.

The Mammals of the Quaternary Epoch were very numerous, and many were of great size. Some of them differed from those of both the preceding ages and the modern era. Their remains were preserved in ways different from those of the former Epochs, which sealed up the skeletons in the huge sheets of rock. These are found entombed in caves where the drippings from the roof have encrusted them with stalagmitic deposits; in bogs and marshes where the creatures sought food, were mired and died; in river deposits where their floating carcasses were stranded, and their bones buried under conditions favorable to preservation; in the bottoms of lakes covered by the ooze and sealed from destructive contact with the atmosphere; and frozen in cliffs and soils that have not thawed since the creatures were imprisoned there.



Their remains have been thus found in all the grand divisions of the northern hemisphere except Africa. North America was their prolific home and this region of western United States has given up numbers of their perfect skeletons. Of them the most remarkable are the herbivorous beasts. The great hairy Mammoth, an exaggerated type of Elephant, flourished here, but less abundantly than in Asia and Europe. In the latter he was contemporary with man as proved by a good profile of him engraved or cut on a flat bone found in a cave in France. In Siberia in recent years a carcass, frozen in a cliff, was discovered in such condition that dogs with the discoverers fed upon the flesh, the skeleton and hide being preserved and taken to Europe, where they served to restore his perfect appearance which is now before visitors to the museum at St. Petersburg. In March, 1899, circumstantial reports were sent from Alaska of the discovery by gold miners in the Klondyke region, of the perfect carcass of a Mammoth (or a Mastodon) in a frozen bed of gravel, forty feet below the surface. The Mammoth was twice as heavy and one-fourth higher than our largest known elephant, covered with coarse hair, had great upward curving tusks, which are still found in Asia in numbers sufficient to make them articles of commerce. Our State Historical Society has the tusks and some of the teeth and bones of one of these animals, which were exhumed near Castle Rock, in Douglass County.

The huge Mastodon, another elephant-like monster, and the largest known land mammal, found an agreeable home in the United States, over a large portion of which he flourished in great numbers. He enjoyed life on these western plains and was certainly a contemporary of human beings who then occupied the country, as will be shown in the next succeeding chapter. He was a monster, thirteen feet high, and including the projection of his tusks, twenty-five feet long. He was an Elephant, with but the minor difference of the character of his teeth; and a descendant of the huge Dinotherium of the preceding Epoch. Like the bison of modern times, the Mastodon found comparative safety from the attacks of enemies in his huge size and great numbers, for he was not a warlike beast. In large droves he roamed at will all over the central and northern regions of this land. When the foundation excavations were made for the McClintock building at Sixteenth and Larimer streets, in this city, a tooth of a very large Mastodon was exhumed; and similar relics have been discovered in many other places on the plains and along the base of the mountains.

There were two species of gigantic Bisons, the ancestors of our modern, misnamed, and recently plentiful animal of the plains. The larger of these old-time Bisons was equipped with horns measuring about ten feet between their extended tips, and twenty inches around the base. Horses had become of great size, from one-third to one-half larger than any we have now, and they roamed over the country in droves; but our Indian population had no traditions of them.

A magnificent Stag was so large that when standing, his horns reached to twice the height of a full-grown man; and he was in all respects an equal of the ancient Stag of Ireland.

The ferocious Cave Bear of Europe had his counterpart in this country; the Grizzly Bear of the Rocky Mountains being a direct and, with the exception of size, but little changed descendant.

The Beaver got to be five feet long, and there were large Tapirs, Peccaries, and Wolves. The Deer family had some representatives other than the great Stag, but generally speaking it belongs to our own period. Many of the ancestors of the smaller animals of the present time had entered upon their careers and existed in great numbers. All these improved forms of animal life were exceedingly abundant in those times.

In this Epoch there is believed to have been a second land connection with South America, across what is now the Caribbean Sea. That country had its own array of great creatures and three types of them are supposed to have migrated across this old and shorter route, for the skeletons of the Megatherium, Mylodon and Megalonyx have been found in the United States. These were huge Sloths, larger and heavier and more powerful than the biggest "Buffalo."

It may be said that all these distinct species of Quaternary Mammals are extinct, but many of their general orders survive in the modified forms of our familiar animals. With the ending of this Epoch comes the ending of what we may call the geological history of the earth. Its termination marked the beginning of geological modern times with lands and seas and life-forms as we have them now.

As to the length of this Epoch nothing definite in the form of an estimate can be attempted. If Croll's theory of the cause of the Glacial phenomenon could be demonstrated as the correct one, it would be a simple matter for the astronomer-mathematicians to tell us all about it. Other theorists, reinforcing Croll, have reached conclusions in line with their beliefs that the Glacial period began two hundred and forty thousand years ago, lasted one hundred and sixty thousand years, and ended eighty thousand years since. This result is different from that of Croll's original theory which contemplated a glacial return every twenty-one thousand years, as it makes but one great interglacial era instead of the eight of somewhat varying intensity provided for by Croll's original views. But these speculations may be left to the geologists and the astronomers whose duty it is to deal with them and tell us the truth whenever they find out what it is.

The reign of brute force and animal ferocity came to an end and man entered upon his dominion over the earth and over all that was upon it. We might naturally have concluded that in a consistent, orderly sequence in all these strange developments, in later periods as well as in the earlier, that it would not be unreasonable to assume that primitive man had his first abiding place on the continent which included the primitive land of the world. But we are told that this was not so. He is supposed to have presented himself around on the other side of the earth, but further than to credit him to Asiatic regions, no one has undertaken to fix the locality of his appearance. Whence he came here, how he came, just when he came, no one knows. Whether it be true that his origin is associated with the Apes and their kindred creatures who swarmed into existance with him, who can dogmatically say? Whether he originated in Australasia or in Asia and spread over the earth, reaching America with the migrating animals from the other side by way of the northwest, who can tell? Whether he existed before the Quaternary Epoch, who can decide?

Of the length of time man has existed on the earth, Le Conte says:

> "There is no doubt that very great changes, both in physical geography and in the mammalian fauna, have taken place since man appeared. Judging by the rate of changes still in progress, we are naturally led to a conviction of a lapse of time very great in comparison with that recorded in history. * * *
>
> "In conclusion, we may say that we have as yet no certain knowledge of man's time on the earth. * * * It may be one hundred thousand years, or it may be only ten thousand years, but more probably the former than the latter."

Evidence of the remotest presence of man on this continent exists on the Pacific Coast, where his works are found associated with the remains of long-extinct animals. Evidence beyond this has been diligently searched for but never found; and his works are always more numerous and less perishable than his bones. Yet, there are those who expect to see him established as a hero of the middle period of the Tertiary Epoch, when only heroes could exist.

But the beginning of this era is of less importance than the fact that it had at last begun. Of this, Le Conte, whose exhaustive and most scholarly work on these deeply interesting subjects, has been of great service to us, and from which we have so frequently quoted, says:

> "In regard to the distinctness and importance of this era, there are two views which will probably ever divide geologists, depending on the two views regarding the relation of man to Nature. From the purely structural and animal point of view, man is very closely related to the animal kingdom. He has no department of his own, but belongs to the vertebrate department, along with quadrupeds, birds, reptiles and fishes. He has no class of his own, but belongs to the class Mammalia, along with quadrupeds. Neither has he an order of his own, but belongs to the order of Primates, along with monkeys, lemurs, etc. Even a family of his own, the Hominidoe, is grudgingly admitted by some. But from the physical point of view it is simply impossible to overestimate the space which separates man from all lower things. Man must be set off not only against the animal kingdom, but against the whole of Nature besides, as an equivalent; Nature the book—the revelation—and man the interpreter.
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> "So in the history of the earth; from our point of view the era of man is not equivalent to an era, nor to an age, nor to a period, nor even to an epoch. But from another point of view it is the equivalent of the whole geological history of the earth besides. For the history of the earth finds its consummation, and its interpreter, and its significance, in man."

What kind of creature, whether he were primitive man, or not, the earliest human inhabitant of this geologically ancient continent could have been, what were his hopes and fears and ambitions, are questions that open to the imagination a field so wide that its limits may not be defined by any known authority.

In the cluttered wreckage left by the great winding-sheet of ice, and also in the more orderly deposits made by it, has been found the first definite evidence of man's presence on this hemisphere. He may have been here before this icy period; he probably was here during the latter part of its continuance and witnessed the prodigious alternations going forward in his ancient landscape; he certainly was here when the ice-movement ceased, and the mighty, frozen mantle melted away.

Buried in the Glacial drift and deposits have been found his few rude implements of stone, roughly fashioned, which were at once his dependence in the chase, and his means of salvation in combat with hostile neighbors of his kind. He clothed himself in the skins of beasts, and probably was the fiercest of all the creatures which once roamed over this land seeking something or somebody to devour.

What became of this interesting pioneer, how he was overwhelmed or removed, will never be known. Whether he was swept away by some catastrophe, or conquered and submerged by a later and higher race, no one knows. Like his contemporary of southern Europe, he disappeared, leaving us only a few of his rude relics to suggest the outlines of his hard life amid appalling surroundings.

So, the feeble light of this early and savage creature went out; and the brief tale his pitiable belongings tell us, ends abruptly in a long period of the deepest gloom, unrelieved by any ray of light. He and his fate are shut in behind a wall of darkness and forever buried there. Through an unbroken silence; a long night of solitude; an unknown length of years, obscurity rested upon the story of man's existence on this great continent.

CHAPTER III.

Pre-Historic Man—Strange Race of Mound-Builders—Extent of Their Empire—Colorado Its Southwestern Borderland—Character of Their Monuments and Relics—Theories Attempting to Account for This Vanished People.

Of the vast antiquity of the human race here in North America there is little to question; but when we undertake to assign its limits or designate its periods we are confronted by circumstances that baffle the understanding. What is to be said of a human skeleton found embedded in a Florida coral reef which Agassiz declared could not have been less than ten thousand years old! Or of one found near New Orleans buried under four distinct, and successively prostrated forest growths, separated by layers of sedimentary deposits, which Dr. Dowler estimated to have involved the lapse of fifty thousand years? Or of the still more amazing antiquity suggested by the situation of a human skull buried under Table Mountain, California, in the presumed deposits of the pliocene or post-pliocene period? Great masses of lava and other volcanic matter lay far above the grave of this ancient man, who, if the resting place of his remains were correctly designated by those believed competent to do so, may have lived in years, three or four times more remote than those of the man whose bones were exhumed by Dr. Dowler from the delta of the Mississippi. In Kansas the bones of man have been found buried in a marsh with those of the long-extinct mastodon, under circumstances indicating that the two had perished together. In Iowa a few years since a pipe carved in excellent imitation of the same ancient beast was found, the object proving its maker to have been not only familiar with the mastodon, but of a race old enough to have acquired the comforting habit of smoking.

Professor George Rawlinson (Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford, England), who rejected the doctrine of the evolution of man as it is popularly presented, opens the first chapter of his "Origin of Nations" (1877), with the following:

> "It is commonly assumed at the present day that civilization is a plant of slow and gradual growth, which developed itself by degrees in the course of ages, and which belongs consequently to a comparatively late period of the world's history. The 'primeval savage' is a familiar idea; and the so-called science of the day is never tired of presenting before us the primitive race of man as only a little removed from the brutes, devoid of knowledge, devoid of art, devoid of language, a creature in few respects elevated above, and in many sunk below, the anthropoid apes, from which it is held that he derived his descent by way of evolution. Occasionally, indeed, a confession is made—parenthetically and by the way—that there is no proof of this supposed priority of savagery to any form of civilization; and it is admitted to be questionable which of the two preceded the other. But this confession hurriedly uttered and hastily slurred over in most cases, makes little impression on the public mind, and the belief is general that in some way or other science has proved that the first men who inhabited the earth were savages, and that there was no civilization till a comparatively recent period."

Sir Charles Lyall, a distinguished English scientist who accepted the general theories of evolution, and who extended his personal researches to this country, says, in his "Antiquity of Man," that "we have no distinct geological evidence that the appearance of what are called the inferior races of mankind has always preceded in chronological order that of the higher races."

These eminent writers, representing opposing views of a great problem—with the latter standing for the almost unanimous scientific belief—practically agree upon one of the questions involved.

Here in this country a race of people once existed whose monuments and relics are impressive evidence that they were far above the kind of man who, so far as there is anything to show, next preceded or next followed them on this continent. That man was here in or near the glacial times can not with reason be doubted. The few forms of simple, roughly-shaped stone weapons—exceedingly crude things, all of them—found in the glacial gravel-beds, and similar ones in the glacial rubbish on or near the surface, fairly indicate that man of glacial times was a rude, fierce, savage creature whose unattractive life was a struggle for existence under exceedingly harsh and perilous conditions. His surroundings would have made and kept him such a being were he not already so. The situations in which his miserable relics have been found somewhat definitely associate him with the ice period, which came so long ago, in an era so remote, as we have stated in the preceding chapter, that little may be said of its limits. Professor G. Frederick Wright, in his scholarly work, "The Ice Age in North America," guardedly attributes an antiquity to this man of the glaciers of from eight thousand to ten thousand years. Other capable students of the question assert that it was ten times more remote.

He left little material for his historian. His few trumpery weapons, identical in their crudity, exhibiting little mechanical knowledge and no improvement of one over another, constitute the whole of it. They seem to tell us that his numbers were not large and his worldly experience not prolonged. After this dull glow in the distant gloom, darkness sets in again, and we lose all trace of our ancient friend. Whoever may have followed him in that period of night-time in human history—if there were such an interval—were less considerate than he, for they left nothing behind them to tell us of their sojourn.

However many the years that may have intervened—and who can tell how many, or how long the period lasted?—the curtain finally rolled back, and there was revealed, as we have said, the dawn of a comparative civilization from a new people who flocked in and occupied the land. Whether as conquering invaders driving older inhabitants before them and taking the country by the prowess of their legions, or as peace-seeking colonists who found nothing more formidable than the wild animals of the region to dispute possession, is not known; nor is there any way of learning. All we know is that an apparently intelligent race of people appeared in great numbers, well advanced in knowledge, with evident capacity for taking care of themselves and dominating a great empire. Denver stands in the southwestern borderland of the vast region they once occupied, and their monuments and relics almost compel us to regard them as having been a distinct, a nearly unique type of humanity.

They were the strange nation of "Mound Builders," of whom so much and yet so little is known; and whose history, or the lack of it, is a most fascinating mystery in the annals of the human race. Some of their modern commentators have attributed to them an era somewhere near four thousand five hundred years ago; but there is no authority much better than the common privilege of guessing, for even this approximation. They came, they saw, and if they did not conquer, it was probably unnecessary to do so, and not because of lack of numbers or intelligence.

Who and what they were, whence they came, how long they stayed, are questions to which instead of definite answers only vague surmises can be offered—so vague that silence might seem preferable. They lived and multiplied and flourished, and spread over the country until their dominion embraced all the vast territory drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, stretching from the Alleghany ranges on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west; and from the northern boundary of the United States to the Gulf of Mexico.

They were also in Florida and other localities in the southeast, and occupied the western end of the State of New York. By way of the upper Missouri they extended their possessions until they included a large section of the country along the Columbia river. The name by which they are known to us was derived from the character of many of their works, though their mounds are only a part of the various structures of earth and stone they left behind them in extraordinary numbers everywhere they went.

They disappeared as if the earth had opened and swallowed them in its depths.

A circle three hundred miles of radius, embracing the mouths of the Missouri and Ohio rivers, and with the city of St. Louis as its focus, would define a region that appears to have been the general center of their population, though not of their territory. It was densely populated by them. The familiar appellation "Mound City," applied to St. Louis, was derived from the great number of mounds formerly existing on the site of that city.

From that center their people were distributed over the broad empire that passed under their control. Above St. Louis on the east side of the river stands one of their most ambitious works; the great mound of Cahokia, which may be taken as a type of its class. This huge elevation is a pyramid ninety-seven feet high, two of its sides seven hundred feet long at the base, and the other two, five hundred feet long. It stands with the cardinal points of the compass, and on the south side was a terrace one hundred and sixty feet by three hundred feet, reached by a graded approach. The top of the mound is truncated, making a level surface two hundred feet by four hundred and fifty feet. On this, stood a small conical mound ten feet high in which many human bones were buried. On the Missouri river was another ambitious work, but of a different character. This was a great enclosure surrounding six hundred acres of land. Some very large mounds and many small ones are found in the two Dakotas, where there seems to have been another broad area thickly populated. On the headwaters of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers was another exceedingly populous district; and the land of Nebraska and Kansas is also strewn with their works and relics.

Whatever else the Mound Builders may have been, they were beyond all question a race of tireless workers. If they did not serve the Lord, they surely were diligent in the business of their lives, Nowhere in the world has an unknown, an utterly forgotten people, left behind them so much enduring work of their hands as these old-time folks builded.

Thousands of their curious earth-works are distributed over the country, bearing silent but impressive testimony to the presence in a far-off time of a great, industrious and intelligent population. When it is considered that these vast and abundant works were probably the result of patient toil by human muscle alone, they seem to indicate in their builders something of the diligence, methods and purposes associated with the pyramid-and-temple-building races of ancient Egypt, with whom, its is thought by some antiquarians, these people may have had common descent from a more remotely ancient race.

However, much uncertainty exists as to the purpose for which these structures were made. Many of them appear to have been military fortifications, and would still do very well in that capacity in modern warfare. These usually occupy commanding positions on elevations well chosen for defensive purposes. Considered as fortifications, they were intelligently located and shrewdly planned in all their details, and the conclusion that they were intended as permanent garrison points for large forces of men, is not easily avoided. Some of the more pretentious undertakings of this character were surrounded by ditches, and had artificial lakes or reservoirs in the center with capacity for supplying a large army with water for many months; arrangements which indicate intelligent military perceptions. Of the mounds, many were burial places and probably intended as monuments to chieftains above whose bodies they were reared. Some of these mounds, the loftier ones, may have been used for signaling purposes by fires on their summits—the scriptural column of smoke by day, and the pillar of fire by night. The earth at the tops of this class of mounds still shows the effect of fire, and has mingled in it ashes and charcoal. The effect of fire is also present in the mounds known to be places of sepulture, suggesting the sacrifices and burnt offerings of ancient peoples in other parts of the world.

Indications are not lacking that wives and attendants were cruelly compelled to accompany the departed lord of the household to comfort and wait upon him in the unknown land to which he had gone. The presence of charred human bones, and personal ornaments, in fire-marked strata above that in which the unburned bones and belongings of a buried individual are found in the same mound, points plainly to such a custom. In other mounds, containing no evidence of being places of sepulture, such charred bones are found in the burnt clay, in company with various personal adornments. These were probably places of human sacrifices. That these people believed in a state of future existence is shown by their practice of burying with their dead an outfit of weapons and implements, cooking and other utensils, likely to come handy in the great Hereafter.

The Mound Builders probably were a warlike people, but further than this they must have been from necessity, industrious tillers of the soil—a busy race of farmers in times of peace, at least. So large a population as they numbered could not have existed by the precarious methods of the red man of historic times, whose hunting grounds here on earth were his chief dependence, and whose ideas of heaven centered in fairer lands where game would be abundant and easily brought to pot. For the sparse Indian population anywhere, agriculture afforded only a secondary food supply, wholly dependent on the inclination of the squaw to work; and here on the plains little or nothing was planted or cultivated. But for the swarming multitudes of the other people, tilling the soil must have been the main chance. Traces of artificial irrigation—remains of what appear to have been dams and canals—belonging to the same age and race, have been found, indicating the agricultural character of the numerous, energetic, busy population.

They were good mechanics and their hardened copper tools such as axes, adzes, chisels and drills, found in the mounds were fashioned very like those of the present time. Slender tubes of stone a foot or more in length, made by drilling, are as accurate as the bore of a rifle and so round and straight in their outlines as to indicate knowledge of the lathe. They understood the principle of the rifle and gave to the form of their flint arrowheads the "twist" that the spirally grooved barrel of the modern weapon imparts to the motion of the bullet. In addition to shaping in stone fine examples of tools, weapons, ornaments and objects probably of a religious or symbolic character, they were ingenious workers in metals, and wrought from copper, lead and silver, many creditable implements, utensils and ornamental things. They appear to have valued silver highly, and would hammer it out into thin sheets with which they covered copper or stone ornaments so deftly as to almost escape detection of the joining lines. In their sculpture they creditably reproduced the human features, and their pottery was gracefully modeled, and shows much artistic skill in its embellishments. The marks of saw teeth are seen on some apparently unfinished ornaments, and as their porphyry carvings will turn the edges of our ordinary steel knives, they must have had tools of some highly tempered metal. They were great smokers, and pipes of many designs—the heads of men, forms of birds and animals—finely carved and finished, are found in great numbers, some being amusing caricatures.

Map of part of the Mississippi Valley, showing, as indicated by dots, the location of more conspicuous works of the Mound Builders within the mapped area.

They had acquired control of iron ores and possessed weapons made of that metal. They also understood the art of weaving, as shuttles and fragments of cloth have been found among their relics. All along kindred lines they seem to have been well advanced. That they possessed a system of weights is shown by a pair of bracelets found on the arms of a skeleton in one of their mounds; they were duplicates in size and each weighed precisely four ounces. Their sculptures and carvings show much progress and considerable art, and their ingenuity produced many curious musical instruments. They adorned their persons with necklaces of copper or silver beads, or of shells; and made bracelets and finger-rings of silver or copper. In other fashions of arraying themselves they appear to have had many of the enlightened vanities and weaknesses of our own times.

That the Mound Builders were a progressive race is shown by their acquisition of metals and their skill in working them. They were passing away from the age of stone. Whether, considering them as invaders, they brought their productive and artistic knowledge with them, is, of course, a question.

They had long been far out of the mental darkness that surrounded savage man. Their elaborate earth-works prove them to have been good civil engineers and to have had a definite system of measurements. In addition to raising great mounds in the forms of both cones and pyramids, they erected circles, squares, octagons, angles and large enclosures which were accurate in all their lines. These were built up of earth, from ten to fifteen feet high, like a railway embankment, and in such work the modern engineer can do but little better. Some of the large enclosures were adapted to great civic and religious festivities and may have been used for such purposes. In Wisconsin they reared huge earthen effigies of men, and of birds and animals, one of the latter being a reproduction of the form of an elephant. This shows that they were either contemporaries of the great mastodon which one flourished in large numbers over the wide valley of the Mississippi, or that they had definite knowledge of him or his descendants. The figure of a big serpent, seven hundred feet long, with a nearly round object in its open mouth, still existing in the Ohio river valley, hints at knowledge of Eve's unfortunate transactions long ago.

In Wyoming the relics of these people are plentiful and survive in fair preservation. Among them have been found shafts and other excavated evidences of mining operations, or attempts at them.

As we have heretofore said, Denver stands in the southwestern border-land of the great domain once occupied by this strange race. The plains of Colorado seem to have been part of their west-southwest frontier, and have revealed, up to this time, only a few somewhat obscure traces of the ancient presence of these people upon limited sections of them, and none in the near vicinity of Denver.

In a communication on this subject to the editor of this work, Mr. J. W. Powell, Director of the American Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, said:

"The ancients of Colorado, so far as indications show, belonged to the western, or in the broad sense, to the Pacific slope races; including in this expression the entire mountain and intermontane areas. If it were desirable to speculate from the few and insignificant evidences obtained, we would be disposed to believe that Colorado, except along her southern and southwestern borders, has played a less important role in prehistoric times than the areas immediately south and west. The remains in her south and southwest areas must be classed with those of the so-called Pueblo region. Aside from these there have been but few monuments discovered of which notice has appeared, and these of uncertain character as to classification, and of relatively minor importance. Possibly careful exploration might bring to light farther and more important monuments. Our conclusions are based on what have been discovered."

There is nothing known that indicates any connection between the true Indian people of our historic period who occupied the same territory, and this teeming race of toilers. Leconte, one of the most eminent authorities, says they "were probably a different race from the hunter tribes of Indians." The two appear to have had nothing in common; but to have been wide apart in all their habits, methods and customs. The Indian was thoroughly a savage, and nothing else; while these people were certainly far above that condition. The builder of the mounds must have been incessantly at work at his farming, fighting and building; the Indian abhorred work in all its forms and would have none of it. The one made many large and enduring constructions; the Indian never built anything. The ancient people were skillful engineers; the Indian had no such knowledge, nor had he any use for it. The first were good mechanics and artisans; to have been either the Indian would have had to labor, and that settled it so far as he was concerned. The Mound Builders were permanent occupants of localities; the Indian was a rover and any place he happened to be in the region he claimed, was as much a home as he cared to have. The extraordinary character of the Mound Builders' works and the remarkable relics they contain render it almost certain that these people bore no relation to the races inhabiting the country when Columbus discovered America.

Their structures, unlike those usually found as reminders of extinct semi-civilized tribes, are not confined to any single, particular purpose, but their great variety of form points to an equal variety of purpose. Who these builders were and what were the uses of their structures will probably remain forever undetermined.

The Indians of our times had no traditions nor legends that could in any way be associated with a knowledge of this mysterious people. They had observed and noticed the many structures of strange form, and clearly the work of human hands; they had gathered, utilized, and by the hard and patient labor of their squaws, imitated the stone weapons and implements to be found on the surface of the ground; but they had neither knowledge nor tradition of the people who made the objects which attracted their attention, and those which they found adapted to their daily necessities of the chase and their frequent needs in warfare. The earthworks and other evidences of human agency aroused their stoical wonder, while the tools and weapons were of the utmost usefulness to them in their daily business. This absence of all tradition, all knowledge of a preceding race, while possessing legends of so remote an event as the scriptural deluge, has been generally accepted as an important part of the evidence that the Indians probably followed long after the Mound Builders had gone the way ordained for them by fate, leaving behind a multitude of enduring monuments to their numerous and protracted existence in a vast empire of territory.

It is, of course, more than likely that such a people dwelt in permanent habitations, but no evidence of it is known to exist. If they used separate dwellings, or if they lived in community houses like those of the Cliff Dwellers, they made them of materials that long since disappeared. Their occupation of latitudes where winter cold is extreme would lead so intelligent a people to provide substantial and comfortable domiciles for themselves, unless they were here in that distant period in the past when a semi-tropical climate is believed to have prevailed over what is now the United States. None of their surviving structures were habitations, and all of them are built of earth, or stone, or of both—the most durable materials man has found for his edifices.

A remote antiquity is to be attributed to this strange race, and it is probable that their sojourn covered many centuries. Finding in their mounds charred remains of full-sized grains of "Indian corn" is one evidence of this. The plant is indigenous to North America, yet these people had cultivated and used it for so long a period that it had become as we know it now. Its wild original of probably dwarfish growth was unknown to the Indian of historic times. He knew it only in its present highly developed form and had no tradition of the source from which he obtained it. The earthworks raised by these people are not found on the lowest of the river terraces which mark the slow subsidence of the streams, and as there is no good reason why their builders should have avoided erecting them on that terrace, while they raised them promiscuously on all the others, it not unreasonably follows that this terrace has been formed since the works were built, and that great rivers have become small streams since this lost race vanished.

There are reasons for believing that, in the later period of their occupation, at least, they were constantly menaced by powerful neighbors, and that they had a continuous struggle for self-preservation. That they feared grave danger from the east is shown by the great numbers of elaborate and evidently defensive works they maintained along their eastern border where it neared the Alleghanies. It is suggested by some theorists that the Cliff Dwellers were a far later people, and that their tenantless homes in the southwest were outer fortresses erected by the Mound Builders to guard against danger coming from that quarter; that the latter were forced to abandon them and leave them to be utilized as dwellings by the later people with whom we associate them. But this theory is far-fetched and decidedly untenable.

If the Mound Builders were overwhelmed by other people, an event of which there is not the faintest evidence or indication, which side survived the contest and possessed the country for themselves and their descendants? There is nothing to show that the Mound Builders were either victors or vanquished, nor did any tribes of modern times preserve the slightest traditional knowledge, or other trace, of descent from them.

All attempts to establish a lineal connection between them and the Indians of the Mississippi valley who were occupying the country at the time of its discovery by Europeans, have encountered obstacles that have not been overcome. The Indians were so far below the older people in habits, mechanical skill, and other manifestations of applied intelligence, that no theory of subsequent racial degradation can be made to fit the extraordinary circumstances of the case. It is in no sense probable that a people of direct or indirect descent, even though it led through many centuries, would have utterly lost all knowledge and methods of their ancestors, and would have been so completely destitute of every evidence of kinship as the Indians were of this old-time race.

That a unified, organized, comparatively civilized nation of people should vanish like a light snuffed out, leaving not a vestige of written or symbolic record of their times and achievements, so far as known, is one of the profound mysteries associated with the history of mankind. The man of the glacial period left nothing of the sort, but he should not be reproached for failing to have done better than he did. These people, however, were advanced in knowledge, and measuring them by their works, they were numerous, orderly, intelligent and skillful.

It has been assumed, though without any conclusive evidence, and mainly because it is about the best that can be done, that this race was next in succession to the half-human, half-animal man who left buried in the drift of the glaciers nothing but his crude weapons of stone to tell us he had been here. Was our glacial friend overpowered and exterminated by the strange strangers who swarmed over the country? Or was there a long interval of years between the going of the one and the coming of the others? These are problems alike shrouded in the mists of a hoary antiquity.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CLIFF-DWELLERS—LOCALITY, AREA AND CONDITION OF THE REGION THEY OCCUPIED—MAGNITUDE AND EXTENT OF RUINS—VARIETY AND CHARACTER OF HANDIWORK—PROBABLE GREAT ANTIQUITY—THEORIES OF ORIGIN AND FATE.

Turning to the southwest we encounter the ruined monuments of another strange people, whose manners, practices, and modes of life appear to have been radically different from those of the ancient race we have been considering, but who long since vanished from the stage of human action, leaving behind them much that tells us of their presence there in the past, but little that enlightens us in what we would most like to learn.

There is just one place in the United States where a man—or a woman, either—may set foot on a spot and be standing on soil belonging to four of the great political sub-divisions of the Nation; the four being Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona. There, the right-angled corners of those two States and two Territories meet in a land strewn with ruined antiquities, the relics of one of the more singular races, or varieties, of humanity of which we have any knowledge.

The region once inhabited by these extinct people embraces a large portion of New Mexico and Arizona; the southeastern part, nearly one-third, of Utah; and the southwestern portion of Colorado; in all, about six thousand square miles. The existing Pueblo Indians occupy but small areas of the great wreck-strewn field, that is literally filled with the crumbling monuments and broken rubbish of a long departed people.

The number and extent of these relics, scattered over so large an area of country, most of which is now arid and desert, show that at some time in the past, the region was capable of supporting a large population of some approach to civilization. Certain portions of it appear to have been densely populated. Whether these people were peculiarly adapted to such a country as it now is, and could support themselves upon its soil under existing circumstances, or whether great climatic changes have occurred since the period of their occupation, reducing the region to its present comparatively unproductive condition, are questions no one has been able to satisfactorily answer.

It seems more probable, however, that these wrecked habitations do not represent an era so remote that time enough has intervened to bring radical changes of climate. In their time the territory may not have been quite so desolate as it is now, for five hundred or a thousand years may have wrought some changes in it, though such processes are of long duration. There is nothing to indicate that the climate of Europe has materially altered in ten centuries, and there is certainly no perceptible modification of that of the United States, generally, since the discoverers landed on its shores.

This belittered territory in the southwest was evidently inhabited by a peculiar people, from a great antiquity. They appear to have dwelt, in the earlier periods, out in the open, on what are now the sandy plains and parched mesas, where large districts are thickly encumbered with the remains of their handiwork. Later they, or those who survived the cause of their change of habitation, took to the cliffs in the river canons, where, judging from the magnitude, numbers and condition of their domiciles, they must have maintained themselves through many generations. There are, however, some theories to the effect that the ruins out in the open represent the work of another, later, and quite different people. But the preponderance of opinion is that the ancient, time-worn, foot-worn homes of men in the cliffs, were built and resorted to after circumstances had made untenable their previous dwelling places in the valleys and on the mesas, themselves of great size and with every indication of profound age present in what remains of them. All the conditions point plainly to human occupation of that region from remotely by-gone times by people not savages as were our Indians.

We will not go further into consideration of the relics of these strange beings, than to give some account of those of the Cliff Dwellers, found in such profusion in the southwestern part of Colorado, in the canons of the Rio De Los Mancos—the "River of the Cripples" to the Spanish-speaking people, and a tributary of the San Juan. If this stream did not receive its name from the many badly crippled buildings of the Cliff Dwellers, past which it flows, it might well have done so. In this Mancos country the most remarkable, the grandest, and most picturesque ruins of these structures yet discovered, are situated.

Ruins on the Mesa.

Across to the north and east of this district are mountain chains as beautiful as any in the world. The Mancos valley or canon is a deep, river-worn gorge through the great Mesa Verde, having lateral canons branching out from either side. At the northern opening of this gorge it spreads to a width of about five miles; at its southern end where it expands into the San Juan valley, its width is about three miles; intermediately the gorge narrows in several places to a width of less than a half-mile. Through this gulf the River Mancos, once a vastly larger stream, now a slender ribbon of water, winds its way down to the River San Juan. In portions of the year the lateral canons all have streams flowing through them; at other seasons their beds, are dry and water may not be found within long distances. Approximately, the district of the Mancos canons is, throwing it into a rectangular form lying from northeast to southwest, ten or twelve miles in width by thirty miles in length. The Mesa Verde, thus cut and seamed by these gorges, is a plateau rising from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the surrounding valleys, embracing upwards of six hundred square miles. It is covered with a thick growth of pinon, juniper and cedar, and with coarse grasses, struggling for existence. It was so named by Dr. J. S. Newberry, of the Macomb exploring party of 1859; and at that time grass was growing on many of its precipitously sloping sides. A large portion of it lies within what was recently the Ute Indian reservation, a long east and west strip fitting into the extreme southwest corner of Colorado.

On the mesa and in the wider portions of the adjacent valleys are found the ruins which were certainly the earlier habitations and structures made and used by these people; in recesses in the faces of the canons' walls are the cliff dwellings, proper, many of great size, that bear testimony to a later construction and occupation by the same industrious race of builders. The remains of the apparently older buildings indicate that the edifices were much larger than those in the cliffs, and that some were capable of housing a couple of thousand people each; one being thought to have contained more than five hundred rooms.

The lingering note of this land of canon and mesa harmonizes with our conceptions of what the landscape of a dying world might be. Rent and seamed and scarred in battle with the elements through long ages, exhausted by the weary struggle, its strife-worn aspects leave in the beholder's thoughts something of their tones of sadness.

It is but fifty years ago that this region of ruins was first visited by Americans. In "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance" in 1846-47-48, by Lieutenant J. H. Simpson of the United States army, an account is given of the discovery of deserted ruins in that country. In 1859 a United States geological surveying party under Captain J. N. Macomb made some explorations on the Mesa Verde and in the canons of the Mancos. Some of the wreckage of the district was carefully observed, sketched, and noted, but as the party's visit was for geological research, not so much attention was given the other as should have been. The published documents consisted chiefly of the report of Dr. J. S. Newberry, containing only passing allusions to the ruins which, therefore, did not become generally known. Later, a prospector named Osborne visited the district, but did not go far into the canons. He discovered the structure known as the "Brownstone Front." The United States surveys under Hayden in 1874-76, gave the region merited attention. The district was in the territory assigned to Mr. William H. Holman, and as a consequence the Hayden Reports contained accounts of these antiquities commensurate with their magnitude and archæological importance. Since then the public has been advised of their extent, character and interest by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and by many writers whose observations, and more or less conflicting conclusions, have appeared in books, magazines and newspapers; so that we have now an interesting literature on the subject, of considerable volume. In one of his reports Mr. Holmes said:

> "In a number of ways the valley of the Rio San Juan possesses unusual interest to the antiquarian. Until within the latter half of the nineteenth century it remained wholly unknown. The early Spanish expeditions are not known to have penetrated its secluded precincts, and its cliff-houses, its ruined pueblos, and curious towers have been so long deserted that it is doubtful whether even a tradition of their occupation has been preserved, either by the nomadic tribes of the district, or by the modern pueblos of the south. Certain it is that no foreign hand has influenced the art of this district, and no Spanish adventurer has left trace of his presence."

The magnitude and numbers of these surviving but dilapidated structures are astounding. Some of them look like great feudal castle-fortresses, with their massive walls, lofty towers and keeps, capable of accommodating a small army as a garrison which might withstand the assaults of ten times as many besiegers for years.

Of the remains of the presumably older buildings, all of which are far nearer complete destruction than those lodged in the cliffs of the canons, some impressive examples are found in the Montezuma valley, immediately northwest of the Mancos. These were visited by Mr. Holmes, and in an account of them, published by the Bureau of Ethnology in 1878, he gave the dimensions of two. One is one hundred feet long, eighty feet wide, and the walls in their ruined condition stood about fifteen feet high at that time. The larger one of this group is two hundred feet long and one hundred and eighty feet wide. The stone used in their construction is a fossiliferous limestone, brought from an outcropping at the base of the Mesa Verde, a mile away. As these people had no means of transportation save that to which human muscle could be applied, moving their building material was a prodigious task, for Mr. Holmes estimated this assemblage of structures to have contained one million, five hundred thousand cubic feet of masonry.

One of the largest and in many respects the most remarkable of all the structures still standing in the cliffs, though much broken, is the "Cliff Palace," so named by Richard Wetherill, its discoverer. It is in one of the branch canons, and stands in a huge cavern, the roof of which is a great natural arch. This building occupies a space four hundred and twenty-five feet long, one hundred and eight feet deep, and eighty feet high in the central front. On the ground floor alone one hundred and twenty-four different apartments have been identified; and the ruins indicate that the building originally contained several stories. The structure appears to have been a growth by successive additions. Back of it in the cavern are small buildings standing on ledges and in crannies. This wonderful structure with its dismantled towers, ramparts and bastions, and its great walls, appears like the palace-fortress of the ruler of a powerful nation. When the morning sun shines into the vast cavern, illuminating its recesses, and bringing out the lines of the great ruined building and its accessories, the effect is indescribably fine when seen from the top of the opposite cliff, a thousand feet or more across the canon. The picture is marvelous!

This structure, which may be reached by steps in the cliff, was a great community-house and the home of many hundred people. The rooms were of various shapes and sizes, those in one of the round towers being upward of sixteen feet in diameter, and several have fire-places. In them have been found a number of skulls and other human bones, some perfect pieces and much broken pottery, weapons, fragments of cloth, and other belongings of their former tenants. Some of these circular rooms in the buildings have stone benches around next the wall, and a fire-pit in the center of the floor.

In another branch canon, the Navajo, the remains of over a hundred large buildings, containing thirty rooms, and more, are found. Some are mere heaps of rubbish; others in fair preservation. Of the latter, one is three hundred feet long and parts of it are standing three stories in height. Its surroundings show that originally it was a terraced building five stories high, the lower two benches standing outside the arch of the cavern and lower than its floor. From the wall in one portion of the structure, beams project outward and apparently once bore the floor of a balcony. We may imagine the young cliff-lady sitting there in the pleasant evenings listening to the strains of music brought forth from a flute by the young cliff-swain below. They had flutes; one in good condition having been found among their relics.

The circumstance of an old spruce tree, eighty feet high and three and a quarter feet in diameter twenty inches above the ground, which grew from the hillside portion of these ruins, gave them the name of "Spruce Tree House." This tree fell a few years ago, but the building had crumbled under the weight of its years, and the thin soil was accumulated among the debris by the scurrying winds, before the seed of that old tree fell there, sprouted, took root and began to grow—and how long did it take for all that to be done?

At a remote place in this canon, far from the river, is a great arch sheltering the ruins of a still more extensive structure, standing on a ledge nearly five hundred feet long, the arch rising in the center about one hundred feet above the natural platform. This great space was filled by the building, of which one end is standing three stories high. As this end is crowded in under the lower part of the arch, the central front of the structure was probably five or six stories high. Below and in front of the ledge are the tumbled-down walls, overgrown by trees and bushes, of the lower terraces of the structure which were built outside the shelter of the arch. In its complete form this mighty fortress must have been almost impregnable. Its standing walls in many places are still firm, and the general appearance of the building indicates that it was all of simultaneous construction, and capable of sheltering a small army; but there is now no water anywhere near it. As with most of the other large cliff-houses, this one has small structures stuck in around it in the farther and lower recesses of the cavern, and upon the ledges above. One of these, a small box of a thing, is perched where it commands a fine view of the canon, and has a number of loop-holes through the walls, at the level of the eye. It certainly was a watch-tower from which to observe the approach of danger. This great ruin, the largest in the region, has been called the "Crenellated Fortress," but Chapin, acting upon the suggestion of the peculiar little tower, calls it the "Loop-Hole Fortress."

"Cliff Palace." (Photographed by Charles R. Borst.)

It does not seem probable that these Cliff Dwellers flourished in a period remote enough to have made them contemporaries of the Mississippi Valley Mound Builders, though their origin, progress, place in the chronology of history, and their fate are surrounded by too much obscurity to be disposed of dogmatically. Those who ascribe to them a remote period in the past, base their beliefs on the lithic character of their weapons and tools, and point to their ignorance of the use of metals, though occupying a region abounding in them, as evidence of their great antiquity in the career of the human race. The Mound Builders, and the ancient peoples of Mexico and Peru were skilled metal-workers, but these Cliff-Dwellers appear to have been wholly unacquainted with the production or utility of any of the metals. No metallic object or utensil of their times has yet been found in or near their abandoned habitations. Had they, it is said, been contemporaries or successors to the other peoples, it would seem probable that they would have either developed some such knowledge, or would have acquired it from their southern neighbors, for it is unlikely that there would have been no communication between them and the ancient Mexicans, had the two flourished in the same period.

The Navajo Indians of the present time, and dwelling in that general region, are metal-workers of much skill, and have been for many generations. They deny having acquired their knowledge from the Spaniards or any other white men, and claim to have practiced the art for so long a period that they have no traditions of a time when they did not possess it.

These ancient people were not tall, but rather under what we are accustomed to considering the medium stature. They were round-headed—distinctly so, and the effect of artificially deforming the head with papoose boards is present in some of the recovered skulls, which have a posterior flattening. Only a portion of the observed skulls are thus deformed, and whether it were a distinguishing mark reserved for their more prominent families or clans, or a new fashion in heads later introduced, is an undetermined question. Nor were all the deformed heads similarly distorted. Some were angularly flattened at the back, the inclination of the plane being forward across the crown; while others were so treated upon the rear upper corners of the skull, if we may use such an expression with reference to a nearly round object. Whether this were a gradation of distinction among those who were entitled to some such variation from the common run of cliff-dwelling skulls, or merely a change of fashion in the forms of distinguished heads, is another unsettled question.

Many of their habitations are perched aloft from five hundred to eight hundred feet above the bottom of the canons, in seemingly inaccessible nooks in shallow caverns of the cliffs, and upon precipices that appear to defy man's invasion of their summits. To reach and use these abodes in the daily routine of life must have required of their tenants the climbing agility of cats or squirrels. Some of the dwellings, sheltered by overhanging ledges, cling to the beetling walls of the canons, like the clay-built homes of barn-swallows under the eaves of a farmer's storehouse.

These edifices give evidence of most creditable architectural advancement, and in their construction their builders proved themselves possessors of much mechanical skill. The walls are plumb and correctly angled, while the openings for doors and windows are square and true. They do not appear to have understood the principle of the arch, as all the openings are angular. Most of the stones laid in the walls are shaped; not smoothly dressed, of course, but reduced to forms appropriate to their positions in the walls. The material used was the stone of the adjacent cliffs, and the mortar is apparently an alkaline silt eroded from them. Rooms in many of the dwellings have their walls plastered, the work evidently having been done solely with the hands, as numerous finger-marks and impressions left by the ancient workmen attest; and when they became black and grimy from smoke and dirt they were given another thin coat of plaster, some rooms having many layers thus laid on, with stratifications of soot and dirt regularly between them.

In frequent instances the walls are plastered, or rather, surfaced up with plaster, on the outside. The stone is laid in fairly regular courses, usually with binding pieces at the corners, of larger size, the walls generally being from twelve to thirty inches thick. Occasionally a domicile was made by merely building a wall across the front of a recess in the cliffs, but the greater number are compact structures within themselves. They are of various sizes, from those containing four or five rooms, up to the so-called "Cliff Palace" containing on the ground floor alone one hundred and twenty-four separate apartments. Most of the rooms are square, or rectangular, and average as large as those in a well-planned dwelling house of our times, though a considerable number are small enough to be called closets or bins. Many are windowless, and with but the one interior door-opening, must have been as dark as the conventional dungeon, in the absence of artificial light. Usually the outer corners of the structures were built in the form of circular towers rising above the level of the main part of the building. The interior of these towers afforded round rooms of larger size. When it is considered that the builders of these edifices, had no tools excepting those they fashioned from other stones, of flint or granite, their work gives proof, not only of the presence of menacing enemies, but of good craftmanship, endless patience and tireless industry.

That they were not an isolated people, far removed from contact with others, is proved by the fortress-like character of their homes in the cliffs. That they had not always lived perched up there in their cage-like domiciles is likewise shown by the widely distributed ruins in the valleys and over the surrounding uplands, identical in structural character, aside from the changes made necessary by the unlike locations; and by the weapons, pottery and other objects found in these presumably earlier habitations. The conviction that they had become a harried, hunted people, beset by feared, inveterate and destructive enemies, comes to the beholder of their strange, crag-borne, desolated homes. The earlier visitors to these places found many evidences of this. In several of the buildings groups of unburied skeletons were discovered, in positions indicating efforts at escape, with skulls crushed in as if by heavy weapons, but all lying where their former owners were struck down in what was probably the final act of a great tragedy.

The ruins in the valley and on the mesa are in exposed situations without any natural security, or special precautions for defense. They plainly seem to have been the habitations of a mild, unmenaced, agricultural or pastoral race which had enjoyed a long period of peace. Compared with the circumstances of these evidently previous abodes of these people, their later dwellings in the cliffs unmistakably seem to have been built as the refuges of bedeviled communities forced by enemies to leave their former habitations.

Some of the caverns in which these ruined abodes are built, are very large, and appear to have been excavated by the action of the elements. The river unquestionably did much of the work by its currents and eddies in ancient times when streams were great. There was a time when the waters of the Mancos lapped the stone floors on which these edifices stand. The old architects planned and built their houses to suit the natural circumstances of the chosen location, as there is no evidence that they attempted to enlarge the recesses.

There are some buildings so situated in the cliffs that to gain access to them the visitor of an exploring turn of mind must have mechanical assistance and safeguards. To reach them one must be swung down from above by means of a lariat hitched around the waist or under the shoulders, and the wise adventurer will be cautious that he does not prematurely discard the friendly cable. Most of them, however, are reached by steps cut or built into the cliffs, and at a proper height in the cliff wall hand-holds are cut in such form as to afford the hand a secure grasp. The inner, cup-shaped parts of these hand-holds have apparently been worn deeper than they originally were by the wind keeping eddies of sand grinding them out. In climbing even these more passable stairways, persons subject to giddiness would experience difficulty.

These queer folks were good potters and made great quantities of earthenware—water jars, jugs, bowls, crocks, mugs and the like; and it is noticeable that all are for useful purposes, their makers not having reached the stage of the alleged ornamental vase. Large water jars, holding several gallons, are no more than an eighth of an inch thick, and when struck will ring like a bell. Much of their work bears geometric figures put on in colors, some of these decorative patterns being artistic in their design and execution. On some bowls the figures of turkeys were cleverly produced. Others were relieved on their outer surfaces by corrugations or indentations, and by pinchings with the fingers after the fashion a housewife follows in bringing together the edges of her pie crusts. There was little monotony of appearance in the pottery, two pieces rarely being exactly alike. The vessels are shapely in form, some of them, indeed, being very graceful in their outlines. One kind, called "coiled" ware, was made by superimposed coiling of strands or ropes of moist clay until the vessel was thus built up to completion, the strands being pressed down to perfect cohesion. All their ware, some of which appears to have been glazed, was probably wholly the work of the hands, as there is no evidence that they knew or practiced the principle of the potter's wheel. The prodigious quantities of broken pottery with which the whole region is strewn can only be accounted for upon the theory of a very long occupation of the country. It is found everywhere. There are mounds and reefs of it buried from a few inches to a few feet under the surface by the wind-shifted dust and sands. It would take the domestic disasters of many generations of the whole of Denver, to produce as much wrecked ware as may be found on any square mile of the six thousand embraced in that territory down there.

In our Historical Society's collection of pottery from the Cliff Dwellings are several vases and bowls ornamented with designs which, in the judgment of a German antiquarian who visited Denver a few years ago, are identical with those upon similar objects found in India, and attributed to the Aryan people the antiquity of which takes us back to the dawn of the history of the human race.

The Cliff Dwellers understood and practiced the art of weaving and made garments of coarse cotton cloth, though it is not likely they were abundantly supplied with clothing. Fragments of what seem to have been blankets also appear. Under an inverted empty water jar which was buried in the rubbish in one of the houses, was found, a few years ago, a strand or small skein of soft, well-spun cotton yarn in good condition. Whether these people grew cotton, or acquired it from more southern tribes, is undetermined. Pieces of buckskin also are present among their personal belongings, but not large enough to indicate their original size or purpose. They made robes or blankets out of feathers, apparently those of the turkey, which were singular pieces of handiwork. These fabrics were wrought by tying overlaid feathers to a coarse netting of cord made from the fiber of the yucca or "Spanish Bayonet" plant, the work being very ingeniously done. They also had a cloth which was at first supposed to be of wool, but which proved to be of milk-weed fiber. They must have adorned themselves plentifully with strands of rude beads, of small bones, and of shells, if we may judge from the variety and quantity of home made articles of that kind strewn around. That they had acquired the tobacco or some other smoking habit is told by the pipes that they left. Their sandals, of which many have been found, were woven or plaited, some very closely, from various fibers they could command and utilize; and out of such fibers they made brushes, too. They also had mats and matting made of coarse grasses and reeds, and of willow twigs. The mummified bodies of their dead have usually been found wrapped in an outer sheet of matting. They produced good baskets, hampers and other wicker work to which, properly speaking, much of their matting belongs. Fragments of all these things, in every stage of dilapidation, are found in the houses. In carrying their burdens they used raw-hide straps through the handles of their hampers, jars, and other receptacles. The yucca fiber was made into cords and ropes, of which specimens exist. Certain sticks, shaped something like a sword, found in the ruins, were puzzling until it was seen that they were used to hatchel out fibers.

In several places large jars were sunk in the ground near the doors—probably as little cisterns for the reception of rain-water, whenever any happened to fall. In one house a bowl of walnuts was found—a nut that is not produced in that section of the country nor in Colorado, anywhere. They do not appear to have had any domesticated animals as, thus far, no remains of such creatures have been found in or around their habitations; but they do appear to have had the turkey, or some fowl closely resembling it.

Their weapons were, as with all races of men destitute of metals, limited to a few varieties of stone devices, but such as they were, they had plenty of them. Stone battle-axes of the usual form—of granite or flint, with a groove around the poll part where the wooden handle was lashed fast, are numerous; and so are flint spearheads of the willow-leaf pattern. Great quantities of flint arrow-points of the familiar shape are mixed in the rubbish everywhere. A bow four feet eight, and one-half inches long, with a string of sinew, has been discovered. Other weapons not found among the relics of ancient people elsewhere, are rounded flint stones, of a nearly uniform size that would snugly pass through a ring two inches in diameter. In the surface of these are carefully chipped slight depressions into which the thumb and first two fingers readily fit, giving the hand an easy, firm grasp upon the missile. It is conjectured that these were thrown by hand from the eminences of the dwellings at enemies in the canon below; and, in the hands of skillful and powerful men, they would inflict fatal injuries upon their human targets. The numbers of these stones in and around the buildings suggest that they were kept in stock much as our old artillerymen stored pyramids of cast-iron balls on their cannon platforms. After use, and departure of the enemy, the stones could be gathered up for another emergency.

"Spruce Tree House." (Photographed by Charles R. Horst.)

These unique weapons—for they were not sling-stones, such as the one our old-time friend David applied so effectively to the boastful Goliah—suggest mention of some peculiar objects seen sticking to the smooth walls of the cliffs and buildings in certain places. These are groups or clusters of splotched, sun-dried discs of clay, now quite hard. To account for these, conjecture again comes to our aid, and points out that they were balls of moist clay, made as boys of our time make snow-balls, and used by boys of that old time for practice-throwing at a target, to fit themselves for using the heavy, rounded flint stones later in life, when called upon to fight the ever-dreaded enemy.

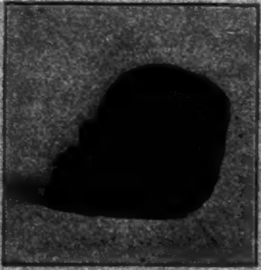
Everything connected with these people's relics seems to tell that they had not only to work very hard for a living, but to fight very hard for an opportunity to do it.

Their domestic utensils, aside from their pottery and basketry, would seem to have been limited to a few simple implements. They ground their corn by hand between flat stones, or pounded it with a stone, the grain being placed for that purpose in a saucer-like depression in another stone. Some of their pottery shows the marks of contact with fire, such as would follow use in boiling and baking food. Bone needles have been found in numbers, and other bones pointed at one end, which could now be used as marline-spikes for splicing ropes, are common. Sticks of hard wood, found charred at one end, were twirled on softer wood to obtain fire by friction. There are stone-tipped drills for making small holes, probably those in their beads and amulets. Stone mortars and pestles, knives and scrapers, and celts for dressing skins; bone awls and shuttles; and wooden needles, about complete the sorry inventory. They tried to keep their edge-tools sharp, for in many places are stones on which the marks of much laborious whetting appear.

The wood used in the buildings was mainly cedar, which, in that preservative climate is well-nigh imperishable. But much of it has disappeared by slow decay to dust for the winds to bear away, affording what is thought by some observers to be additional proof of the great antiquity of the structures. Many of the sills and beams were of good size and were laboriously hewed and squared with dull, clumsy, stone axes. The floors were made of cedar sills, with willow sticks laid close together on them and plastered or cemented over, the result being a fairly level surface. A few rudely-built fireplaces have been found, in which are the ashes and cinders of the inferior quality of coal to be had in the vicinity. Some of the rooms have no openings in their walls, access to them being gained through holes in their ceilings or the roof, thence down by a ladder.

On some of the interior walls, and, in a few instances on smooth places on the cliffs, are primitive attempts at picturing. Outlines of the human figure or parts of it, of the turkey, and of a few animals, with efforts at mural decorations the patterns for which being the same as the ornamentation on certain pieces of pottery. They are all meaningless, or, at best, in some of the life figures, possibly suggestive of isolated incidents. Upon the whole they are considered mere embellishments or the idle achievements of embryo artists, and not intended to be specific records of anything of consequence.

Maize, or Indian corn, was apparently one of their staple foods. In several of the round towers of the buildings, and in some isolated structures in the cliffs, small quantities of cobs and a little shelled corn have been found, indicating that these places were granaries. They also cultivated and used beans and squashes, as evidenced by the remains of these vegetables in the household rubbish. The arable land available for the cultivation of corn and vegetables would now be limited to small areas or patches in the valleys, and it was so then unless great climatic changes have occurred since the time these people occupied that country. This would, by itself, set back the period of their existence to a remote age. But they have left abundant proofs of their knowledge of irrigation, and of the need their meager lands had for it. In this their practice was similar to that of our own times; nourishing their lands with water brought in ditches.



One of their Skulls.

This suggests that the climate has not radically changed since they abandoned their fastness homes and disappeared forever. Buried in the dust and rubbish in their dwellings may yet be found loose grains of corn, with here and there some cobs still holding a few grains in place. These, though hard and shrunken, are probably as large as any of our present growths would be, after centuries of shriveling in an atmosphere so dry that all the moisture in the bodies of the dead was absorbed by it before decay set in. In the plaster on the walls cobs are occasionally firmly embedded, showing that they were put there when the plaster was soft, and that they are as old as the buildings.

The presence of soft, fine auburn hair, turning to gray, attached to some of the skulls found in or near the dwellings, seems to imply that these people were a mixed race, though generally their hair was black. The discovery of a considerable bunch of red hair strengthened this implication, and the two tend toward a conclusion that these Cliff Dwellers were at least not all like the native people now living in that southwest country. These have coarse black hair, and the other colors and textures are not known among those of pure blood. Some writers have asserted that many of the cliff people were white, or nearly so, but conclusive evidence of this is lacking.

We have referred in the foregoing to only a few of the conspicuous ruins, because it is not within the province of this work to take up this subject with any attempt at details. Volumes might be written upon it without exhausting the theme.

Indeed, little more than the surface has been scratched over, both in explorations of the antiquities and in recording the ascertained facts. In recent years the Bureau of Ethnology has given needed attention to the whole region of ruins and a good work has been intelligently and systematically inaugurated, though much of the time has been devoted to the antiquities of New Mexico and Arizona, where very large cliff dwellings are found as well as in the canons of the Mancos.

When it is considered that in these canons of the Mancos, alone, there are probably five hundred separate structures, many of them in the most unexpected places, the opportunities for research may be better understood. Future explorations, and especially excavations among the ruins in the valleys and on the mesas, are likely to reveal many more objects of interest, and may unlock secrets of importance in the history of these people.

Practically the explorations to this time have been confined to the cliff buildings, and little more of excavating has been done than to dig in the dirt and rubbish in them. In the vicinity of the older structures much stuff is buried just under the surface; a low mound, or a ridge, is a dust-covered deposit of relics. To our people it is still a new country. It is not yet a quarter of a century since these strange habitations were first intelligently observed and fairly well described. The land where the village of Mancos stands, a few miles distant, on the Rio Grande Southern railway, was not "taken up" until about twenty years ago, and as late as 1882 was traded for a horse.

A few miles above the canons is located the Wetherills' Alamo Ranch in the valley of the Mancos. These men, the father and five sons, located there some years ago. To their intelligent explorations of the ruins, and co-operation with others, much of the existing knowledge of details is due; they having recovered many objects in perfect condition, or nearly so. Of relics from the cliff dwellings, our State Historical Society has what is probably the most varied and complete collection that has yet been brought together, and one that is of exceeding interest to the antiquarian.

Those who believe that these cliff habitations of Colorado were abandoned long before the Columbian period, find a condition to sustain their views in the absence of all metallic substances from the relics of these people; for had they been occupied by even a few survivors at the time of Spanish inroads in the sixteenth century, those lonely beings would probably have picked up somewhere a few metal objects.

To every intelligent visitor to this unique land several questions at once arise, involving the origin, progress and disappearance of these people. As to the age of the ruined buildings, all is conjecture, nothing being known on which to base a positive statement. There are theories in plenty covering all the questions, no two agreeing, and one worth about as much as another, which is only one way of saying none of them fit all around. In this refusal to fit lies a great difficulty. A theory that seems good at first is soon upset by facts that had not been considered in its construction. In that dry climate the cliff buildings, protected as they are from wind and rain, and undisturbed by man or earthquake, might stand through an indefinite period of time, just as they may have stood five hundred, a thousand, or two thousand years.

We have referred to the round towers, frequently forming the front corners of these buildings. In the valley of the Mancos and among the ruins on the mesa, are found the remains of many isolated towers of similar form. They were mostly built of stone, and are something like the beginnings of huge chimneys. It would be hard to determine their purpose; they might have been watch-towers, places of refuge, or store-houses, or they might have been for uses that do not occur to civilized man. While most of them are now heaps of rubbish, a few are in a fair state of preservation. Pre-historic structures almost identical in form and character with these, are found in India, Sardinia, Ireland, and on the Orkney and Shetland islands. Referring to those in Ireland and on the Orkneys and Shetlands, Sir John Lubbock, the noted English antiquarian, says:

"They have been supposed by some to be Scandinavian, but no similar buildings exist in Norway, Sweden or Denmark, so that this style of architecture is no doubt anterior to the arrival of the Northmen."

Round Tower, Mancos Valley.

We have an engraving of one of these Mancos valley towers. The structure, though in a ruined condition, stood a few years ago about twenty feet high, and in its shape and general appearance, even to the doorway, several feet above the ground, is a duplicate of towers still standing in Ireland, Sardinia and India. These towers in the Mancos country were undoubtedly built and used by the Cliff Dwellers, but the presence of ancient objects, of man's handiwork, resembling each other so closely, in parts of the earth so widely separated as Colorado, Ireland, Sardinia, and India, may imply something more than mere coincidence, and be held to suggest probable remote kinship of their builders.

Assuming that climatic conditions there were about as they are now, and the drift of evidence is toward such an assumption, it seems strange that so large and so industrious a people would have occupied for so many years as these evidently did, a region so inhospitable, when far better places must have been known to them. This makes us turn again to the theory that they came there so long ago that climatic changes enfeebled them and the region to such a degree that the weakened and decimated people at last fell an easy prey to predatory enemies.

The present condition of the country causes the visitor at once to wonder how the people of the cliff houses supplied themselves with water. Many of the buildings now have no supply near them, and if it were so then, it must have been an endless and laborious undertaking to get enough for the absolute needs of the swarming tenants. Nowadays even small parties are often sorely inconvenienced by the lack of it. Over the great region of ruins the scarcity of water constitutes the curse of the country. So, these cliff people had need for their numerous water jars. The Mancos river carries water, of course, but of so bad a quality, from alkali and other offenses, that it is only used in dire emergencies. That the old people were hard put to it for a supply, is evidenced by the large "tanks" they constructed on top of the mesa to catch and hold the occasional rainfall. These reservoirs appear to have originally been natural depressions which the people deepened and walled up, as some of them, unimproved, may still be observed. Occasionally, in the lateral canons, after the streams have died away, there will be here and there a pool of water.

Of their religious notions and customs but little is indicated by their recovered relics. In common with all humanity, they anticipated a future existence. This is shown by certain practices pertaining to their dead, and by the care with which they prepared some of these bodies, mummies of which have been discovered in their homes. In these the results of their practices resemble those seen in the mummies of ancient Peruvians. The bodies, with the knees drawn up near the chin, were clad in a coarse, cotton garment or covering, and then encased in an outer wrapping of matting which was drawn around and sewed fast, so that they had the appearance of bales of goods. The body of an infant, dried away to little but bones, was wrapped first in cotton cloth, over which was a feather cloth, and outside of all a coarse willow matting. The number of observed human remains is by no means proportionate to what the population of the communities must have been.

In undisturbed periods their burials were made in the valleys, and on the mesa, where there was depth to the soil, but these places of sepulture have been little disturbed. They deposited weapons and utensils with the dead for the future use of the deceased. The presence of these few, but carefully wrapped bodies, in some of the cliff houses is accounted for on the presumption that the persons died while the last besieging enemy was near at hand. This conclusion appears to be strengthened by finding human remains under the floors, in little cubby-holes of rooms, among the accumulated dirt, wreckage and refuse heaped in the lower recesses back of the houses, and in other apparently emergency places of deposit; all suggesting death amid the final conflict which allowed no opportunity for any other disposition to be made of the fallen. In several places bodies were found stowed away in small, horizontal clefts in the cliffs, near the larger domiciles. There is so little soil on the projecting ledges and along the bases of the cliffs that burial in it would be difficult; and therefore these bodies are supposed to have received emergency disposition, also. A few were found walled up in small rooms.

As we have stated, these instances of special care for the dead, are all that have been observed that may be considered as having association with religious beliefs. Nothing directly bearing on their rites and ceremonies has yet been revealed. If they were ever under Aztec influences there has been nothing found to indicate the effect of such influences. There has been a common belief that these people worshiped Montezuma. If the present pueblo tribes are descendants of the Cliff Dwellers they may have received their peculiar religious beliefs and customs among their other inheritances. Of this, A. F. Bandelier, one of the most capable of American antiquarians, in a "Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos," published in 1883, said:

> "What the Indians themselves say of this tale, I have not as yet ascertained; but the people of the valley all assert that the people of the pueblo believe in it; that they even affirmed that Montezuma was born at Pecos; that he wore golden shoes, and left for Mexico, where, for the sake of these valuable brogans, he was ruthlessly slaughtered. They further say that when he left Pecos he commanded that the holy fire should be kept burning till his return; in testimony whereof the sacred embers were kept aglow till 1840, and then transformed to Jemez.
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> "There is one serious point in the whole story, and that is the illustration how an evident mixture of a name with the Christian faith in a personal

redeemer, and dim recollections of Coronado's presence and promise to return, could finally take the form of a mythological personage. In this respect, for the study of mythology in general, it is of great importance. That the sacred fire had originally nothing at all to do with the Montezuma legend, is amply proven by the earliest reports.

"It will also become interesting to ascertain in the future how many pueblos, and which, concede to the Pecos the honor of being the birthplace of that famed individual, and how many, as is the case with other great folks in more civilized communities, claim the same honor for themselves.

"I cannot, therefore, attach to the Montezuma tale any historical importance whatever, not even a traditional value."

The walls of the old church at Pecos in which the holy fire was to have been kept burning, are standing in a deserted village a few miles southeastward from Apache canon. Its roof-timbers and wooden columns were covered with allegorical carvings which were colored in the artistic manner characteristic of decorations applied to the handiwork of the present pueblo people.

It is, of course, not unreasonable to assume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, and considering the many presumptive parallelisms between the modes of life of the Cliff Dwellers and those of the modern pueblo Indians, that the religious beliefs of the ancient people were similar to those of their probable descendants.

This old Pecos tradition, whether true or not with regard to the Montezuma legend, is particularly interesting with respect to another matter. The claim that Montezuma was born at Pecos shows that those people have no tradition of ever having, for many centuries, lived in any other place; and, therefore, if the pueblo tribes are descendants of those who, at some time in the past, were forced to abandon their homes in the cliffs, the eviction must have taken place at an extremely remote period.

The ancient astronomers in their efforts to explain the puzzling movements of Jupiter, conceived a theory that his motions were in epicycles. He appeared to be waltzing around in little circles as he progressed in his greater orbit around the sun. As waltzing without a companion is a most unsatisfactory performance, and to account for the singular circumstances of Jupiter's apparent conduct, they provided him with a fictitious partner, whose attraction was pretended to be deemed sufficient explanation of his persistent traveling in the short circles, when he should have been attending exclusively to his orbit.

Likewise, it seems, in efforts to explain the origin of people in the southwestern part of North America, a mythical race, the Toltec, has been brought in to fit the circumstances of the case and to furnish a basis upon which to build. Certain events appear to have taken place, and certain things appear to have been done, but the when and the how, may not be told. Therefore the Toltecs served many convenient purposes, but as people of fact, they are not much more tangible than the companion of Jupiter in his waltzes. They are supposed to have gone into Mexico from the north or northeast more than a thousand years ago, to have overrun that country, and afterward to have been conquered by the Aztecs. It has been assumed that there may have been some connection between these mythical people and the ancient house-building tribes of our large district of ruins.

"Gibralter House."

There have been a great many other assumptions, too, more directly concerning our cliff-dwelling friends. They are held to have been an alien race of invaders who were exterminated by the native people chiefly because of their foreign character; also, that they were of a stock wholly different from the mythical Toltecs, the later Aztecs, and the modern pueblo Indians. Some, as we have mentioned, have it that they were white people, or that enough of them were to dominate all and control affairs. Others ascribe to them a Toltec origin, and attribute their destruction to the ravages of hordes from Asia, who also took possession of Mexico and became the progenitors of the people Cortez found in that country. The present pueblo tribes are accused of having once been vagrant bands from Mexico who found abandoned buildings suited to their homeless needs and took possession of them; and in their later constructions in places to which they made a change, imitated the older works, with which they had become familiar. Some writers have gone so far as to map out the form of government under which these old-time folks enjoyed life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, dividing it into three co-ordinate jurisdictions, civil, military and religious; and have provided them with a system of theology calling for worship of serpents and the sun and various fetiches, which was assisted by a great fear of witches instead of a dread of our horned and cloven-footed friend. Those provokingly and persistently missing people, the Lost Tribes of Israel, are not without their advocates who see, or think they see, some reasons for associating those old Jewish tribes with the race which erected and used these buildings.

There is a variety of other theories, all likewise tending away from according any connection between these old-time people and the existing tribes of house-building Indians, if they are Indians, in the southwest. In a general way those who entertain these views somewhat petulantly, and altogether needlessly, resent conclusions that point to such a connection, and seem disposed to regret the appearance of evidence calculated to impair their various theories.

On the other side, and there is a broad other side, the present pueblo Indians of New Mexico, look, live and act as if they were the direct descendants of this ancient race. They do not build cliff houses, but they build and live in other kinds of community houses, usually terraced. Some of these cliff houses were terraced, and if the buildings in the neighborhood valleys and on the surrounding mesas were not so completely wrecked by time, we might have found some of them terraced. These pueblo tribes are not now by their own intention much more than half-way out of the age of stone, and in many of their daily practices they are like these old people seem to have been. They grind corn the same way; weave, and make pottery, by hand; have brushes of stiff grass; till their narrow fields with the most primitive of implements; care for their dead in much the same manner; and in a variety of minor details their domestic affairs and daily life closely resemble those we must conceive to have been familiar to the Cliff Dwellers. They have their assembly chambers, where a fire burns in a pit at the center of the floor, and where they go through with their mystical ceremonies. Those, who, in recent years have come in more frequent contact with the irrepressible American white man, have modified their customs and practices in some degree; but the still comparatively isolated communities remain most primitive in their dress, habits and traditions. They live just as they did when first seen by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, their venerable habitations—large community houses—perched on bold headlands jutting out into a sea of sand, or on lofty islands of rock standing in the midst of such a sea, and wrapped in a seeming haze of antiquity. The Moqui Indians think and claim they are the descendants of the ancient cliff people of the north, and in this they are encouraged by an old tradition of the Utes.

The Ute Indians, so they say, have always believed that the Moquis had the Cliff Dwellers for ancestors, and are exceedingly superstitious about the ruins. They avoid them, and have resented their exploration because of a fearsome belief that evil will follow disturbance of the homes and bones of the ancient race.

Even with the apparent probability of an overwhelming disaster having befallen the older people, it is not to be presumed, we are told, that they were annihilated—that none escaped. It is rather to be taken, it is said, that there were survivors of the foe's final onslaught, and that these, fleeing headlong from their former homes, established themselves elsewhere, and began life anew. Therefore it is not at all improbable that the Moquis and some other pueblo Indians, with their strange rites and ceremonies, their peculiar modes of life, and their singular general character, had for ancestors some of the peoples who once lived in the cliffs of the Mancos canons.

But all the theories put together do not change the extraordinary known facts. These people came to that country sometime in the long ago; if they brought their semi-civilization with them they must have then been a very old race; if they developed out of savagery in the region where they built their homes, that process was one covering many centuries. Their attainment of the ability to conceive and construct their great buildings must, therefore, have been far back in the past, for their venerable, ruined structures were not built nor did they decay in a day. Furthermore, those of the cliffs represent, not the last generations of their builders, but those of a period in which the race was still capable and still hopeful, with the aid of great achievements commensurate with their needs, of long sustaining themselves against the assaults of their enemies. Such monuments as they left were not the conceptions and executions of a seriously weakened and despairing people. They are, of course, unmistakable evidence of a grave danger from formidable foes, who finally did overwhelm their builders; but this came long after the Cliff Houses were planned and constructed, for they abound in testimony to their occupation by many generations of men. These are, we think, facts that even the theory that these people have living descendants, does not disturb; but they certainly do not bring us any nearer an explanation of what may as well be frankly called the mystery associated with these remarkable, and certainly pre-historic, ruins and their builders.

Elsewhere in southwestern Colorado, and apparently the work of other ancient people, pictographs and rock-carvings exist. Of the latter some typical examples were discovered by Captain E. L. Berthoud of Golden; his account of them appearing in the report of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1882-83, from which we quote:

"The place is twenty miles south of Rio Del Norte, at the entrance of the canon of the Piedra Pintado (Painted Rock) creek. The carvings are found on the right of the canon, or valley, and upon volcanic rocks. They bear the marks of age and are cut in, not painted, as is still done by the Utes everywhere. They are found for a quarter of a mile along the south wall of the canon, on the ranches of W. M. Maguire and F. T. Hudson, and consist of all manner of pictures, symbols, and hieroglyphs, done by artists whose memory even tradition does not now preserve. The fact that these are carvings, done upon such hard rock, merits them with additional interest, as they are quite distinct from the carvings I saw in New Mexico and Arizona on soft sandstone. Though some of them are evidently of much greater antiquity than others, yet all are ancient, the Utes admitting them to have been old when their fathers conquered the country."

In our references to these pre-historic peoples in this and the preceding chapter we have used the words "extinct," "departed," "vanished" and synonymous terms, but we wish to be understood as employing them in an abstract sense rather than a concrete. We have neither desire nor intention to stand over among some theorists upon American pre-historic questions, of whom Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" says:

Mummy from a Cliff Dwelling.

"Few * * * in discussing the problem could say, 'I have ventured to inquire,' without presuming to decide."

It is wiser, perhaps, to wait and see. As a recent writer puts it, "it is the business of the archæologist to learn and tell you, or guess and tell you, when they lived, where they come from, and whither they have gone." This, the archæologist has not yet been able to do.

The preservation of these antiquities commands the approval of every intelligent person. The region is open to predatory visitors and much wanton vandalism has been committed. Walls have been overturned, and relics of great archæological value have been destroyed or carried away to be hidden from those competent to appreciate their worth and to derive rational conclusions from them. Now that the Ute reservation has been thrown open to settlement still more vandalism and wanton destruction may be expected unless some authority is interposed to prevent such inconsiderate acts.

To the end that such authority might be interposed an earnest movement was inaugurated in 1898 by the Federation of the Women's Clubs of Colorado to secure proper action by Congress. In consequence of this a bill was introduced in Congress in the winter of 1899-00 by Representative Shafroth to set the region apart as an United States reservation. At the time of closing our record the bill had not become a law.

The slender knowledge we have of these old races has come to us through the shadows of many years. That the Cliff Dwellers, as compared with the Mound Builders, were of a less remote era, is more than a probability. Though small in numbers compared with the great pre-historic nation of the Mississippi Valley, and with their kindred occupied a territory of comparatively limited area, they had progressed out of savagery and were traveling the road leading to civilization. While dwelling in a region certainly not now favorably conditioned for supporting multitudes of inhabitants, they undoubtedly did constitute, within its limits, a large population—in many localities a dense population. Beyond this, their silent, ruined homes, surrounded by abundant wreckage of other handiwork of theirs, have not afforded us any satisfactory information.

Both races appear to have been destitute of every form of record-making intelligence and method, as neither has transmitted to us, so far as known, any kind of intelligible inscription, hieroglyphic or recording picture-writing. It is singular that peoples capable of doing all that the Cliff Dwellers did, or so far advanced and so great in numbers and physical achievements as the Mound Builders certainly were, should have been without this form of knowledge. As in the ruins of these habitations on the southwestern mesas and in the canons there, no record of any sort has ever been found in the hundreds of the other people's mounds of earth, that have been so carefully searched for some clue that might suggest who they were and when they lived. Not a thing has been revealed in either.

These human beings, whose works live after them, have left us many mute but significant object-lessons; further than this—the periods of their existence, the centuries through which they lived and loved, struggled and fought, and vanished into the obscurity of a deep oblivion, are but the landscapes of the twilight and the darkness.

CHAPTER V.

The Indian of Historic Times—Theories of Origin—Families and Tribes—Former Territorial Locations—Linguistic Divisions and Ethnical Differences—Two Distinct Types of People—Languages and Personal Nomenclature—Present Numbers—Character, Methods and Peculiarities.

The copper-colored man, the ancestor of our Mississippi valley Indians of the historic period, appears to have been too late in his arrival to have had the distinction of being the first inhabitant of this broad land. We speak of him and his descendants as the aborigines, and the old books used to teach us so; but we now have some fair reasons for believing that when he came upon the stage the actors in the earlier scenes of the great drama had gone down into oblivion unknown centuries before.

So far as the little knowledge we have of his predecessors enables us to see into the heavy shadows that shroud the story of man's presence here in ancient ages, it reveals to us the Indian next taking a place in the misty column of humanity. If, in the long lapses of years since the man of the glacial era held sway, there were peoples on this continent other than the strange race which once populated the great valley of the Mississippi; or other than those who erected the long-abandoned structures in the canons and on the mesas of the southwest—and there may have been many—they rose, flourished and passed away, leaving no record of their existence that has become known to the modern generations of men. Therefore, no better can now be done than to separate the hazy procession into these rather uncertain divisions, with the Indian at the rear, nearer and clearer to our view. But far out where the Indian front should blend into the ranks of those ahead of him, the mist drifts in and thickens to a fog, and to our sight the figures lose themselves in its depths.

There has long been a disposition to assume that the Indian must have come from some other part of the world, but we find ourselves with precious little information, traditional or otherwise, as to where it was or when he migrated. The evidence, such as it is, indicates fairly well that he succeeded an ancient and more advanced people, but, as to who they were and how it happened, there is almost nothing to definitely tell. Whether he found those people in possession of the country and had to silence their claims after the fashion in which his own were silenced in a period perhaps thousands of years later; or whether he found a vast region long abandoned by earlier races and awaiting his peaceful occupation, will remain questions as puzzling as those which attach to the shadowy history of his ancient predecessors.

If, in their beginning in this country, the Indians were intruders in the sense that the white man later became one, their origin is as much a mystery as the fate of those before them; and if they are to be regarded as indigenous products of the country, the problem is brought no nearer a satisfactory solution. They had some traditions bearing upon these interesting questions, but none worthy much credence, even as traditions. Their methods of transmitting them were somewhat shaky, and we should not look for the quality of accuracy in these old stories.

The Rocky Mountains not only constitute a great natural barrier separating the territory of the United States into two distinct geographical regions, but mark definite natural differences in many other respects. The "Continental Divide" appears to have divided not only the continent, but the native races of the United States, as they are known in the historic period. As a rule the savage tribes which occupied the territory drained into the Pacific ocean, were people different in most respects from those to the eastward of the mountains. They were, with few exceptions, distinctly a round-headed type, with physical appearance, manners, customs and traditions radically and irreconcilably adverse to those of the others. In these characteristics there are some hints of the Mongolian and Malay, and some other reasons for suspicion of Asiatic origin; though the obscurity of linguistic traces of such relation lies in the way of assigning that origin to them with approach to certainty.

The Indians who dwelt in the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, in the country drained into the Atlantic, and the Gulf of Mexico—with the exception of part of the Rio Grande region—were very decidedly another kind of people. They were of the long-headed type of men like those of western Europe and northwestern Africa, and beyond this, excepting a small resemblance in some forms of speech with those of an isolated clan in Spain, there was nothing very tangible in the physical or mental qualities of these Indians that requires us to assume for them a foreign origin. They were certainly free from every well-grounded suspicion of Asiatic descent. Geographically there were some interminglings of the long-headed and round-headed races, but they were not more than could be accounted for by emergencies in the varying fortunes of one or the other. Andreas Retzius, the founder of scientific craniology, pointed out that the Rocky Mountains thus divided the native races of the United States into two distinct types.

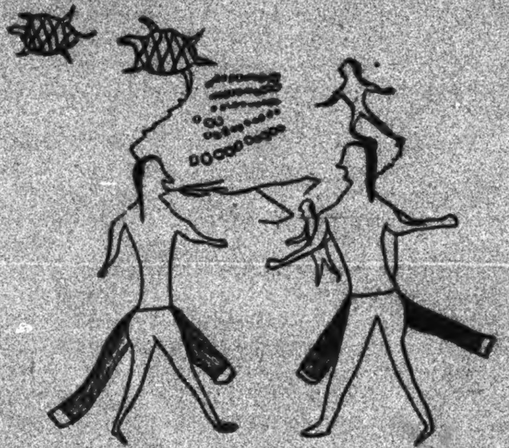
The eastern Indian, as we may call him for convenience, with his strong, well-defined racial features; his hair with rare exceptions always black, coarse, glossy and long, like the mane of a horse, round in cross section, and persistent to extreme old age; a slight beard when suffered to grow, always straight and never wavy; eyes small, black, somewhat deep-set, piercing and always horizontal; eye-brows black, narrow and very much arched; prominent cheek-bones and nose, the latter often very long and aquiline; his peculiar, copper-hued complexion; his habits, manners, customs, beliefs and traditions; all these stamped him as a definite type of humanity—one of the four great divisions of mankind as separated along the lines of color. It is true that the color was not uniform; some tribes were darker than others, but all were of that coppery tinge that has not been found on any other race of people in the world. If Columbus and his fellow-voyagers had not supposed India was before them when they sighted Cat Island, these people would probably have received some other and more appropriate name than the one they bear.

When the New England colonists settled themselves on the Atlantic coast and took possession of that country in the name of God and of their King, they began without delay the work of exterminating its red inhabitants. While they were employed at this task they also engaged in sundry speculations as to the origin of the troublesome people who were so unreasonably objecting to surrender of the land that had been theirs for more generations than they could tell, and who violently resisted destruction at the hands of the aggressive pale-face. The New England theory took on, of course, a serious cast, and ended in a conclusion that inasmuch as they could not account for the Indian in any other way, he must be a descendant of the Lost Tribes of Israel. This proposition, so far as any theory concerning the red man's lineage could be considered of much importance, met with rather general acceptance at the time, and was duly transmitted to posterity. Contrary to what might have been expected to follow such a conclusion by these straight-laced folks, the New England extermination of Israel's alleged descendants went bravely and steadily on. Theoretical association with the white man's religion was of no advantage in conflict with the white man's practical plans and purposes. These worthy New England pioneers, according to an old chronicler, "first fell on their knees and then on the aborigines."

The Indian of these plains, like his brethren farther east and down to salt water, had made little advance from a primitive state when the white man came into his country; and of his own volition he has not done much better since then. He was practically destitute of art, and his mechanical ingenuity was barely sufficient to apply the bow and arrow to the necessities of his existence. His other weapons and rude implements, legacies from some ancient race, were of a form that suggested their uses to him, and he adopted them. He constructed no permanent habitations, and the vast extent of country over which he roamed contained nothing of his work which the elements would not have removed within a few years—in strange contrast to the abundant and enduring monuments left in many places by an earlier and unknown people.

He had no method of reducing his form of speech to the written signs of a language. It was limited to practically arbitrary sounds, and he was incapable of making intelligible permanent records. The nearest he came to that was in a rude form of picture-writing. This, like his speech, was arbitrary in its contrivance—a figure employed having no common meaning. In recent years after closer and dependent contact with the whites he made some development of his picture-writing, but that was more in the direction of greater mechanical skill than in the artistic sense employed or the evolution of a written language.

In the accompanying illustration we have an example of this picture-writing. It is a copy of a pictograph letter sent by mail a few years ago from a Southern Cheyenne named "Turtle-following-his-Wife," and who was a ward of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency in the Indian Territory, to his son, "Little Man," at the Pine Ridge, Dakota, Agency. Drawn on a half-sheet of writing paper, it was without a word written; the address on the envelope, "Little Man, Cheyenne, Pine Ridge Agency," having been inscribed by some white man at the first-named Agency. Little Man readily understood it to mean that his father had caused to be sent him the sum of $53.00 to enable the son to visit the father in the Indian Territory. By the same mail the Pine Ridge Agent received from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agent a remittance of $53.00, with instructions to pay Little Man the money, which was for his expenses to and from a visit to his father. But Little Man had eagerly explained the meaning of his queer letter before the Agent told him of the receipt of the remittance letter. In the pictograph appears over the head of the large figure to the left, the turtle following the turtle's wife, with a crooked line extending to the head of the figure; and over the head of the other large figure, with a connecting line, is a drawing of a little man. Over the right arm of the last mentioned figure is a drawing of another little man in the act of springing or advancing toward Turtle-following-his-Wife, from whose mouth extend two lines curved or hooked at the ends as if drawing the small figure toward him, suggesting "come to me." The two large figures with their name-totems attached represent the father and son, and between and above them are fifty-three roundish objects signifying an equal number of dollars. The breech-cloths on the two large figures indicate uneducated, half-civilized Cheyennes.


Cheyenne Pictograph-Letter.

In the condition the white man found him the Indian was thoroughly a savage. His life was rude, and here in the west he subsisted almost wholly upon the results of the chase. Next to the great warrior, the most successful hunter became the most praiseworthy member of his tribe. Disease, and the savage methods of treating it, played havoc with him; and he became almost constantly engaged in destructive warfare with his neighbors, red and white. Diseases new to the Indian, and weapons of equal novelty—including the bottle—were chief among the trouble-breeding acquisitions he received from the whites. Between these decimating forces his numbers were kept within limits that gave the great country he occupied an exceedingly sparse population. Whatever may have been the retarding causes before the white man came, these were certainly sufficiant and effective ones after he got here.

The eastern Indians of the historic period—those occupying that part of the United States between the Atlantic seaboard, and, say the longitude of Denver, excepting New Mexico and western Texas—were divided into eight groups or families, separated along linguistic rather than ethnical lines. These were the Algonquin, Iroquois-Huron, Dakota (Sioux), Catawba, Cherokee, Uchee, Mobilian and Natchez. The tribes of the last-named five, under various tribal names, occupied a region that may be outlined in a general way, by describing it as lying south of the latitude of the southern boundary of Kentucky, and east of the Mississippi river; though some of them were a little farther north in places, and others roamed some distance west of the lower Mississippi. The Iroquois-Huron tribes were east of Lake Huron, north and south of Lakes Erie and Ontario, in a district including the eastern half of Ohio, about half of Pennsylvania, nearly all of New York, and a large portion of Ontario. The Algonquin tribes were east of the Mississippi, beginning at Lake Superior and sweeping down to the south line of Kentucky, thence around northeastward along the Atlantic watershed, through New England up to the St. Lawrence river and its great estuary; thus fronting the Iroquois-Hurons on three sides. The Dakotas, or as we better know them, the Sioux tribes, with their numerous kindred and usually allied branches, dominated between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains from north of the international line down into Texas. But in the territory of each of these general families there were here and there intruding offshoots from some other family, apparently long isolated from the parental stock. The Winnebago Sioux occupying Algonquin territory in southern Wisconsin, were such intruders; and the Arapahoe tribe of our own locality is believed to have been an offshoot from the Algonquin family.

The western linguistic families or groups—those having their ancestral homes on the other side of the continental "divide"—were, in the main, of two general divisions, the Shoshonean and the Athabascan.

The Athabascans are not properly of United States territory. They occupied almost the whole of British Columbia and Alaska, but branches of them made their way southward in some early period and became permanently established. Practically all our Pacific coast Indians, those of Washington, Oregon and California, with straggling bands east of the Sierra Nevada, are of this family. In the southwestern part of the United States they have powerful representatives in the Navajoes, Apaches and a part of the Lipans. Those on the Pacific coast are divided into a great many small tribes and bands, low in the scale of humanity, both physically and mentally, but usually of a mild and peaceful disposition. The southwestern branches are of a higher and much more vigorous type, and their present numbers in the United States exceed twenty-five thousand. They are now all on reservations.

The Shoshoneans—sometimes called "Snakes"—occupied the larger part of the great interior basin with small branches in eastern Oregon in the northwest, and larger ones on the plains to the southeast. Their tribes varied in numbers from large bodies to small bands of vagrants, and in their physical and mental qualities from the shrewd, energetic Utes and Comanches to some of the most degraded types of Indian mankind. Their territory included Idaho and Montana in the north, thence southward to about the north line of Arizona and southeastward into Texas where the Comanche branch held sway. All the Shoshonean tribes, of which there are a dozen or more, are now on reservations, and in the aggregate they number near fifteen thousand.

The classifications that have been mentioned embrace the larger and more important tribes. There are many other groups of diminishing numbers and consequence, from the Salish or "Flathead" family, in the northwestern part of the United States, which includes about six thousand persons, down to remnants of minor families on the verge of total extinction, through assimilation by stronger divisions, and by various other causes.

These Indian families or stocks have been identified and separated by linguistic characteristics, the ethnical lines being insufficient for such a purpose. So close is the general physical resemblance between the Iroquois-Huron, Algonquin and Sioux groups, that the identity of some of the plains tribes formerly roaming at will through this region, remains to be satisfactorily decided by a study of their languages more exhaustive than has yet been made. Language with its hints and suggestions of consanguinity with others around it, while not always an unerring guide, is upon the whole the most convenient and probably the far more certain basis of classification; though to regard it as conclusive would lead to error. The ethnical elements must always receive more or less consideration; and sometimes geographical divisions come in, yet they are the most uncertain of all. So it results that language is the more accurate of any of the available means of identification, and without it it would have been impossible to determine the affinities of many widely separated tribes. The Apaches were thus discovered to be of the Athabascan family far up in British North America.

The character of the Indian forms of speech argues a very great antiquity and an independent evolution of the red men's languages. As the course evolution followed differed entirely from that pursued by the idioms of the old world, it follows that the first appearance of these people in America, if they did come from the other side of the oceans, must be thrown back to a time when slow diffusion might be conceived as equally probable from an eastern or western starting point. It has, at least, been rather clearly demonstrated that, while differing widely among themselves, the Indian languages not only betray no affinity to any other tongues, but belong to an absolutely distinct order of speech. This uniqueness is probably the most convincing evidence of independent origin, though it should be said that among some of the tribes we are terming eastern Indians, there are a few idioms slightly resembling in construction some used by the Basques, a people in Spain who claim descent from a great antiquity. But no other old-world tongue has any broader hint of similarity; and even the Basque has no suggestion of much strength. It should be stated here that there are in the Indian vocabularies, as in every tongue in the world, a few words much like some, of similar sound and meaning, found in other languages; but this common coincidence is destitute of significance. The Indian speech is to a great degree, a jargon that must be assisted in its efforts to convey thought, by many signs and gestures.

The Arapahoes, whose vocabulary was a very simple one and narrowly limited in its scope, used many signs and gestures; so many, indeed, that it was with the greatest difficulty they could make each other understand in the darkness. To make a stranger from another tribe comprehend them after nightfall they would have to pow-wow by a camp-fire where all the movements of their hands could be seen. It is related of a Blackfeet Indian that he and his squaw, the latter being of another tribe, had been married more than three years without either having taken the trouble to learn a word of the other's speech, but habitually addressed each other by signs and gestures.

J. W. Powell, Director of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology, in a paper on "Indian Linguistic Families of America, North of Mexico," which appeared in the annual report of the Bureau for 1885-86, thus warns us against assuming some degree of relationship to exist because of vagrant similarities of sounds or words in speech:

> "Coincidence in the nature of superficial word resemblances are common in all languages of the world. No matter how widely separated geographically two families of languages may be, no matter how unlike their vocabularies, how distinct their origin, some words may always be found which appear upon superficial examination to indicate relationship. There is not a single Indian linguistic family, for instance, which does not contain words similar in sound, and, more rarely, similar in both sound and meaning, to words in English, Chinese, Hebrew, and other languages. Not only do such resemblances exist, but they have been discovered and pointed out, not as mere adventitious similarities, but as proof of genetic

relationships. Borrowed linguistic material also appears in every family, tempting the unwary investigator into making false analogies and drawing erroneous conclusions. Neither coincidences nor borrowed material, however, can be properly regarded as evidence of cognation."

In the Indian speech words, if they may be so called, are formed by hitching together many sounds, each conveying part of the aggregate meaning, with the consolidation expressing what we would convey by a sentence of some length. It was a building up, a putting together of a variety of sounds, and calling the result a word. One writer on this subject says "the Shoshones and some other western tribes reached the very acme of polysynthesis in which all the parts of the sentence often became by indefinite composition and syncope, fused into one interminable 'bunch-word' of from ten to fifteen syllables, and quite often many more." It is this feature, the "much putting together," that gives the Indian people their first and greatest claim to be regarded as truly a race developing on the soil it dwelt upon, in the same sense in which we regard the Caucasian and Mongolian races as having had independent development. But this does not absolutely establish the red men, from their very beginning, as a distinct, isolated type of humanity in the vast country they once occupied here.

That which practically all of the eastern tribes had in common is reducible to one physical and one mental quality; the generally similar texture and blackness of their hair, and their built-up form of speech. These may point directly toward primordial unity of origin. The endless variety of linguistic detail would seem to imply, as we have said, a great antiquity and possibly an independent development on the American continent; but, in the complicated characters forming the Chinese system of writing, a single group of connected marks having the meaning of a whole sentence, is something of the same method of expressing thought as that employed by our Indians in their many-syllabled words. This, of course, brings in the ghost of a suspicion of possible Asiatic influence, that is both confusing and contradictory; but the weight of trained judgment is against considering it of much importance.

The Indians of these plains were almost wholly derived from two of these linguistic stocks or families; the Algonquin and the Sioux. The latter predominated in numbers and influence, and claimed to have dwelt in the treeless region from time immemorial; the others were intruders who had been separated from the parental groups by some of the many exigencies of Indian life. Those of the Rocky Mountains region, and of that to the southward, came from the two other prominent groups, which also had widely scattered branches.

Within a kind of general limitation, they were all a wandering lot of people living a life necessarily one of hardship and uncouthness. Early in the last century small-pox assailed the Sioux on the upper Missouri and rapidly spread over the plains from tribe to tribe. The consequences of such a disease among such a people may be imagined. They were swept away by thousands, their mode of life and methods of treating disease removing all obstacles to the progress of the pestilence.

The religious beliefs of the Indians centered, in a loosely-defined way, upon the common theory of a Great Spirit, but aside from that they had many vagaries which were to a great degree astrological in their prevailing character. There was always more or less of alleged sun, moon, and star potency in them, but these astrological superstitions were far more pronounced among those west of the Rocky Mountains than with those to the eastward; some of the western tribes developing them to actual worship of celestial bodies.

Indian personal nomenclature was certainly unique, and to us appears very comical. In much of their general appellative conceptions there is poetry and beauty. In their names of rivers, places and localities, many words of exceeding beauty, both of sound and meaning, have been preserved and incorporated in our language. But in their personal appellations, in recent years at least, they were not so happy.

We have here two authentic lists of Sioux personal names. The first is the roster of a band of Ogalalas at Standing Rock agency in 1883, reported to Major McLaughlin, the agent then there, by "Big Road," their chief, who was required to give an account of his followers when they arrived at the agency. Big Road was described as "a most ignorant and uncompromising savage," who, with his people, had been hostile, having been associated with Sitting Bull in the then recent outbreaks of Indians under that noted chief. The translation of the names was made by the agency interpreter and is literally exact. In the form of rude pictographs they were all on one large sheet of paper sent to the Interior Department as part of an agency report. Four of the names, "Blue-cloud," "Lone-woman," "Deaf-woman," and "Red-flute-woman" are those of women in the band who stood as the surviving heads of clans or families, the braves who should have been in their places having been killed. These women represented the departed ones in order to draw rations and allowances to which they and their dependents would become entitled under the peace regulations. There were eighty-four individuals in this party:

Big-road.
Bear-looking-behind.
Brings-back-plenty.
White-buffalo.

The-real-hawk.
Shield-boy.
The-bear-stops.
Wears-the-feather.

Dog-eagle.
Red-horn-bull.
Low-dog.
Charging-hawk.
White-tail.
Blue-cloud (a woman).
Shield.
Kills-crows (meaning Indians of Crow tribe).
The-bear-spares-him.
White-plume.
Fears-nothing.
Red-crow.
The-last-bear.
Bird-man.
Horse-with-horns.
Fast-elk.
Chief-boy.
Spotted-elk.
Carries-the-badger.
Red-earth-woman.
Eagle-clothing.
Has-a-war-club.
Little-eagle.
Spotted-skunk.
White-bear.
White-hair.
His-fight.
Center-feathers.
Black-elk.
Lone-woman.
Deaf-woman.
Long-dog.
Iron-hawk.
Pretty-weasel.
Short-buffalo.
Bull-with-bad-heart.
Four-crows.
Tall-white-man.
Eagle-hawk.
Lone-man.
Causes-trouble-ahead.
Makes-dirt.
Black-road.
Shot-close.
Iron-crow.
Running-horse.
Little-buffalo.
Has-a-point (weapon.)
Returning-scout.
Little-killer.
Whistler.
Tongue.
Sacred-teeth.
Searching-cloud.
Female-elk-boy.
Little-owl.
Pretty-horse.
Running-eagle.
Makes-enemy.
Prairie-chicken.
Red-flute-woman.
Little-hawk.
Standing-buffalo.
Standing-bear.
Iron-white-man.
Bear-whirlwind.
Sacred-crow.
Blue-hawk.
Hard-to-kill.
Iron-boy.
Owns - an - animal - with-horns.
Blue-cloud-man.
Fingers.
Painted-rock.
Yellow-wolf.
Made-an-enemy.

The second list is that of some of the immediate followers of the famous Sioux chieftain, "Red Cloud," who figured so conspicuously in the Indian troubles in this region in Denver's early history. The circumstances under which this roster was prepared were these: At Pine Ridge agency in 1880 or 1881, the agent there, owing to some disagreement, refused to officially recognize Red Cloud as the head of the Indians then at the agency, and named another as the official chief. Red Cloud's partisans demonstrated their allegiance to him by attaching their name-pictographs, or having them attached, to a kind of protest against the agent's conduct, which was forwarded to Washington. It was prepared under Red Cloud's direction, and the name-pictographs were written on seven large sheets of ordinary manila paper. There were many other Indians at the agency, but those who joined in the protest were his loyal adherents who wanted to resent what they regarded as a slight put upon their leader. This list contains the English equivalents of the names of two hundred and eighty-eight individuals:

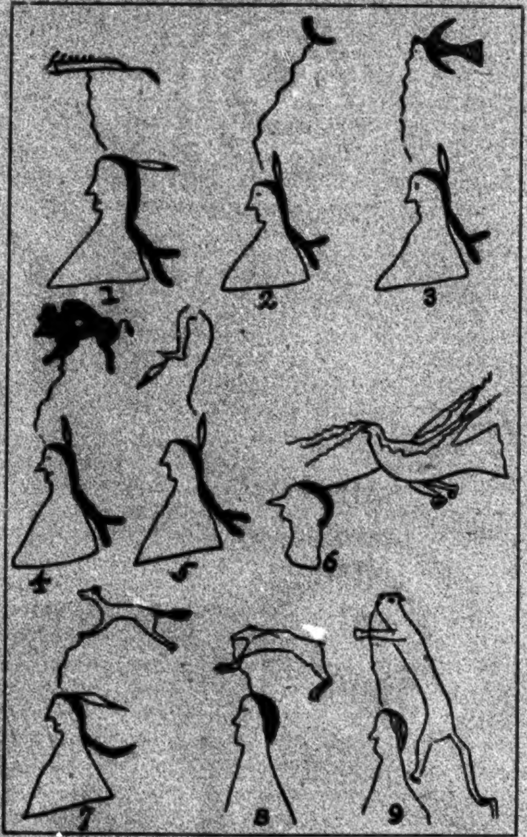
Top-man.
Slow-bear.
He-dog.
Little-chief.
Red-shirt.
White-hawk.
Big-leggings.
Cloud-shield.
Good-weasel.
Afraid-eagle.
Bear-brains.
War-bonnet.
Little-soldier.
Arapahoe.
Little-dog.
Call-for.
Short-bull.
White-bird.
Painted-face.
Iron-beaver.
Kills-in-tight-place.
Only-man.
Mad-hearted-bull.
Running-eagle.
Ring-cloud.
White-bird.
Kills-the-enemy-at-night.
Wears-the-bonnet.
War-bonnet.
Shot-in-front-the-lodge.
Kills-in-lodge.
Kills-at-night.
Runs-by-the-enemy.
Tom-belly.
Roman-nose.
Old-cloud.
High-cloud.
Bear-looks-back.
Kills-back.
Red-bear.
Poor-bear.
Runs-off-the-horse.
Bald-eagle.
Shot-at.
Leaves.
Big-voice.
Steals-horses.
Kills-by-the-camp.
Iron-hawk.
Knock - a - hole - in - the-head.
Runs-around.
Tall-white-man.
Strike-first.
Smoking-bear.
Hump.
Shot-close.
Blue-horse.
Shield-bear.
Sees-the-enemy.
Biting-bear.
Cut-through.
Red-owl.
Good-bird.
Little-ring.
Runs-off-the-horses.
Hard-ground.
Shot-at-his-horse.
Red-deer.
Yellow-fox.
Little-shell.
Gap.
Scratch-the-belly.
Singer.
Walking-bull-track.
War-eagle.
Tree-in-the-face.
Red-elk.
Only-man.
Bear-comes-out.
Poor-elk.
Blue-handle.
Bad-yellow-hair.
Red-fly.
Kills-enemy-at-night.
Flat-iron.
White-horse.
Cheyenne-butcher.
Red-eagle.
Feather-on-his-head.
Little-bear.
Spotted-horse.
Takes-the-gun.
Spotted-face.
Got-there-first.
Licks-with-his-tongue.
Old-horse.
Poor-dog.
Goes-through-the-camp.
Big-road.
Brings-lots-of-horses.
Keeps-the-bottle.
High-cloud.
Bone-necklace.
Goes-walking.
Iron-horse.
Blue-hatchet.
Blue-bird.
Good-bird.
Caught-the-enemy.
Leading.
Horned-horse.
White-whirlwind.
Red-shirt.
Bear-nostrils.
Spotted-horse.
Afraid-of-bear.
Little-bull.
Red-hawk.
Bear-paw.
Eagle-horse.
Red-beaver.
Spotted-eagle.
Fills-the-pipe.
Lodge-roll.
Red-bull.
Runs-his-horse.
Eagle-bird.
Iron-bird.
Long-panther.
Bull-lance.
Black-horse.
Poor-skunk.
Wolf-ear.
Afraid-of-elk.
Feathers.
Tall-man.
Elk-head.
Ring-owl.
Scout.
Yellow-horse.
Charge-after.
Black-bear.
Kills-the-enemy.
Wolf-stands-on-a-hill.
Eagle-bear.
Little-wolf.
Spotted-elk.

Elk-walking-with-his-voice.
Tracks.
Bob-tailed-horse.
White-elk.
Little-sun.
Owns-the-arrows.
Shot.
Red-boy.
Bear-head.
Hard.
Eagle-horse.
Standing-bear.
Small-ring.
Charging-hawk.
Afraid-of-bull.
Medicine-horse.
Two-eagles.
Shield.
Keeps-the-bottle.
Wolf-stands-on-hill.
Bear-comes-out.
Good-bull.
Fog.
Bear-that-growls.
Drags-the-rope.
White-tail.
Feathers.
Little-crow.
Black-horse.
Mouse.
Count-the-nights.
White-eagle.
Five-thunders.
White-horse.
Killed-first.
Good-bull.
Medicine.
Stone-necklace.
Bad-horn.
High-eagle.
Black-bull.
Fast-horse.
Big-turnip.
Yellow-owl.
Red-bull.
Garter.
Black-fox.
Sits-like-a-woman.
Surrounds-them.
High-bear.
Don't-turn.
Black-bird.
Weasel-bear.
Black-elk.
Takes-enemy.
Poor-bull.
Eagle-elk.
Thunder-pipe.
Horse-comes-out.
Old-Mexican.
Man-with-heart.
Little-ring.
Goes-in-front.
Little-fighter.
Mean-boy.
Red-hawk.
Kills-two.
Grasp.
Medicine.
Leaves.

Big-hand.
Gun.
Little-elk.
Little-bird.
Bear-back.
Little-back.
Buffalo-horn.
Fighting-cuss.
Horned-horse.
Enemies-hit-him.
Black-bear.
Red-war-bonnet.
Black-weasel.
Smokes-at-night.
Little-cloud.
White-bear.
Many-shells.
Yellow-knife.
Crazy-head.
Shoots-the-animal.
Kills-two.
Bad-boy.
Warrior.
Afraid-of-him.
Cloud-ring.
Kills-the-bear.
Comes-in-sight.
Bull.
Eagle-track.
Medicine-bird.
Fox.
White-bear.
Swallow.
Gun.
Ring.
Beads.
Wolf.
Black-horse.
White-horse.
Red-bear.
Little-moon.
Feather-necklace.
Fast-elk.
Black-bull.
Light.
Iron-bird.
Spotted-owl.
Don't-turn.
Red-star.
Big-voiced-eagle.
White-elk.
Porcupine.
Black-deer.
White-cow-man.
Horse- —— -the-clothing.
Stabber.
Eagle-swallow.
Afraid-of-him.
Tall-panther.
Noon.
Warrior.
Eagle-feather.
Round.
Big-thunder.
Shot-his-horse.
Red-boy.
Dog-with-good-voice.
Tall-pine.
Pipe.
Few-tails.
Medicine-man.

The adjacent illustration is a reduced copy of a group of name-pictographs of nine of these adherents of Red Cloud, the English equivalents of whose names appear in the foregoing list. Each of this group was the work of the Indian it represents, and the several are of interest in that they show methods, much elaborated and developed in comparatively recent times, of thus portraying name-totems identifying individuals.

While the foregoing lists contain only Sioux personal names, the personal nomenclature of all the plains tribes was much the same in derivation and results. The tribes west of the "divide" appear to have conceived personal names from less trivial suggestions than would seem to have been the practice of those of the plains.



Sioux Name-Pictographs.
1, Little Back; 2, Buffalo Horn; 3, Iron Bird; 4, Bull; 5, Eagle Track; 6, Medicine Bird; 7, Fox; 8, White Bear; 9, Tall Panther.

The reader will have observed that several of these names are duplicated in the lists; but each is the name of an individual, just as personal names are duplicated among white people. These appellations, or most of them, suggest their own origin. They grew out of some notable circumstance at the birth of the individual or while he was an infant; or from some achievement later in life. Red Cloud is said to have received his name from the presence of a beautiful red cloud in the west in the evening of his birthday. The sight of an animal, or a bird, or something else in nature, would lead an Indian mother to give her infant the name of the animal, or bird, or other thing, which attracted her attention soon after her deliverance. However, it will be noted that some of these names are such as would not be given an infant. "Goes-in-front," "Kills-the-bear," "Fears-nothing," "Caught-the-enemy," "Kills-the-enemy-at-night," and others of the kind were certainly acquired in mature years, and preserve the memory of brave deeds. Warriors distinguished by any unusual circumstances, or who performed valorous acts, would drop the names they had borne and construct new ones from the circumstances that had made them prominent. Sometimes names were derived from incidents not involving personal bravery, and occasionally they were based upon absurd or ridiculous adventures. A few in these lists indicate that they were bestowed in derision. But "Fighting-cuss" is undoubtedly a tribute to personal prowess, and "Keeps-the-bottle" would seem to be associated with a most provokingly selfish incident.

It has been and is yet a popular belief that the Indian race in the United States is fast disappearing, and that its total extinction is merely a question of short time. In one sense this is probably true, because it is almost certain that the Indian people will finally become assimilated by the great mass of white population, and disappear as a distinct type, just as the descendants of our foreign-born citizens blend into the dominating element of our general population. But as to the present status of the Indians, the conclusion that they have rapidly been reduced in aggregate numbers was called in question by the late Colonel Garrick Mallery, of the United States army, in a report to the Bureau of Ethnology. From the evidence he presented it appears that while many tribes have decreased, and a considerable number has become extinct, others have increased very decidedly, leading to the conclusion that the Indian population of the territory embraced in the United States, as a whole, has not greatly decreased since the earliest occupation of the country by Europeans. It is, at least, certain that the Indians have been brought under various influences which tend to preserve and prolong life. With placing them on reservations, inter-tribal wars have ceased; they are now better housed, clothed and fed; many of them have regular avocations; and they have intelligent medical attendance when sick.

The Indian population was a thin, scattered peopling of a vast country capable of supporting millions in comfort and happiness. It is doubtful whether within historic times, Colorado's ratable proportion, according to area, of the Indian people of this region, ever exceeded fifteen thousand.

The history of the Indians east of the Mississippi, from the time of the first occupation of the country by the whites, was one of forced migrations, always westward, to make room for the repeated encroachments of civilization. This was the fundamental cause for much of the aggressiveness of those whose natural habitat was west of that river, and who saw not only the intruders of their own race coming into their country, but the overwhelming wave of white encroachment following them.

The general policy of the United States government in its management of the Indian tribes of the country, was to treat with them as separate but subordinate principalities. It thus made treaties with the different tribes, purchased land from them, granted annuities to them, and so forth. Its policy, further, in recent years, was to place the tribes on reservations whence they are prohibited from wandering, and which are forbidden lands to the whites, thus isolating the Indians from the rest of mankind. This policy has been pursued until all Indian tribes are now on reservations, leaving none to roam at will over the regions they once inhabited. It has not, however, been as easy to keep the whites out as to keep the Indians in. The steady, stealthy encroachment of the dominant race has persistently reduced the area of the Indians' territorial domain; and perhaps for the better of both.

In every attempt at outlining Indian boundaries, it should be remembered that there is always more or less of overlapping of territory and a considerable area of debatable country, both in separating the groups or families, and in the lesser divisions for the tribes. There were never among the Indians any such things as clearly-defined territorial lines; they were only general. Frequently, several tribes claimed the same land, and their efforts at marking out boundaries were childishly absurd. It was often found by the United States government to be utterly impossible to decide between the conflicting claims, and not infrequently the only way to end the wrangle and avoid the difficulties lay in admitting the claims of both or all parties, and paying for the land twice or thrice for the sake of peace and harmony.

In sharp contrast with the savage side of their nature, they were like children in many ways; pleased with simple toys and trinkets, and delighted with gaudy fripperies they could use in adorning their persons. They were fond of wearing a garment or two from civilized sources. A solemn-visaged warrior clad in a white shirt, and with a cast-off tall silk hat on his head, never doubted but that he was the envy of all beholders as he strutted around in his newly-acquired finery. The braves appeared to have more childish simplicity in these ways, and much more personal vanity, than the squaws; and all the family elegancies were appropriated to the exclusive use of the head of the household.

From the earliest contact with the white man they were profoundly impressed by the mysterious potency of handwriting, and the "talking paper" mystified them for a long time. In later years they availed themselves of its service whenever they could find a white man willing to write a sort of letter of introduction or certificate of character, to be used when the bearer encountered other white men with whom he desired to establish some social standing. The confiding savage was sometimes the owner of a "talking paper" that entered further into truthful particulars than was really necessary to the purpose for which the red man desired to use it. Richardson relates that when he and Mr. Greeley were nearing Denver in 1859, at one of the stage stations a Cheyenne brave approached him and complacently presented a document, probably procured at Denver, which conveyed the following frank and interesting bit of compact information: "This Indian is a drunkard, a liar and a notorious old thief; look out for him."

In return for the lands ceded by the Indians to the United States, in addition to certain money payments, most of the tribes receive yearly allowances from the government, which are paid in the form of supplies of food, clothing, material for building, implements, arms and ammunition. The sale of spirituous liquors to them is prohibited, and the law fairly enforced; but the red man, like his white brother, can rise above the obstructions of all law when supplies of firewater are thought necessary. Under such conditions the experiment of civilizing the native races is moving along slowly; in the cases of some tribes, with success; in others, thus far, with comparative failure. However, as proper stimulus to self-support is wanting, it seems surprising that any tribe should have made perceptible advance; and the progress attained is, therefore, encouraging for future effort.

The Canadian government had far less trouble in its Indian affairs, than our own has experienced. Their system was a different and better one, and their tribes less numerous, less aggressive and, what has been of greater consequence, less crowded by white inroads. The Indian service of the United States became a large and important part of the political machine; agents and other officers were appointed by political or church influences; and places given as consolation rewards to incompetent or indifferent broken-down politicians. The government, through the operations of many of these appointees, who were charged with the duty of fulfilling its obligations, was placed in the provoking attitude of violating treaty after treaty, destroying the confidence of the Indians in the promises made them, and resulting in outbreaks, disorder and bloodshed; and, as a rule, the government was slow to punish Indian depredations.

A fruitful cause of friction and consequent trouble was the Indian's inability to define and observe boundaries. He was accustomed to going wherever he wanted to, if not prevented by a superior force; and to tell him that he must not gallop over a certain imaginary line was a sore trial to his theories of Indian liberty. Even when he described the area and confines of the territory he claimed, he did so in a loose way that gave him a wide latitude when he went abroad on the forays he loved so well.

While these people were extremely treacherous, and endowed with much craft and cunning, they almost uniformly recognized the sanctity of an ambassador. Persons on such missions might enter and leave an Indian village in safety, but the chances were that before they had gone far on their return their recent hosts would be trying to overtake and kill them.

Treaty obligations rested lightly upon them, principally through the childishness of the childish side of their nature. Placing them on reservations was the only means of preventing their annihilation. The consequences of their unrestricted contact with the civilization that came upon them here in the west so suddenly, were more than either side could stand. Their fate immediately became a choice between swift and total destruction, and a restrained life on reservations where they might attain better conditions.

It was not by violence alone at the hands of the white men, that they were menaced; they adopted with eager facility all the vices of the superior race but were reluctant in taking up the virtues. Dissipation and disease were claiming as many victims as the sword and musket, and the unhappy people were becoming more and more degraded every year. The closing decade of the nineteenth century was one of peace with all the Indian tribes, and it may with certainty be said that never again will Indian wars, that cost so much blood and treasure through the hundred years, be known anywhere in this land.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE WESTERN REGION—CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE ARAPAHOES—INDIAN DOMESTIC ARRANGEMENTS—VARIOUS OTHER TRIBES OF THE WEST—UTES AND THEIR CHIEFTAINS—PUEBLO INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST.

When the city of Denver was founded its site was in the very heart of the Indian-peopled region of the United States. For hundreds of miles in every direction—east, west, north, south—the native race was practically in full, undisturbed possession of the land; the hunters, traders and trappers, the advance guard of the invading people, had pursued their avocations here under the sufferance, only, of the other race, and the California emigration had passed without changing conditions in the country over which it made its way.

The Indians, sometimes peaceful, always uncertain, and often hostile to the point of open war, literally surrounded the young city with a danger which their numbers could have made overwhelming, if they had united in aggressive action. When they later attempted organized hostility the greater peril was from those to the eastward rather than from those in the west. The history of no other city in the world presents circumstances so extraordinary. New settlements in new countries are usually, always, we may say, made on the frontier. The founders of this city left the frontier far behind them, and when the first cabins were built at the mouth of Cherry creek, its distance was almost equally great in all the points of the compass.

Denver is built in the land of the Arapahoes, and preserves the memory of the tribe in the name of one of her great commercial thoroughfares, and in that of the county of which it is the seat and which stretches in a broad belt eastward to the Kansas line. The name is the Sioux word "Magpiyato," meaning "blue cloud," and was reduced to its present form by frontier English pronunciation and modification. While the Sioux bestowed this name upon these Indians, the Arapahoes' family identity is in some doubt. By a few authorities they are thought to have been of Sioux origin, but many others with stronger reasons class them among intruders in this region, and assign them to the great Algonquin family. They probably had not been in the west for many generations.

The Arapahoes were brave, warlike, cruel, treacherous, and predatory, ranging over the plains region between the North Platte and the Arkansas rivers. The site of Denver was one of their favorite camping grounds, and in the city's early days they persistently haunted the place, hanging around it in large numbers; sometimes as many as twelve hundred or fifteen hundred of them being encamped here, They soon learned that they had to behave themselves, and ordinarily were peaceable; but they were exceedingly fond of whiskey, and when under its influence became ugly customers to whom little leniency could or would be shown.

Little Raven, Head Chief of the Arapahoes.

Their personal traits and habits were degraded and offensive. Their women were habitually unchaste, and loathsome diseases were common among them. The tribe had suffered severely from small-pox which destroyed hundreds of the people. A few old individuals who had recovered from the disease afforded, in their frightfully scarred faces, ample proof of the extreme virulence of the pestilence. They accorded a very low position to their women and bestowed less consideration upon them than they gave their ponies. Parents would sell, or barter, their young daughters to white men or to other Indians for a pony or two; for a particularly likely young woman several ponies would be demanded and often received. Almost everything that could be chewed and swallowed served them as food. When they killed a buffalo, deer, or antelope they consumed all of the animal except the hide, horns and bones; the entrails were esteemed as great delicacies. The flesh of dogs was held in high favor at an Arapahoe banquet. Squaws and children would devour vermin from their own heads, which usually harbored an abundant supply.

For generations these people had been implacable enemies of the Utes, and with the assistance of the Cheyennes and some of the Sioux, made unrelenting warfare on that troublesome nation. The border settlements had occasionally received hostile Arapahoe attention, but after the founding of Denver these Indians became more tractable. They were long since removed from their old ranges, the southern bands of the tribe now having a fine reservation in the western part of the Indian Territory, while the northern bands have been similarly provided for on the reservation of the Shoshones, in the western part of Wyoming. They have not readily adapted themselves to the ways of civilization and it will probably be a long time before they do. They now number about twenty-eight hundred.

Early in the summer of 1859 there were nearly three hundred lodges of Arapahoes in and immediately around Denver and Auraria. Over in the mountains at a point about fifty miles west, an equal number of Utes were congregated. The two bands were preparing for one of their periodic encounters, and the Arapahoes had brought their lodges where the squaws and children would be under the protection the presence of the white men would afford them. While the braves were getting ready for their expedition the squaws were engaged in their usual drudgery—dressing game, cooking, curing hides, and beating the youngsters. In July the war party started, but made a fruitless errand; the Utes, having changed their minds about wanting a fight, retreating to the west before the braves from Denver reached them.

At this time the Arapahoe chieftain was "Little Raven," who seems to have been a savage of many unusual traits of character. Albert D. Richardson, author and newspaper correspondent, then on his first visit to the settlements at the mouth of Cherry creek, fell in with Little Raven, and the acquaintance ripened into a friendship which the author appears to have esteemed highly. We quote from his book—"Beyond the Mississippi"—the following account of his impressions of and interviews with this chief of the Arapahoes.

"But, one chief, the 'Little Raven,' was the nearest approximation I ever met to the Ideal Indian. He had a fine, manly form and a human, trusty face. To spend an hour in our cabin was his custom always of an afternoon; and, though his entire ignorance of English was equaled only by my utter ignorance of Arapahoe, we held pleasant communion together. Our conversations were carried on by signs and the very few words we had in common. The tongue was weak, but the gesticulations eloquent."

"Usually, by some means we could make each other comprehend; but twice or thrice we became, as actors say, hopelessly 'stuck.' Then my visitor sent for one 'Left Hand,' a linguist; for, as Day & Martin, the great blacking manufacturers, 'kept a poet,' so the chief of the Arapahoes maintained an interpreter. Left Hand spoke English fluently, having acquired it from traders in boyhood, and soon extricated us from our conversational quagmire. I will report from memory one of our interviews:"

"Little Raven enters: salutes me with a cordial grunt and a shake of the hand. I place him in the only chair our cabin affords, perching myself upon the table; fill his long pipe with Virginia tobacco, light a cigar on my own account; and then ensues a period of solemn and smoky silence. An occasional remark is ventured about the Utes, the weather, the mines; gradually we become communicative, and at last familiar. He studies one of my maps with great curiosity and attention; inquires earnestly for the whereabouts upon it of the great father at Washington; and asks other questions which show how vague stories of the wonders of civilization have thrilled his simple heart, as fabulous tales of the New World thrilled the Spaniards of old. At last he folds the map and interrogates me on personal matters:"

"Who is my lame companion [Mr. Greeley] lying upon the bunk?".

"I reply that he is a great chief and named the 'Goose Quill,' endeavoring to explain that his realm and authority are purely intellectual, but giving up in despair when the Raven interrupts me to ask how many horses he owns?"

"Where is my lodge?"

"I signify that it is by the great waters a hundred sleeps away; at which he gazes in wonder, tinged with that incredulity which civilized persons sometimes manifest for the tales of travelers."

"How many squaws and papooses have I?"

"When I have replied with due humility, he exultingly assures me that he is the happy husband of seven squaws and the proud parent of ten papooses. The comparison is odious; he evidently feels his social superiority."

"How many horses have I?"

"Sorrowfully I admit that I can lay claim to no solitary piece of horseflesh. The Raven answers by pointing triumphantly at his thirty sleek ponies grazing on the adjacent prairie. As one's wealth and position in Arapahoe eyes depend solely upon the number of his wives and horses, I feel that the Raven is becoming directly personal and inferentially abusive. So I place him in the witness-box and become questioner myself."

"How many revolvers has he?"

"He shrugs his shoulders—a pantomimic cipher. I produce Colt's new patent which he examines with great curiosity and admiration; handling it cautiously, as if it were an infernal machine, and showing a childish satisfaction not unmingled with terror, as I discharge the five barrels in rapid succession."

"How much," he ventured to ask, "did it cost?"

"I mention an almost fabulous sum and his respect for me is visibly augmented. Even the Indian is moved by the almighty dollar—or rather the almighty half dollar; for that is the only denomination of specie in which he will receive payments. I follow up my advantage:"

"How many locomotives has he?"

"A mournful shake of the head is his only response; and while I convey to him crude ideas of the fiery, untiring monster which will carry me farther in one sleep (day) than his fleetest horse can bear him in ten, he manifests intense interest, signifying that he has heard of the prodigy before, but never saw him. The impression left upon his mind that I am the individual owner of several of these monsters, I am careful not to dissipate; and thereafter he treats me with the profound deference due a 'big Injun,' and a fit associate of the Arapahoe monarch. And so, the topics of the day exhausted, with another cordial hand-shaking, he takes his departure."

Little Raven in Greeley's and Richardson's cabin.

"Left Hand" was another noted Arapahoe chieftain; and "Buffalo Billy" still another, but of lesser renown. Left Hand, referred to by Richardson, was accused by some of his people of being too much under the white men's influence, and his standing among them suffered to some extent in consequence thereof. In the troubles that came later Left Hand proved these reflections to have been wicked slanders upon his thoroughly Indian character, but he unresistingly gave up his life in the slaughter of Indians at Sand Creek in November, 1864.

The light of Buffalo Billy went out under most unhappy circumstances. One day in the summer of 1860 while he and his band were camped out on Cherry creek a few miles south-east of Denver, some of his people got hold of an unusually large supply of frontier whiskey of the deadliest quality to be found in the market of pioneer Denver—which means that it was uncommonly bad whiskey. That night a frenzied brawl broke out among the drink-crazed band, and before it ended some twenty Arapahoe braves, including Buffalo Billy, who was as drunk as any of them, had departed for the happy, and presumably soberer, hunting grounds. It was exclusively an Indian fracas with no outside responsibility for it except that which rested on the Denver men who bartered the villainous liquor.

As a tribe the Arapahoes did not rank as high as some of the other plains Indians, nor were they the equals of the Utes of the mountains. The Sioux and Cheyennes tolerated them in a patronizing kind of way, but the Arapahoes were never able to command the highest respect in Indian circles. The white people of the fur-trading period also regarded them as inferior to most of the others, and the Denver pioneers placed a still lower estimate upon them. They were brave enough when on the war-path and boastful enough when they were not; but they lacked the spirit and dash that characterized most of their red neighbors.

The Indians of these parts were neither exacting nor ambitious in their domestic arrangements. The lodge was made of several long poles standing on the ground in a circle about fifteen feet in diameter, the sticks converging at their upper ends. On these, skins and blankets would be placed, making a conical sort of structure twelve or fifteen feet high. The smoke found exit at the top where the poles came together, and from an Indian standpoint the outfit was creditable and satisfactory. When buffalo were plenty the lodge-coverings were buffalo hides dressed on both sides, and these, when comparatively new, were nearly white. This gave an Indian village when seen from a distance a rather fresh and picturesque appearance, as it gleamed in the light of the sun. The people slept on buffalo and other skins on which the hair remained. The imperfect curing of these hides made them rankly odorous, and added largely to the aroma that heralded the presence of an Indian camp, some distance to its leeward. Unless prevented by stress of weather the fire was made outside at the front of the lodge; otherwise, they brought it in where, with their robes and other unclean plunder, it made close quarters. But the family would all crowd in without much apparent discomfort.

The shield and weapons of the lord of the household were always hung in a prominent place and were the pride of his dependents as well as of himself. These with his horses were the master's evidences of wealth and importance. The shields in later years fell into disuse, but they were good defensive affairs. Made of buffalo hide and padded with hair, they would ward off a rifle ball unless struck at a right angle to the surface. They were often grotesquely decorated with paint, and usually ornamented with quills and feathers. In earlier times before the Indians depended so much on fire-arms obtained from the whites, they used powerful bows with which they often sent an arrow clear through the body of a buffalo.

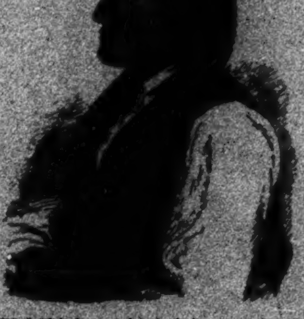
They had little mechanical ingenuity. The men held themselves aloof from physical labor except that which was necessarily involved in warfare and hunting. They considered themselves above doing anything like drudgery—all that was squaw's work. They made no pottery, and were practically destitute of artistic conceptions such as we see worked out on the handiwork of the presumably older native races. Aside from their weapons they had little or nothing that was the product of mechanical skill. Before the traders came in they depended on the skins of animals for such clothing as they used and for the coverings for their lodges. Our plains Indians had little or no knowledge of woven fabrics, until they acquired such things from the whites. Dressing the skins, as with everything else, was the work of the squaws. None of them wore much clothing. A Sioux, in answer to a white man who asked how they could get along with so little, pointed to the white man's practice of leaving his face uncovered, even in cold weather, and said an Indian was all face; meaning that all parts of the Indian's body had become inured to cold. In pleasant weather the children under four or five years old, ran around entirely naked except for the veneering of dirt that might adhere to their bodies. Older boys wore breech-clouts, and girls partly covered themselves with skins or blankets, which also constituted the clothing of the squaws. The lord and master monopolised all the family finery and elegancies, and nothing within their narrow resources was considered too good for him. But after all, dirt, squalor and foul smells were first and foremost in Indian quarters wherever they were.

The Dakota, or Sioux tribes, from the earliest knowledge of them by white men, have been the most powerful family or nation of Indians in the Mississippi valley, if not in the whole country. The warriors possessed fine physiques, great personal courage, and much craft and skill in warfare. Though these people have been backward in adopting the ways of civilization, their intellectual powers are above the average of the plains Indians. They are now on reservations in the two Dakotas, where, under better modes of living, their numbers are increasing. Including several minor bands, there are some fifteen or sixteen tribes, now aggregating nearly fifty thousand souls. This does not include any tribes that are distantly related to them. Many of them are trying to interest themselves in agriculture, but their progress is not very encouraging.

Their history from the first has been one of war; their name a terror to their Indian neighbors as well as to the whites. Their last general outbreak was that which involved the destruction of General Custer and his command on the Little Big Horn river, on June 25, 1876. In October, 1898, a party of Winnebagoes began pillaging in northern Minnesota, and killed several of the United States troops sent to suppress them, but having a much heavier loss themselves. The affair was of little significance and in no sense a tribal outbreak.

The Sioux always indignantly repudiated that name. It it a part of the word "Nadowessioux," which is the French plural of the term applied to them by their Algonquin enemies, and which meant "the hated enemy." The French traders and voyageurs abbreviated it by using the last syllable of their plural. The Indians exceedingly dislike the name, preferring the word "Dakota" which is translated as meaning "leagued or allied;" another interpretation, thought to be more precise, is "associated as comrades." The Sioux sometimes use the word "Dakota" in the sense of signifying "our friends."

The identity of the Pawnees is not clearly established. By some students they are believed to have been an independent people; others regard them as of Shoshone stock, and still others hold that they and the Caddoes constituted an independent family. In early times the Caddoes were a powerful tribe in the country of the Red river, but by war and pestilence were decimated to the mere handful now on a reservation in the Indian Territory. The Wichitas were evidently an offshoot from them and are now reduced to a fragment in the Indian Territory. The Pawnees and Wichitas were once strong and warlike enough to keep the lives of their neighbors from becoming monotonous. The Arickaras, of the north, usually associated with the Sioux and now with them on a northern reservation, are also thought to have sprung from the Caddoe stock, the four being surviving remnants of some old-time great nation of red men. By the other tribes in this vicinity the Pawnees were regarded as intruders and they were not popular with anybody. Their country, in a general sense, was along the Platte river, in the west half of Nebraska and northeastern corner of Colorado, but they roamed as far south of the Arkansas when not menaced or driven back by superior numbers of their enemies. They were always at war with the Sioux and suffered heavy losses by it. In 1874 they were removed to a reservation in the Indian Territory, where they have made gratifying progress. There are now more than two thousand of them.



Bird Chief, war chief of the Arapahoes.

It has not been determined whether the Cheyennes were an offshoot of the Sioux or of the Algonquin family; but it is probable that they were of the latter, and had not long dwelt in this part of the country. The Sioux appeared to regard them as aliens. Early in their history they occupied the country of the Cheyenne river, a tributary of the Red river of the north. The Sioux drove them out of there and they were found by the early white explorers in the vicinity of the Black Hills. Subsequently a large portion of them came southward and allied themselves with the Arapahoes. They were a large, powerful, athletic people, with a liberal allowance of intelligence, and were good hunters and fighters. They were disposed to be aggressive, and their usual occupation was that of making raids on their neighbors, and attacking white men when the latter came within reach. Twenty years or more ago, they were collected on a reservation in the western part of the Indian Territory where they have made some advancement. The tribe now numbers about four thousand, five hundred individuals. A Cheyenne chieftain of much importance and influence was "Roman Nose." In the tribal language his name was "Big Nose," but the white people substituted the other because it more accurately described the most prominent of the warrior's features. Roman Nose was a big, sullen, treacherous savage who made himself conspicuous in the hostilities that broke out a few years after the founding of Denver, and before they were over lost his life, as we shall later see.

The Crows, or Upsarokas, were a branch of the Sioux, but were regarded with great disfavor by that nation. The Crows reciprocated this sentiment, and the two became inveterate enemies. A Sioux could do no more praiseworthy act than to kill a Crow. The Crows, whether justly or not, had a bad reputation among their neighbors, who looked upon them with much disdain, and reproached them for their thievish propensities. Physically they were tall and athletic, with unusually dark complexions from which they probably derived their name. Their original range was from the southern part of Montana down into Wyoming and thence southward and eastward. They were great rovers and no part of the country for hundreds of miles around was safe from their depredations. They were considered rascally cowards by their Sioux enemies, but their reputation as marauders and horse-thieves left nothing to be desired, from a Crow standpoint. Their raids often brought them as far as Denver. Though they were usually crafty enough to avoid open war with the whites, they did not scruple to rob emigrants and settlers when opportunity offered. At present they occupy a reservation in southern Montana—a portion of their old stamping ground. They number between four thousand five hundred and five thousand, and have made some progress from their former condition. They are practically supported by the government, and many of their braves have served in the army as soldiers and scouts. In the summer of 1900 a considerable number of Crows engaged as laborers in railroad construction.

The Kansas, or Kaw, tribe was a branch of the Osages, who in turn, were of Sioux stock. The Kansas were driven out of Missouri into Kansas by the Sioux who long cherished a grudge against them. Their rovings after game and enemies frequently led them into the plains of Colorado, and often into trouble. The United States government, after shifting them around from one reservation to another, finally placed them on good lands in the Indian Territory where they have rapidly approached a civilized condition, and now number about seven hundred.

Little Robe, chief of the Cheyennes.

The Kiowas have usually been classed as a branch of the Shoshones, though some authorities have thought them a family by themselves — intruders from an unknown source. They were once located in the upper valley of the Arkansas and here on the South Platte, whence the Arapahoes and Cheyennes drove them southeast. They ranged over the valleys of the lower Arkansas and the Canadian river, frequently extending their war and hunting forays into this part of Colorado. A wild, roving people, they made a great deal of trouble for everybody around them. In 1869 the government placed them on a reservation in the Indian Territory, where they have made a little advancement. They number upward of fifteen hundred and are increasing, but their old troublesome restlessness still clings to them.

Of all the Indian tribes which once roamed over this central region of what used to be called the "Far West," the Utes are and have been the better known to the people of Denver. Some of them have become personally known here in consequence of their presence in the city as guests and most interesting figures in our festivals of the mountain and plain.

The Utes, or Utah tribes—the "Dwellers in the Mountains"—are of the great Shoshone family, and once occupied all of the mountain region in what is now Colorado, the southwestern part of Wyoming, and about as much of Utah as they cared to claim. They comprised several confederated tribes or bands, each having its chief or leader, but all acknowledging the authority of one head chieftain. They were hereditary enemies of the tribes on the plains, and before Denver was founded frequently made raids from the mountain fastness upon the Arapahoes, Cheyennes and others. Being brave, crafty, tireless, and good fighters, and usually directed by capable leaders, they caused a great deal of trouble for their eastern red neighbors. They were on terms of amity with the Apaches to their southward, and this sometimes appeared to be an offensive and defensive alliance; the two tribes visiting each other, inter-marrying, and exchanging aid and comfort in many ways.

The Utes provided material for some of the bloody chapters in the history of Colorado, but they long since realized the futility of attempting to repel the encroachments of the dominating white man. The rapid settlement of the State crowded them out of their vast domain in the mountains, limiting them to reservations which in turn were reduced in area or taken from them altogether. At each step in these proceedings the dispossessed Utes were transferred to the large Uintah reservation in northeastern Utah which had been set aside for them. It is well watered by the Green river and its tributaries, and is represented to be more acceptable to them than their old ones. These continued changes finally resulted in confining the small number of Utes left in Colorado to a reservation in the southwestern corner of the State—a long narrow strip with its length lying east and west on the border of New Mexico. But, under the terms of the old treaty which provided that reservation for the Southern Utes, the greater portion of it was thrown open in May, 1899, to settlement, and the stampede of white men usual upon such occasions, soon "took up" every available acre of the reservation.

The Colorado Ute tribes, generally classified as "White River," and "Southern Utes," now number about three thousand persons. It is probable that they never at any time in their history had a much greater number. They are very old tribes, and had dwelt in the mountain districts for as long a time as their traditions covered. In their native state they were warlike, cruel and treacherous; and they still retain some of their old practices and customs. They have not taken kindly to civilization nor to the sincere efforts to improve their condition and modes of life. A vast amount of philanthropy and money have been expended upon them. Persistent and, so far as general results prove, futile endeavors, have been made to have them engage permanently in agriculture and stock-raising. The government has furnished them with houses, horses, cattle, implements, seeds and everything else needed for the experiment, in addition to the regular annuity supplies, but the outcome has not been encouraging. A few individuals made use of the opportunities, but the tribes as a whole have not. Their unfortunate agent N. C. Meeker who, with several of his agency employees, was massacred by a band of Utes in 1879, was appointed to his fatal position, for the special purpose of enabling him to carry out a broad and philanthropical plan he had conceived for improving and civilizing the people who rose against him and slew him.

On the other hand the Utes developed two chieftains who proved to be men of unusual Indian character, and of pronounced sagacity and ability. One of these was Ouray, a man of fine physical appearance, gentle manners, great intellect, and keen perceptions. He saw early in his career the uselessness and fatal consequences of his people making war upon the whites, and his voice and influence were for peace. He was the head of the Ute nation at the time of the White river massacres, and no man, white or red, more sincerely deplored those acts of bands of Utes than he, and for which he was not only not in any way responsible, but which occurred in direct opposition to everything he had endeavored to teach his people. Ouray, who was one of the few truly noble Indians of this region, died in 1883 at the Southern Ute Agency in Colorado. A fine little city of Colorado bears his name, but his memory is otherwise preserved in the respect and esteem in which he was held by every man who knew him. He was born in 1839 in the Taos valley, New Mexico, his father having been an Ute and his mother an Apache. Some years before his death he adopted civilized modes of life, and acquired a fine ranch near Ouray.

Ouray.

The second of the pair of chieftains to whom we referred above, is Ignacio of the Weeminuche tribe of Southern Utes. He became Ouray's successor, and is a man of decided ability. Physically he is large, his height being six feet two inches, and his weight about two hundred and forty pounds. He agreed with Ouray that whatever might be the fate of his people from contact with the whites, war would only bring it quicker and make it far worse. He has been steadfast for peace and for compliance with treaty regulations. It was in consequence of his influence, justness, and force of character that his tribes finally and for good abandoned thoughts of further warfare. Ignacio exerts a fatherly control over his people and is a man of extraordinary generosity. Indian Agent Bartholomew pronounced him the best Indian he ever saw or of whom he had ever heard. His broad mind, generous impulses, ability to wisely guide and counsel, and other sterling elements of character would have made Ignacio a conspicuous, popular and useful man in any civilized community. He was born in 1844, is still living, and serving as the leader of his people.

"Captain Jack," chief of the Yampai White river Utes was a treacherous, cruel, uncompromising savage, an inveterate gambler, and in his later years a great drunkard, who resisted all attempts to improve the condition of his people. He declared that the Utes wanted none of the white man's civilization and would have none of it; and that the Ute braves would not work with the plow and hoe like squaws. It was he with his band who ambushed Major Thornburg's command, and in six days' fighting killed that officer and a large proportion of his men. This was one of the tragedies of the Ute outbreak of 1879 and coincident with the attack on the White River agency by Douglass, chief of the Uintah White River Utes, in which Agent Meeker and his unfortunate men were massacred. "Captain Jack" was killed in October, 1897, at Navajo Springs, Colorado, while on a drunken spree.

Douglass was above the average of Indian intelligence and ability, but he was crafty and insincere. Up to the time of the outbreak he professed friendship for the whites and declared that, like Ouray, he was for peace. Instantly the opportunity came for war he with twenty of his warriors attacked the agency. The massacre was attended by sickening horrors which proved that efforts to civilize the Utes had not up to that time accomplished very encouraging results. In a later chapter we will give some further account of the Meeker tragedy. Douglass died at the Uintah Agency, White Rocks, Utah, in 1885.

Another Ute chief, one who made himself offensive, conspicuous and troublesome in comparatively recent times was Colorow, a disreputable old rascal who was disliked by most of his own people and detested by every white man who knew him. When he was not trying to stir up trouble between his people and the whites, he was tramping over the country, begging, stealing, and bullying whenever he thought it safe to do so. Most of the Utes said he was really a great coward, and as a favorite scheme of his was to call at some ranch when the men were absent, and by threats of great fierceness make the women supply him with all the food he could eat, the Ute verdict was probably correct. Colorow was at the head of a small band of the White River Utes. After the massacre of Major Thornburg and a large number of his men, and of Indian Agent Meeker, the White River Utes were removed from Colorado to the Uintah reservation in Utah. Colorow never consented to the change, although he had to go, and was boastful in his declarations that he would not stay in Utah. In the summer of 1887 he and his band left the Utah reservation and came back to his old haunts where he got into trouble with the authorities of Garfield county. State troops were sent there to suppress him, which they speedily did, but at the cost of the lives of several of the Indians, two of the soldiers and one civilian; and at an expense to the State of nearly one hundred thousand dollars. This was the last conflict with Indians in the State of Colorado. Colorow died at his camp at the mouth of the White river in Utah on December 11, 1888; and his own people agreed with the opinions of the white men that it was the only praiseworthy thing he ever did.

"Buckskin Charley," of the Moache Southern Utes, would rank as a shrewd, intelligent, crafty chief without the higher qualities of Ouray and Ignacio. His father was an Apache and his mother an Ute, and he retained a good deal of the Apache character. Though of medium size he demonstrated his ability to dominate his tribe and enforce obedience to his commands. In the rumors and reports of Indian outbreaks twenty years ago the name of Buckskin Charley became familiar to the people of Denver, and his later visits to the city have placed him on many of our citizens' lists of personal acquaintances. He and some of his people participated in our last Festival of Mountain and Plain.

Buckskin Charley.

Ute morals were in many respects superior to those of the Arapahoes, especially with regard to the women. There were very few half-breed children among their progeny, and few of parentage divided with other tribes. But little fuss and bother was made over marriage ceremonies, and the least of what there was fell to the bride. The young brave having decided upon the youthful squaw he deemed desirable, gave her father a pony or two, then took the girl, and that was the end of it. Some households are polygamous, but the practice is disappearing, as others of their domestic customs are, under the influences of their present modes of life.

With the surrender of the Southern Ute reservation, passed away the last of the old order of Indian affairs in Colorado. The reservation contained about seven hundred thousand acres. The terms under which the Southern Utes surrendered it provided for three hundred and seventy-four individual Indian holdings which aggregate about sixty thousand acres of the best agricultural and grazing lands in the district. In addition to these lands in severalty the tribes receive, and are to receive "forever," a proportional share of a cash annuity of fifty thousand dollars from the government. This arrangement practically terminates the tribal existence of the Southern

Utes, and leaves the individuals to do much as they please. Many of them, will, no doubt, join their relatives on the Uintah reservation in Utah sooner or later. Their reservation town is Ignacio, where the agency headquarters are located, and it will probably continue to be the center of such of their population as may permanently keep their lands and endeavor to live after the white man's fashion.

When the reservation was thrown open there were about twelve hundred Southern Utes upon it. About seventeen hundred of their tribal kin were on the Uintah reservation, and it is among all these people that the government's annuity of fifty thousand dollars, in addition to rations, is distributed—ten thousand dollars of it being set aside for maintenance of their schools. It is not probable that the Southern Ute holders of the separate allotments will cultivate them, as they are still averse to manual labor of every kind. The lands will be rented to white men and the Ute landlords will become chronic waiters for payday. Ignacio thought the allotments too large and that smaller ones would have better served the purpose for which they were made.

With this transaction the last of the Colorado Indian tribes, as such, disappeared, and the State now has no tribes or bands of red men living within its limits under original conditions or under the general reservation system. It is difficult to realize that the entire aboriginal population of the great territory embraced within the boundaries of Colorado has been removed within forty years, and that in the vast region that had been the home of these people for so many generations, not one band, not one family, is living the old mode of life all of them loved so well.

Ignacio, Head Chief of the Utes.

The Comanches were the farthest east of any of the Shoshone tribes. They ranged over large portions of Texas, Indian Territory and eastern New Mexico. In earlier times they got into Kansas and westward to the Arkansas and South Platte rivers, but were driven out of here by the Arapahoes and Cheyennes. The Comanches were a superior, energetic tribe widely noted both in red and white society, for their skillful horsemanship, and their fondness for dashing, murderous raids on their enemies of both colors. They are now on a reservation in the Indian Territory, and number near two thousand. They have not made much advancement, but they have been only a few years under restraint.

The Apaches, of the Athabascan family of the north, have been the most pestiferous savages with which the United States government has ever had to deal. They formerly occupied a territory extending from central Texas west to the Colorado river, embracing much of New Mexico, the larger part of Arizona, and extending down into Mexico. The Lipans, a closely related people, once occupied the eastern part of the Apache territory, extending from the Comanche country southwest to the Rio Grande. They, with the Apaches, were driven out of there and moved south and southwest, the Lipans finally going over into Mexico, but retaining their alliance with their old associates. The Apaches were constantly at war with the whites, and were the last tribe to be subdued. They were murderous people, fiendish in their cruelty and ruthless in seeking vengeance. Their mode of warfare in their sterile, mountainous country, filled with hiding places inaccessible to any but their own people, made their subjection a difficult and bloody undertaking for the soldiers, who were at last successful. Their notorious leader Geronimo and some three hundred and fifty of his worst followers were made prisoners in 1886 and removed to Mt. Vernon barracks, in Alabama, to prevent them mingling with their people and renewing their atrocities. The rest of the tribe, including many small bands, were placed on various reservations, remote from each other, in the southwest. Subsequently those at Mt. Vernon barracks were removed, Geronimo and several of his chieftains being taken to St. Augustine, Florida, and confined in the old fort, "San Marco," while the others were divided around among several reservations. Geronimo is now detained at Fort Sill in the Indian Territory, and was recently reported insane. About one thousand of the Jicarilla Apaches are on a reservation in northwestern New Mexico, bordering on the Colorado line, and some four hundred are in the Indian Territory. There are now between six thousand and seven thousand of these people and they are likely to be a permanent charge upon the government, as the probabilities of ever civilizing them and making them self-supporting, are remote, indeed.

The Navajos, another branch of the Athabascan stock which is far removed from the body of the family, since first known to history had occupied a region on, and south of, the San Juan river, in northwestern New Mexico, and in northeastern Arizona; thus having been surrounded on three sides by the Apaches, and upon the north meeting the Shoshone-Ute tribes. They now have a fine reservation there in their old country in the northwest corner of New Mexico, where they are making most creditable advancement. They have considerable native civilization, not a few of them engaging in agriculture and raising stock. They possess a fair degree of art and much mechanical skill; their finely-woven blankets, beautifully patterned in bright colors, and their metal and basket work, are highly prized throughout the southwest, and bring their makers an important income. They are a fine, athletic people, excellent horsemen, and while they have been peaceful and contented for many years, they formerly frequently engaged in hostilities. At present their numbers are between eighteen and twenty thousand.

A singular people, and one without an established identity with any other of our native races, are the several tribes of pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona; so called from their fixed custom of dwelling in permanent towns or pueblos. Formerly it was assumed that they were descendants of the Mexican Aztecs, but that theory is no longer entertained. More than twenty years ago J. W. Powell of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology, caused a thorough research to be made of all that could be learned of the origin of these people. In an article contributed to the Denver Rocky Mountain Presbyterian, for November, 1878, he clearly set forth the wholly erroneous character of this once popular belief. Their possible relation to the ancient tribes which built the great dwellings in the canon cliffs in that general region has already been sufficiently considered so far as it is expedient to do so in this volume.

The first account we have of these people is that of De Vaca, who visited them early in the sixteenth century. Some particulars of his adventures are given in a succeeding chapter. There are a number of these tribes or communities, resembling one another very closely in their surroundings, manners, customs and traditions; and their history has been much the same. Subdued by Coronado in 1540, they made a successful revolt two years later, but were again conquered by the Spaniards, in 1586. In 1680 they made another successful revolution, and thereafter maintained a semi-independence. When the country was ceded to the United States in 1848, they were a peaceful, partly civilized people, Zuni being their principal town, as it is now. The United States courts decided that they were citizens of the United States, though they have never availed themselves of the privileges of citizenship, preferring to adhere closely to their traditional tribal or village form of government. They maintain schools, are orderly, and are making much advancement.

Their houses are communal, generally but one structure for the whole village. They are sometimes built of stone, but oftener of adobe, several stories high, each story receding from the one below, thus forming a succession of what may be called steps, or terraces. The common plan is a hollow square or a curved figure, though in some cases the form of a pyramid is followed. Some of the towns are built upon high mesas, almost inaccessible, obviously for purpose of defense in the times when they were subject to attack. In the primitive form of government retained by these Indians, each village elects its governor and council. They cultivate the soil, raise grain and vegetables for their own consumption, and keep flocks of sheep and goats. In pottery and basketry they produce a great deal of highly creditable work, much of it finding a market among the white people desiring souvenirs of this ancient race. The pueblo—or "town" Indians—now include a population exceeding ten thousand. In their religious customs there is much mysticism in which astrological beliefs and practices are conspicuous.

Perhaps the most singular of these strange people of the southwest are the Moquis, who dwell in the dreary solitudes of northeastern Arizona. They have a misty semi-civilization little affected by modern influences, as they are far isolated from any of the present routes of travel. The first accounts of them date from the expedition of Coronado in 1540. The Spaniards brought them under subjection for a time, but after the general revolt of the pueblo tribes in 1680, in which they took part, they were left alone by the invading race and have since remained an independent, noncommunicative clan believed by many, as we have heretofore stated, to be of direct descent from the ancient Cliff Dwellers. They have never shown any desire to change their mode of life, or form of government which is about the same as that of the other pueblo tribes.

They are a gentle, kind-hearted, hospitable people, cultivating little patches of soil, raising vegetables and grain and possessing small flocks of sheep and goats. They weave very fine blankets, an art that was derived from them by most of the tribes in that region. Their pottery and basketry are handsomely produced. The houses are built of stone, and for security are perched upon high places, making them difficult of access. They introduce many astrological theories into their religious beliefs, and are sun-worshipers. Referring to the sun, Masayamtiba, a Moqui Indian, said: "He diffuses warmth and nourishment for us and our animals; why should we not worship him?" Their biennial "snake dance," the chief purpose of which is to influence rainfall through the ensuing two years, is one of their peculiar, mystical ceremonies. There are now about two thousand, five hundred of these singular, exclusive people.

There are a dozen or more fading remnants of what evidently were once powerful groups of people, scattered over the region of western New Mexico and Arizona. The Acomas, Lagunans, Isletans, and so on, are examples of these isolated, meager bands of beings who drag out their lives in remote desolate localities, and who present aspects so strange that they might be taken for visitors from another planet, on which humanity develops along lines totally different from those we pride ourselves on following.

It is among all these curious folks in the southwest, that the intelligent traveler—for it takes some traveling to get to them—receives impressions that almost force him to the conclusion that he is in the presence of people, customs, and scenes which have descended from a remote antiquity; and that he sees in these survivors the remnants of a race which, in a far-off time, originated in some distant Asiatic land, and in the ages of its strength and glory established itself on this side of the world.

CHAPTER VII.

Overestimates of Indian Population—Medical Sorceries and Consequences—Indian Self-Esteem—General Character, Practices and Customs—Signs, Signals and Gesture Communication—Religious Beliefs and Rites—Superstitions, Traditions and Legends.

The passing of the Indian from the general view would appear to accord with the rather heartless doctrine of the survival of the fittest. This is an exceedingly comfortable theory for the survivor, inasmuch as he naturally concludes that he is the fittest because he finds himself surviving.

The red man was too extravagant in his use of land. He wanted several territories of prairie for his buffalo range and as much more of mountain region for his deer park. The white man stood ready to make better use of the country and to sustain as many people on an acre of the soil as the Indian could provide for on a thousand. It was a swift doom that came upon him here, as everywhere in the United States. The white man lost little time in crowding him out.

That which follows here pertains almost wholly to the true Indians—the roving hunter tribes of red men of the great plains who were removed from serious suspicion of Asiatic influences; the few references to the Utes being the exceptions.

The Indian population of the entire country was, as we have said, extremely small in proportion to the enormous territory occupied; and in times past estimates of the number were absurdly large. These estimates took lodgment in the public mind and resulted in a general belief that a very large Indian population had been displaced. This was not so. The leading cause for over-estimating the Indians' numbers came from their migratory habits within their allotted ranges. The same body of people would be seen in different places at brief intervals, and counted two or three times. Then, the imagination of the white people was allowed to go too far from the facts when considering the Indians, with respect to numbers, and in many other ways. For these and other reasons, greatly exaggerated ideas of the original red inhabitants were obtained, and the impressions so derived have been dissipated only in comparatively recent times.

Another popular misconception was that of the effect of inter-tribal wars in decimating the Indian people. It is certain that after the advent of the white man such wars prevailed to a degree far beyond that existing at an earlier time. Tribes driven from their ancestral domains often retreated to lands claimed by other tribes, and inter-tribal wars and feuds were the results. The acquisition of horses and fire-arms through the agency of white men also had great influence on Indian character. Prior to these changed conditions, the Indians were probably far more peaceful among themselves. Their accumulations of personal property were not so great as to be tempting, and their modes of warfare not excessively destructive. Armed with clubs and spears, bows and arrows, war could be prosecuted only by practically hand-to-hand conflict, and depended largely upon individual prowess; while battle for plunder, tribute and conquest was almost unknown. Such inter-tribal wars as did occur originated chiefly from other causes, such as infractions of rights relating to hunting grounds; and still oftener from prejudices growing out of their superstitions.

That which was chiefly instrumental in keeping their numbers down sprang from another and quite different source, which has sometimes been neglected. The Indians had no reasonable nor efficacious system of medicine. They believed that diseases were caused by unseen evil beings and by witchcraft; and every cough, every tooth-ache, every head-ache, every chill, every fever, every boil, and every distemper, in fact, all their ailments and physical troubles, were attributed to such causes.

Their so-called medicine-practice was a horrible system of sorcery, and to each superstition human life was sacrificed on an enormous scale. The sufferers were given over to priest-doctors to be tormented, bedeviled and destroyed; and a universal and profound belief in witchcraft made them suspicious, led to the killing of all suspected and obnoxious persons, and engendered blood-feuds on an all-pervading scale. It may be safely said that while pestilence, disease and war may have killed many, superstition killed more; in fact, a natural death in an Indian lodge was a comparatively rare phenomenon; but deaths by sorcery, medicine, or blood-feud were exceedingly common.

No being could be more patriotic or possess a larger stock of self-esteem than the Indian. He believed himself to be the result of a special creation by a partial deity, and held that his was the one favored race, and he the perfect specimen of his tribe. The names by which some tribes distinguished themselves from other tribes indicated the further conviction that as the Indian was above all created things, so in like manner each particular tribe was exalted above all others. "Men of men," is the literal translation of one name; "the only men" is that of another, and so on through the category.

Scanty as was the population compared with the vast area teeming with natural products capable of sustaining human life, the possession of land by the Indians by no means implied occupancy in the modern or civilized sense of the term. Individual ownership of land was, as a rule, a thing entirely foreign to the Indian mind and quite unknown in the culture stage to which he belonged. All land, of whatever character, or however utilized, was held in common by the tribe.

Our plains Indians were practically dependent upon natural products for their food supply, and their numbers do not seem ever to have been great enough to make serious inroads upon the quantity Nature provided, which was unfailing, and practically inexhaustible so far as savage demands upon it were concerned. However, the movements of the great herds of food animals, sometimes left the Indians on short rations. They were a strangely improvident people, and feasts and famines frequently checkered their rude existence. Agriculture was but little practiced by them, and planting was unknown among them in this region, except in a few places along the Platte and Arkansas rivers and their tributaries. To an Indian brave farming was a peculiarly irksome and distasteful business; indeed, any and every kind of manual labor was, in his estimation, positively degrading, and only to be done by squaws.

Indian boundaries being vague, elastic and uncertain, could only be defined in a general way. To determine tribal boundaries within accurately drawn lines was, in the great majority of cases, quite impossible. Perhaps earlier in their history, when they had to travel afoot, they had more permanent abiding places, and confined themselves more closely to a limited territory. But the acquisition of the horse and the possession of fire-arms wrought great changes in their habits. With the horse the Indians of the treeless plains were enabled to move over long distances with ease and celerity, which before was practically impossible; and the possession of fire-arms stimulated tribal aggressiveness to the highest pitch. The horse made wanderers of many tribes and opened the way at their pleasure to roaming over the great inviting prairies, while the guns made their conflicts much more destructive.

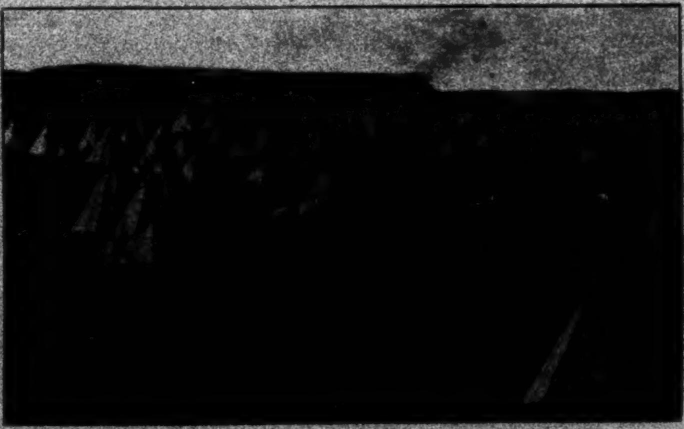
In many quarters there has been a curious tendency to overlook Indian vices and to exaggerate Indian virtues. It seems to have been forgotten that the Indian was a true savage, with all the traits and characteristics of the savage. The sympathetic willingness to exalt him even above civilized man, that has been manifested by some of those who viewed him from afar, finds little support among those who knew him by intimate and often unhappy experience.

The Indians had great physical endurance, were cruel, unrelenting foes, and with few exceptions merciless captors. In their philosophy of war craftiness and treachery were practical virtues. From the beginning of emigration they appear to have had a conviction that the white man brought with him a doom for them from which there was no escape. The coming of alien tribes to eastern Kansas and the Indian Territory, deported from regions the other side of the Mississippi, plainly foreshadowed the fate of all. Resistance might push back the evil day for a while, but it could not prevent the final advent of what seemed to them overwhelming disaster. The council and treaty orations of their chieftains were filled with pathetic prophecies of the fate the white man's presence meant, and a few brief years brought confirmation of all that had been foretold by their most gifted orators. To them their free, wild life seemed the only one worth living.

If war were not their natural occupation it certainly was a business they preferred above all others. In strife they were inconceivably cruel and fiendish. They would shockingly mutilate the dead, and prisoners in their hands usually met a dreadful fate. Men were doomed to death by torture, and their agonies were prolonged by every inhuman ingenuity. The condition of white women prisoners was one attended by circumstances even worse than death. In times of danger many frontier women carried a revolver about them as a friend that would bring death to save them from the horrors of captivity with the savages. The scalps of enemies were trophies of almost priceless value to these people. They trained their children in the refinements of cruelty, and took from them any touch of pity Nature may have been tempted to place within their young hearts. In all these manifestations of innate savagery the squaws were as destitute of humane feelings as the boastful, vain-glorious braves.

The Indian was, theoretically, a fatalist of fatalists, and actually and physically, a stoic of stoics. Death had few terrors for him, and he was practically destitute of all fear of it, in itself. He was crafty and cautious in warfare, because the glory of a tribe was to kill many enemies with the fewest losses. But, whatever his fate might be, he met it unflinchingly when it came. He avoided capture, preferring to fight to the end; but when he could no longer help himself and had to give up, he did so without bewailing his doom. It was fate. If death came to him in the excruciating agonies of mutilating tortures, or in the inconceivable torments of slowly roasting before a retarded fire, he bore his awful sufferings in silence.

The tribal government was of simple form, and the uncertain authority of the chiefs, excepting that of a great "medicine-chief," was moderately exercised. There was considerable democratic spirit among the braves, and the bonds of restraint must rest lightly if they rested at all. However, with most of them age was, by courtesy at least, presumed to carry with it great wisdom, and the old men were listened to with profound savage respect.



Indian Village.

With these people, as with all others, courage and skill followed by success in warfare, made the brave victor an idolized leader. In their savage life but two avenues to distinction were available to the enterprising and ambitious young man. One was by unusual skill and fortune as a hunter, and the other by valorous achievements on the war-path; though all able-bodied men—and there were few others—had to be both hunters and warriors from the necessities of their existence.

In their discussions and pow-wows the influence and will of the men of stronger personality usually prevailed, as they do in enlightened States and Nations. On a question of a tribe making a general war on another, there was not much difference of opinion. Such a proposition was pretty sure to be popular with everybody at any time. Petty hostile excursions, not involving the whole tribe, were frequently organized as individual military enterprises. As a rule, the Indian made common cause against the intruding and dangerous white man.

Among the Arapahoes the would-be leader of a war party did not formally invite any one to join the contemplated expedition. Any brave whose courage had been proved might become the leader of such a party. So, having duly considered the matter, he would publicly announce his intention to go on the war-path. He would fix the day for his departure and state where he would encamp the first night; naming some place not far away. On the morning of his departure he would invoke the aid of the sun, his guardian by day, and then, to propitiate him, secretly vow to undergo penance, or to offer a sacrifice upon his return. He would ride off alone, carrying his bare pipe in his hand, with the bowl carefully tied to the stem to keep it from slipping off. If the bowl should at any time fall to the ground, he considered it an evil omen, and would immediately return to his village, deferring his foray to a more auspicious time. Nothing would induce him to proceed under such a bad beginning, for he would expect sore misfortune to attend him if he did. Sometimes he tied eagle or hawk feathers to the stem of his pipe, and, repairing to the top of an adjacent hill, made an offering of them to the sun, taking them from his pipe and tying them to a pole, which he would erect in a little pile of stones he would gather up.

Those of his tribe who intended following our warlike friend usually joined him at the first camp—after he had concluded his solitary religious performances—all equipped for the enterprise; but occasionally there were some who did not join him until he had gone farther on—possibly waiting to see whether he "really meant business." The leader would eat nothing before leaving the village, nor while the sun was up; but would break his fast at his first camp, after the sun went down. The next morning he would begin another fast, to be continued until sunset again. Meanwhile, he counted his party, mounted his horse, named some other place six or seven miles ahead, where he said he would halt for a while, and again rode off alone with his pipe in his hand. After a brief tarry, his associates followed him in single file. When they reached his halting place, he told them to dismount and let their horses graze. They then seated themselves on the ground on the left of the leader, forming a semicircle, facing the sun. The leader would fill his pipe, all bowed their heads and, pointing the stem upward he would pray to the sun, asking that they might find an abundance of game, that dead-shots would be made, so that their arrows, or their ammunition would not be wasted, but reserved for their enemies; that they might easily find their enemies and kill them; and that they might be preserved from wounds and death. The leader would make his petition four times, then lighting his pipe, and, after sending a few whiffs of smoke skyward as incense to the sun, would hand the pipe to his neighbor, who smoked and passed it to the next. It was then passed from one to another, toward the left, until all had smoked, the leader refilling it as often as necessary. Then they proceeded to their next camp, where probably others joined them. This program would be repeated for three or four days before they were considered properly prepared to meet and defeat their enemies; and even with all these preliminary safeguards they often came back badly whipped.

Some of the little heaps of stones which may still be seen on elevations in the plains around here, owe their presence to this sort of Arapahoe mummery. Not all of them originated this way. Many were made by Arapahoe dreamers, who withdrew from their people for a brief season to devote themselves in solitude to contemplation, fasting and prayer—after the Indian fashion of doing those things—in order to work themselves into a state of rapture, hoping to have visions and to receive messages from spirits. Gathering stones into these little heaps was usually a part of such proceedings.

The Indians regarded the soda springs—the "Fontaines-qui-Bouille"—with superstitious awe and reverence, believing that a spirit troubled the waters and caused the bubbling by breathing in them. Before going on war expeditions, it was one of the preparatory practices of the Arapahoes to propitiate the spirit of the springs by throwing beads and knives into the water, and hanging other gifts, such as deer-skins, quivers and the like, upon the branches of the adjacent trees.

A great many years ago, according to an Arapahoe tradition, the Navajos possessed a little stone image that was the most extraordinary "medicine" ever heard of in Indian annals. It not only brought success in war and hunting, but even made members of the tribe possessing it, impregnable to the assaults of the grim reaper at all times and in all ages of life. The Utes heard of it, coveted it, of course, and made war upon the Navajos and captured it. The Arapahoes, having long known of it, also desired to possess it. When the Utes got back from their successful expedition our Arapahoe friends decided that their time had come to secure the priceless "medicine." So, they made war on the Utes, whipped them to be sure—as this is an Arapahoe story—and carried off the charmful little stone god. But the warrior to whose keeping it was confided now felt himself too great a man to associate with his homeward-bound companions, and kept off to himself. While doing so he was overtaken by pursuing Utes, hopeful that they might yet recover their potent image, whereupon both he and the "medicine" suddenly vanished into the air and were seen no more by mortal man. The terrified party of Utes fled to their tribe and related the circumstances of the disappearance of the "medicine" and the warrior foe who had it in keeping, and thence the strange tale spread through Indian society in all this region. According to Arapahoe lore their valorous capture and even brief possession of it, with the fact that it left the world taking one of their chosen tribe with it, made them forever after the greatest people of the earth in "medicine," war, hunting, and all other desirable Indian attributes; a belief no Arapahoe ever doubted.

Stones had some mystical significance to nearly all of the plains Indians. A Sioux would pick up a roundish stone of any kind, or color, paint it, and go a few rods from his lodge, clear away the grass from a space from one to two feet in diameter, and there place his stone; or god, as he would regard it for the occasion. He would then make it an offering of some tobacco and a few feathers, and in his way pray to the stone to deliver him from some danger of which he probably dreamed, or else imagined.

"Buffalo Medicine."

Many of them considered a man's shadow as associated wth his spirit or life, and would reproach a sick person for what they considered imprudent exposure in convalescence, telling him that his shadow was not yet well settled down in him.

Nearly all of them believed, the Sioux especially, that by eating the heart of a conspicuously brave man, particularly if he were an enemy, they would add all of the dead man's intrepid fearlessness to their own stock of courage. It is related that the body of Captain Thomas Custer, who was killed in the massacre on the Little Big Horn river in 1876, was opened, his heart removed and thus disposed of by the Sioux victors in that dreadful affair. These tribes would also eat the liver of an unusually intelligent dog in order to become endowed with the animal's keenness, sagacity and courage.

When first known to the whites, the Pawnees made a human sacrifice to the "Spirit of Corn"—a practice, with some changes in procedure, too often followed by our own people in our own times. The victim, a young woman, was first tortured by being suspended over a fire. At a given signal a hundred arrows were let fly, and her whole body was pierced. These were immediately withdrawn, and her flesh cut from her bones in small pieces, which were put into baskets, and carried into the cornfield, where the grain was being planted, and some of the blood squeezed out on each hill.

Early in their history the Cheyennes in emergencies would cut off an arm as a sacrifice to the spirits, accompanying the ceremony with special appeals for favor and co-operation. By a gesture sign indicating this dismemberment, the Cheyennes were referred to by their neighbors. They also wore necklaces made of the dried fingers of their enemies as reminders to the spirits of their prowess and worthiness.

Many of the tribes poisoned their arrows by sticking the heads in the decomposing body of a man or an animal, preferably that of a man, because of the assumed greater virulence of the poison. Or, they would capture alive a rattlesnake and after pinning it to the ground, tease it to repeatedly bite a bit of raw meat, usually a piece of liver, thus saturating it with poison. Into this inoculated substance they would stick the tips of their arrows, and withdraw them coated with a virus usually fatal to the wounded enemy.

All of them had curious methods of leaving messages or conveying information by signs, to those who followed them. The following account of an example of this is taken from James' narrative of Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1820:

> ["At a little distance (on the bank of the Platte river) in front of the entrance of this breastwork, was a semi-circular row of sixteen bison skulls, with their noses pointing down the river. Near the center of the circle which this row would describe, if continued, was another skull marked with a number of red lines. Our interpreter informed us that this arrangement of skulls and other marks here discovered, were designed to communicate the following information, namely: that the camp had been occupied by a war party of the Skeeree, or Pawnee Loup Indians, who had lately come from an excursion against the Cumancias (Comanches), Ietons (another name for the Comanches) or some of the western tribes. The number of red lines traced on the painted skull indicated the number of the party to have been thirty-six; the position in which the skulls were placed, that they were on their return to their own country. Two small rods stuck in the ground, with a few hairs tied in two parcels to the end of each, signified that four scalps had been taken."]

A sapling cut off about three feet from the ground, the bark peeled from the stump, on top of which a stone was placed, signified danger. A tomahawk left sticking in the trunk of a tree, meant war, attack, revenge. A tomahawk or knife driven in the ground made formal declaration of war.

By racing their horses or ponies this way and that, or in circles, and the like, they could convey a great variety of information to distant associates.

Their sign language was a wonderful thing. They could relate long stories with but a few spoken words or grunts. All Indian languages were so imperfect that even when two members of the same tribe conversed, half the intercourse was carried on by signs. Still, by a motion or a grimace mirth could be excited or violent anger aroused. To the inexperienced white man it all seemed a hopeless tangle of swift gestures, contortions and other movements, but the mature brave would grasp the meaning as fast as his informant could make the signs. In these, the hands were chiefly instrumental; but the eyes, mouth, head, and every feature and part of the body would be utilized, and surrounding objects brought in, to suggest parts of the story told in all the quick and complicated movements. It is not surprising that the Indian was a silent man, when he could convey so many thoughts with little or no vocal utterance.

After they obtained the cheap pocket-mirrors found in the stocks of nearly every trader, they became surprisingly proficient in using them for signaling by flashes of light; up and down, right and left, and so on, they made a great variety of combinations. They communicated with each other over long distances in this way, the Sioux tribes becoming masters of the art.

Signaling by smoke was another practice. Making a heavy smudge, they confined the smoke under a blanket, and suddenly releasing it, would send it up in puffs or rolls to which a special meaning attached. At night, burning arrows were used, but with great caution in times of war, as they advised enemies as well as friends.

A war-party coming upon the encamped enemy at night, would send a spy to ascertain the number of lodges. This worthy would creep, or rather, wriggle, up to where he could count the lodges, and turning around so as to face his watching friends, he would draw his blanket up on his head, leaving an opening over his face and breast where, in this shelter of his blanket, he would strike off with flint and steel, one spark for each lodge in the enemy's camp.

Among many of the plains tribes the custom was to buy the eldest of the daughters in a promising and desirable family, by which the matrimonially inclined purchaser would obtain title to all the other daughters, and would add them to his polygamous household as he thought he needed them. In the native state the Indian was below the passion of love. It was practically unknown among them, and they had in their vocabularies neither word nor phrase expressing affection, fondness nor endearment. While these sentiments were unknown in both their thoughts and their speech, they found reasons for savage pride in their male offspring who early manifested a cruel, warlike disposition, and an aptitude for hunting; the chief attributes in Indian character worth considering and cultivating. Female children were regarded with the utmost disfavor, and when they reached womanhood became the toiling, drudging slaves of their boastful, brutal consorts. In most of the tribes the parents of the wife would not hold any direct communication with their son-in-law, but would call in a third person if they had anything to say to their daughter's lord. The reasons for this queer custom are unknown.

The pangs of maternity bore lightly on the Indian mother. The birth of a child to those hardy, storm-beaten and otherwise maltreated creatures, barely interrupted the daily routine of their lives, and was attended by little inconvenience to themselves or their associates. Usually a child was not weaned until its successor had to be provided for.

They possessed the rude outlines of a religion in which appeared a vague faith in a Great Spirit, which ruled over the world and all it contains; but it was swaddled in a mass of ridiculous superstitions. They expected a future life in happy hunting grounds, which would be in most respects a continuation of the one they lived here on earth, with some of the harsh conditions left out, and many new and more favorable ones brought in. They had no theory of a hell, of a place or state of future punishment. In their lexicon of Indian character there were no bad Indians, from an abstract theological point of view; therefore such a state or place were wholly superfluous. They never consigned even their worst red enemies to "the bad place." The happy hunting grounds were open for all and large enough for everybody.

Their languages contained no words such as we classify as profanity, or "swearing," and they were much surprised in early times when they learned the purport of such words and that the white men had the temerity to employ them in connection with the name of the Great Spirit.

Their appeals and petitions addressed to the unseen powers were solely with a view of procuring coveted temporal benefits, and not for any welfare held off in the future. The Indian was a firm believer in the present—in the to-day. He regarded his immediate necessities as of far greater importance than his prospective needs and comforts in some later period. He had little conception of the soul's survival in a purely spiritual form; his future existence was to be a physical one, and his rude theology centered upon that expectation. Therefore, an outfit of weapons and a temporary supply of food were left with the dead.

Upon the death of a brave grief was manifested by wails and howls from the squaws, and the beating of drums and use of other noisy instruments by the men; all of which continued for several days. Much less fuss was made over the death of a squaw; and sometimes none at all.

Our Indians had a varied array of superstitious and mystic lore. The behavior of familiar creatures around them was carefully observed for ominous indications. Thus, they would abandon for the day any important undertaking if a snake wriggled across in front of them at their outset, or if birds were seen flying in certain directions which were thought to forebode a bad result for the enterprise in hand.

They believed sickness was caused by an evil spirit entering the invalid. Spirits of animals were much feared and their departure out of the sick person's body was a cause for thanksgiving. Even in trivial ailments the bad spirit was recognized. Thus, an Indian after an eructation would say what was equivalent to "thank you, animal."

In a case of sickness in which the savage household thought it unnecessary to "send for the doctor," the squaw and several of her squaw friends would undertake to drive the evil spirit out of the patient by howling over him. A squad of them would make the most diabolical uproar of screams, yells and howls. If, after keeping this up until they were exhausted, there was no change for the better, they would conclude that they were dealing with an uncommonly bad spirit, and send for a "medicine-man," whose treatment soon killed or cured—usually the former; for an Indian down with a serious affliction had few chances for recovery after his doctor got hold of him.

Most of them believed the barking of a fox ominous of evil to come. The Kickapoos had a legend to the effect that their ancestors had tails which were taken from them in some mysterious way. After this misfortune, the impudent and crafty fox tantalized them by sending a messenger every morning with mock messages of sympathy, and to ask how they were getting along without tails. This hints at the dog-like apes which existed in these parts long before man is assumed to have appeared.

The plains Indians believed in the existence of fairies in the mountains. The tribes of Sioux stock or association described them as "the little people," eighteen inches high, with very large heads, and armed with such effective bows and arrows that they could surely kill any one who approached their abode. The Arapahoes claimed to have seen these dangerous little folks come out to the foot-hills.

The Shoshone bands peopled the Rocky Mountains with little imps, which they called "Nirumbees." These were represented to be about two feet tall, destitute of clothing, and equipped with tails. They stole the children of the Indians and left instead the young of their own baneful race who resembled the stolen children so much that the Indian mothers were deceived into suckling the youthful substitutes; whereupon the maternal founts were withered and the stricken mother died.

All of the tribes which frequented the plains along the eastern base of the mountains believed that Pike's Peak was the favorite meeting place of these little mountain people, who were joined on its summit by fairies and elves twice a year—in the spring and in the autumn—in councils and various ceremonies peculiar to such mysterious and fateful beings. To disturb these gatherings, or even to draw very near the foot of the mountain while the little people were assembled on its summit, was held to be a most dangerous personal indiscretion, and fatal to the potency of the offender's "medicine," even if he escaped great bodily harm.

The "medicine chief" was the great man of his tribe, and few individuals dared to cross him, even in trivial affairs. He was the Indian autocrat. When he went into battle he courted the thick of danger, if for no other reason than to show his people his immunity from injury in places of the greatest peril.

Medicine Man.

Among nearly all these rude people "making medicine" was, under some circumstances, a purely spiritual performance to win the approval and assistance of the mystic powers; while at other times it was intended to be an application of the healing art. During the battle of the Little Big Horn river in 1876, where General Custer and his command were destroyed, Sitting Bull, the leader of the Indians, remained in his tepee "making medicine" for the success of his people in the bloody combat.

The "medicine" men of many tribes believed in copiously bleeding the sick so as to afford inviting opportunity for the evil spirits to come out with the blood—a practice formerly in great favor with civilized white medicine men and, probably, with no sounder reasons back of it than those advanced by the savage practitioners.

Every brave carried on his person a little sachet containing his private "medicine" or charm to protect him from disease and danger. Often the "medicine" was a bunch of herbs, sometimes an unusually shaped or colored stone, an animal's tooth, or any one of a variety of objects he might deem suitable for the purpose. If bad luck came to him he would conclude that he was carrying the wrong kind of "medicine," and would change it, and keep on changing it, until he found the charm intended by the Great Spirit for his particular case, when all would go well. Any great or unusual thing had a "medicine" significance to them.

Most of the tribes indicated lapses of time by conspicuous natural divisions: thus, "five snows" meant five years; "one moon" a month; "half-moon" a half-month; "one sun" or "one sleep" a day.

The sun dance of the Sioux tribes was a most peculiar ceremony that involved self-inflicted tortures of extreme severity. A tall, strong pole would be set firmly erect in the ground; to the top of this were attached long thongs of rawhide reaching near to the ground. On each side of the breasts of the devotees two parallel slashes were cut about two inches apart; the strips of skin thus outlined, together with some of the underlying muscles, would be undercut with a knife, and through each of these quivering, strap-like handles of living flesh one of the rawhide thongs would be passed and tied. Then these young braves would begin to dance around the pole, surging backward, twisting this way and that, swinging themselves off their feet and otherwise struggling until the cruel thongs had torn their way through the muscles and skin, and they fell back exhausted by their agonizing sufferings. These were undergone in silence in presence of the assembled tribe, which regarded the ceremony as the most important one of the year. It was accompanied by weird chantings and outcries by the spectators, and a monotonous beating of rude drums. Only the young men participated in the active parts of the ceremony, squaws being debarred from such dignities. Sometimes the incisions were made on the back instead of the breast, but the latter was the preferable practice, as it afforded a more conspicuous place for the honorable scars of the mutilation to display themselves, and to be pointed to with pride by their possessor. The young brave could not rank as a full-fledged warrior until he had passed through this dreadful ordeal.

The Sioux have another singular ceremony which has been called by the white people the "ghost-dance." This term, however, does not convey the exact meaning it has for the Indian. Ghost-dancing was done when a tribe was growing restless and inclined to hostilities, if portents and circumstances could be made to seem favorable. So the ghost-dance was intended to invite and establish advisory communings with their ancestors, to arouse slumbering memories in the tribe, to revive old grievances, and to stir up the war-like spirit of the people. These ceremonies in recent years were stimulated by reports that certain eminent "medicine men" had received communications from the Great Spirit saying that all the white people were to be driven out of the country, the land was to be restocked with buffalo and other game, and the good old Indian days were to be brought back again in all their savage freedom.

The Sioux have a tradition that they first acquired fire through the efforts of a friendly and obliging panther which, in scrambling up the face of a ledge of rocks, struck sparks from the stones with his claws; their agile ancestors secured these sparks and from them kindled the first Sioux campfires. All the Indians appear to have long known and practiced the method of obtaining fire by subjecting dry wood to friction.

The Indians always when possible carried their dead and wounded from the field of battle. Two warriors, each on a fleet horse, would gallop to an injured or dead comrade, and without checking their speed, pick him up, swing him across one of the horses, with marvelous skill, and make off with him.

They believed that a scalped white man was thereby annihilated and could not possibly have a future life; therefore, he would never turn up in the happy hunting grounds to bedevil them there as he had here on earth. By some tribes a scalped Indian was believed to be debarred from the happy hunting grounds, but most of them thought that he would be subject to great disadvantages but would not be wholly deprived of a share in the joys of the hereafter. They would brave the greatest dangers to procure the scalp of a white enemy, whose eternal destruction could thus only be assured.

The Utes in their mountain fastnesses disposed of their dead by concealing them in secret places, endeavoring to leave no visible sign of their sepulture. Sometimes they would hide the bodies in caverns and recesses in the mountains. In consequence of these practices a dead Ute, or an Ute burial place, was rarely seen. They objected to talking about their dead.

R. L. Wooton, a noted frontiersman, relates in his published reminiscences that all the Ute tribes had the singular and inhospitable custom of killing the first stranger, red or white, who entered any of their villages after the death of a local chieftain. They did this in order that the spirit of the departed leader might not be alone on his journey to the unknown country.

Kit Carson who, as Indian Agent had charge of the Utes from 1854 to 1859, in one of his official reports gave the following version of this curious custom among them:

"It is customary among the Utahs when one of their number is slain, or even dies a natural death, for them to kill one or more persons of another nation as payment for the loss of the deceased. The number killed depends entire on the position held before death by the Utah. I have known as many as four Mexicans to be killed for the loss of one warrior who died of disease."

The Arapahoes, Cheyennes and most of the other plains tribes, deposited their dead in trees, when they could find them within reach. The body was wrapped in the dead person's blanket with a supply of tobacco, a little food, and a suitable outfit of weapons, or utensils if a squaw, the whole rolled and tied up in a buffalo robe, and placed on the heavier branches of a cottonwood where it remained only until decay and the winds caused it to fall to the ground, where the wolves quickly made final disposition of it, leaving the bare bones strewn around.

All Indians dreaded death by suffocation, because of their belief that at death the spirit passes from the body by the way of the mouth. If egress be obstructed the soul is embarrassed, and might be long delayed in getting out of the body, with a possibility that it would never escape. This was why they regarded death by hanging with such extreme aversion. They also believed the spirit of an Indian killed in the darkness was seriously put to it to know what to do or which way to go, and might never be able to find its way to the land of promise. While an Indian never hesitated to kill an enemy in the dark, he wanted sunlight around when his own end came.

Like all superstitious peoples they were inveterate gamblers—every one of them. They took naturally to the domain of chance, and after intercourse with the whites adopted all of the simpler methods of winning and losing their paltry belongings. Horse-racing was very popular with them, and their ridiculous confidence in themselves and in everything they owned, often left them stripped of all their possessions and utterly bankrupt, at the end of a speed-trial with white men's horses.

One of their many absurd superstitions provided for a permanent and unfailing supply of buffalo. Of this, William F. Cody ("Buffalo Bill") says:

"Every plains Indian firmly believed that the buffalo were produced in countless numbers in a country under ground; that every spring the surplus swarmed, like bees from a hive, out of the immense cave-like openings in the region of the Llano Estacado, or Staked Plain of Texas. In 1869 Stone Calf, a celebrated chief, assured me that he knew exactly where the caves were, though he had never seen them; that the good God had provided this means for the constant supply of food for the Indian, and however recklessly the white men might slaughter, they could never exterminate them."

Stone Calf soon learned how sadly he was mistaken in his estimate of the white man's abilities as an exterminator.

They believed the buffalo to be susceptible to the charms of their "medicine." They would make a rude pedestal of stones, three or four feet high, and on this place two or three buffalo skulls. If stones were not available for the pedestal, it would be made of bones or sticks of wood. In both learned and unlearned circles of Indian society, this monumental type of "buffalo medicine" was held to possess great potency in influencing the animals to draw near and await further Indian attentions.

They had a curious and complicated system of totems. A family totem was the coat-of-arms of the family or clan to which the individual belonged. A tribe embraced a number of such families or clans. In choosing a help-meet the brave must find her in another family or clan of his tribe; not in his own subdivision where the individuals were supposed to be more or less blood related. But, as a matter of fact, they did not actually know much about their standing as blood relations. There were also tribal or national totems. Thus a Sioux might have three coats-of-arms—that of his family or clan, of his tribe, and of the great Dakota nation. Totems had no connections with "medicine," necessarily, nor with the "medicine" sachets of the individual; nor had they essentially any religious significance.

The tribes of the Sioux family appear to have maintained an organization which may be called a secret society. It was associated with their rude religious beliefs, and also with their medical theories.

Nearly all of the plains Indians had a sort of fantastic mythology in which legendary theories of their origin were obscurely interwoven. The Indians of the Kansas tribe introduced mythical personages in one of their tales, in which they stated that the ancestors of these mystic individuals were birds which descended from an upper world. This story was probably borrowed from their kinsmen, the Osages, who claimed that when their ancestors came to this earth they alighted on a sycamore tree, because all of the land was under water. When the water abated they came down and occupied the country. The Kansas Indians' antiquarians included an account of the prevailing water and asserted that it was dried up by their progenitors blowing upon it. They also stated that those worthy persons caused the growth of vegetation after the water was gone.

All the tribes of the Sioux stock believed that their ancestors were entitled to the credit for removal of the water, and pointed out that it was altogether too big an undertaking for any people except their own. Furthermore, their antiquity was much greater than that of everybody else. It is characteristic of the Sioux, as it is with many of our practical politicians, to claim everything.

The Crows had a somewhat similar story embellished by the great deeds of their ancestors in dealing with the surplus water and making the country habitable. But it is suspected that they acquired it in the way they possessed themselves of much of the other property of their neighbors—without the consent of the owner.

The Sioux tribes through all their ramifications were believers in the appearance from time to time of a huge animal that was the devouring enemy of the red man. This monstrous beast was represented to be capable of swallowing whole a full-grown Indian; and very fond of doing so. No one living had ever seen him, but his appearance was constantly held in apprehensive dread. This superstition may have been suggested by the bones of the mastodon which are abundant all through this region, or by the fossil remains of the ancient bison which had horns spreading ten feet from tip to tip, or by those of other huge creatures once abiding here in the west.

A well-authenticated account of an Indian legend of the origin of the red people, which shows no trace of the white man's influence, is found in the report of Lewis and Clark's exploring expedition made nearly a hundred years ago. It is that of the Mandans, a branch of the Sioux. While it is destitute of any meaning that could possibly be rendered intelligible, it contains an amusing variation of the ancient and widespread story of woman having brought trouble into the world. Lewis and Clarke say:

> "Their belief in a future state is connected with this theory of their origin: The whole nation resided in one large village, underground, near a subterranean lake. A grape-vine extended its roots down to their habitation, and gave them a view of the light. Some of the most adventurous climbed up the vine, and were delighted with the sight of the earth, which they found covered with buffalo, and rich with every kind of fruit. Returning with the grapes they had gathered, their countrymen were so pleased with the taste of them that the whole nation resolved to leave their dull residence for the charms of the upper region. Men, women and children ascended by means of the vine, but, when about half the nation had reached the surface of the earth, a corpulent woman, who was clambering up the vine, broke it with her weight, and closed upon herself and the rest of the nation the light of the sun."

The Indians to the eastward of the upper Mississippi originated this curious tradition which later spread among the tribes farther west:

> "In former times the father of the Indian tribes dwelt toward the rising sun. Having been warned in a dream that a deluge was coming upon the earth, he built a raft, on which he saved himself, with his family and all the animals. He floated thus for several months. The animals, who at that time spoke, loudly complained and murmured against him. At last a new earth appeared on which he

landed with all the animals, who from that time lost the power of speech, as a punishment for their murmurs against their deliverer."

Among the Arapahoes and Cheyennes there was a deluge legend which landed the ark here near Denver, a circumstance which indicates some revision of the original story, as both tribes were probably intruders in this part of the country from a period not a great many generations remote. However, their tale was to the effect that when their ancestors found a landing place for their big canoe on a mountain eminence near Palmer Lake, and got the various animals they had undertaken to save from the all-pervading freshet, safely on the ground again, the men went to look over the country, leaving the disembarked menagerie in charge of the squaws. The animals becoming hungry and restive made the women so much trouble that they got angry, and with brandished sticks and waving blankets attempted to make the unruly creatures behave. But instead of this, the animals were so badly frightened by the fearless and menacing squaws, that they all turned tail and fled. From that time they have so feared mankind that they have remained wild and must be hunted by all who want any of them for food or other purposes; a consequence much deplored by the braves, and by them held to be sufficient cause for their general bad opinion of womankind, and for the harsh treatment they bestow upon their squaws. It is, furthermore, the only instance in Indian traditional lore wherein the virtue of even a little courage is accorded to women; that being an endowment usually considered possible only to their lords and masters.

Disposition of the Dead.

A large portion of the plains Indians believed that in the beginning the world was created by the raven, which dark bird was associated with many of their fancies. Dean, in his interesting work, "The Raven in the Mythology of North-Western America," says: "Ask any of the Indians 'who made the world and all things therein' and the answer will be 'the raven.'"

Boudinot relates the following story told by a clergyman who visited the Indians northwest of the Ohio river in 1764, and there met other Indians who had come from west of the Mississippi:

> "They informed him that one of their most ancient traditions was that a great while ago, they had a common father, who lived toward the rising of the sun, and governed the whole world; that all the white people's heads were under his feet; that he had twelve sons, by whom he administered the government; that the twelve sons behaved very bad, and tyrannized over the people, abusing their power; that the Great Spirit becoming angry with them, suffered the white people to introduce spirituous liquor among them, and by this means usurped power over them, and ever since the Indians' heads were under the white people's feet."

The introduction of the white man and his firewater in this tale removes the presumption of its antiquity as a tradition among them. When the Indian came in contact with the white man's whiskey he met an enemy that was more than a match for him under every condition. In periods of peace the bottle refused to recognize the armistice, and in times of war when it fell prisoner to the ransacking red man, it was by no means a helpless captive. Its work was as effective at one stage as at the other, and always moved forward on the path of destruction with the undeviating progress of Time itself. Their "medicine" men could make no "medicine" that would arrest its ravages, and the spirits whose aid they so often invoked in savage enterprises could do nothing to prevent this demon laying low the flower of the tribes; and about all the rest, for that matter. Its career among the red men afforded us the only example of obedience by those people to the injunction laid upon all of us to love our enemies.

The Indians of the west came into contact with white men, directly or indirectly, much longer ago than we are accustomed to considering. The Spanish expedition into this region, under Coronado, came up from the south more than three hundred and fifty years ago; while the early French Jesuit explorers, who pushed westward by way of the great lakes, reached the upper Mississippi much more than two hundred years ago. So, it is not improbable that the white man's influence had something to do with at least part of the coloring of the Indians' speculative lore and consequent practices. It is not difficult to understand how it may have been so, or that new versions of old theories and legends, based on the accepted wisdom of the seemingly supernatural strangers, would spread from tribe to tribe. But many of the stories are unquestionably original. The deluge tradition being almost universal among the races of the earth, it is more than probable that our Indians had their own versions of that most disastrous rainfall.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPANISH DOMINION IN THE SOUTHWEST—GUZMAN'S ATTEMPTED EXPLORATION OF NEW MEXICO—REMARKABLE ADVENTURES OF CABEZA DE VACA—DE NIZA'S ADVANCE TO THE PUEBLO COUNTRY—EXPEDITION OF CORONADO—HIS LONG AND FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR THE MYTHICAL CITY OF "QUIVIRA"—OBSCURITY AND CONFUSION IN SPANISH ACCOUNTS OF THE EXPEDITION AND OF QUIVIRA.

Until a comparatively recent period all American historical accounts of Europeans visiting our southwest country, contained nothing that antedated the expedition of Coronado, and that of Moscoso who succeeded in command of De Soto's intrepid company of adventurers after the death of that daring leader; and the enterprises of these explorers, practically contemporaneous, had been considered as the pioneer invasions of the region by white men.

In 1851, Buckingham Smith, Secretary of the American Legation at Madrid, and a deeply-interested student of the history of Spanish dominion in America, discovered in the government archives at the Spanish capital the "Narrative of Alvar Nunes Cabeza De Vaca," an old, remarkable, but forgotten story of Spanish adventure, daring and suffering in our southwest, that had lain unnoticed by Spanish and unknown by American scholars for more than three hundred years. Smith translated it, found it of exceeding interest and value, but obscure in many details, especially as to latitudes and localities, that would now be historically important.

Soon after Cortez penetrated the interior of Mexico, he heard traditions of a country far to the north which was said to be thickly peopled, and ruled by powerful Amazons. These reports were embellished by many fancies and, of course, attributed great riches to the fabulous nation. The stories came to the ears of Nuno De Guzman who was then at the head of Spanish affairs in western Mexico, with his capitol at Culiacan. They were emphasized in 1530 by a Tejos Indian slave who told Guzman that far in the country to the northeast he had seen seven cities as large and fine as the city of Mexico, in which gold and silver were abundant, and that many of the inhabitants were workers in those metals. The Indian represented that he had been with his father, who was a trader, several times to the cities and, notwithstanding that they were far away beyond a very bad country, he could guide an expedition to them.

There was at this time a kind of jealous rivalry between Cortez and Guzman, and the latter being very anxious to exploit himself for the good it would do him in the Spanish Court at home, decided that he would try to find those treasure-burdened cities of the north. So, with a force which the old accounts say consisted of from four hundred to five hundred Spaniards, and from ten thousand to twenty thousand Indian allies, he paraded forth on his mission, with the Tejos Indian slave for a guide. Bad management, division of authority and incoherence of purpose made the expedition a failure, and Guzman soon returned, empty-handed, not having been able to get farther away than Colombo and, therefore, not out of the present bounds of Mexico. This is the last we hear of Guzman as an explorer. After his service as Governor at Culiacan for eight years, the new Viceroy Antonio De Mendoza, superseded him with Francisco Vasquez De Coronado, a young man of high character and much ability.

Viceroy Mendoza, also a man of force and ability, was anxious to extend the domain of New Spain as far as possible, and to that end was willing to encourage northward explorations. At this opportune time Alvar Nunez Cabeza De Vaca appeared with most extraordinary tales of hardship and adventure which aroused Spanish curiosity, stimulated Spanish imagination to the highest pitch, and started explorations northward, as we shall see, after we give some attention to De Vaca's remarkable experiences.

In 1528, an expedition under Pamphilo De Narvaez sailed from Cuba for Florida. It comprised four ships, about four hundred men, and a large number of horses, together with supplies and equipment for an extended exploration of all the country bordering on the northerly coast of the Gulf of Mexico, of which but little had been learned by preceding Spanish adventurers.

De Narvaez put in to Tampa Bay, and with a part of his followers landed and started into the interior. The arrangement was that the vessels should go northward along the coast and wait in some harbor until the land party came up. The ships did this, and after waiting about three months without learning anything of De Narvaez, sailed back to Cuba, the exploring party being supposed to have been lost in the Florida jungle.

In the meantime those on land had been floundering through the swamps, slowly finding their way northward along and as near to the west coast of Florida as they could, making frequent detours to the Gulf shores to look for their ships which they failed to find. How far northward they went is not definitely known, but they at last concluded that their vessels had either wilfully deserted them, or had been wrecked by a storm—a misfortune that frequently befell the small caravels in which the daring and hardy Spaniards of those days sailed long voyages over the seas.

De Narvaez and his men now concluded that they would build boats, as best they could and in them make their way back to Cuba. They had scarcely any tools fit for such work, but they managed to construct rough frames for several small craft. They made their stirrups and metal trappings into nails and other fastenings, and with rudely contrived saws worked out rough planks. Then they killed and skinned their horses and used the hides as sheathing for the boats. Having run short of provisions they were compelled to subsist on the flesh of their horses, a supply of which they loaded in their boats. So, in these wretched vessels equipped with sails made of the men's clothing, they put out into the waters of the gulf. Soon afterward a violent storm arose and drove the boats westward, scattering them, and finally wrecking all of them on the Gulf coast west of the mouth of the Mississippi, in localities believed to have been on the coast of Texas. A few of the people survived the disaster, but the leader was among the lost.

Only one boat-party of these storm-beaten men is known to have escaped destruction. It was commanded by De Vaca, who was the treasurer of De Narvaez's expedition, and was cast upon an island, supposed to be one of those in Matagorda Bay, but which De Vaca named "Malhado," which in Spanish means "bad luck."

In this battered company were the first Europeans who traversed the southwestern part of what is now the United States, and their experience constitutes the beginning of the modern history of the region. They were a long while in getting through the country and had a strange time while they were doing it.

De Vaca and his associates in trouble crossed over to the main-land, far into which they journeyed, and where they were presently made prisoners by Indians, who appear to have regarded them as supernatural beings, a fancy which De Vaca evidently took care not to disturb. The Indians were soon made to believe him capable of healing the sick and decrepit, and of performing miracles. After six years of this captivity, De Vaca, Dorantes, Maldonado, and a north Africa negro named Estevanico, made their escape and started westward with the expectation of reaching Spanish settlements on the Gulf of California.

They journeyed from tribe to tribe, De Vaca making the most of his ability to impress and mystify the natives, by whom they were almost uniformly well-received and hospitably treated. The strangers were thought to be immortal visitors, and their fame spread in advance of their journeyings. They were protected, provided with abundant food, and followed by throngs of the natives seeking to be cured of ills and to be blessed by the wonderful white men. De Vaca says he invoked God's blessing upon them and after doing so saw that many of their afflictions at once disappeared. They loaded him with gifts and made his pathway among them as nearly one of roses as they could. Of them he says:

"When upon the plains we traveled through so many sorts of people of such divers languages that memory fails to recall them. They ever plundered each other, and those that lost, like those that gained, were fully content. We drew so many followers that we had not use for their services. Whatever they killed, or found, was put before us without themselves daring to take anything until we had blessed it, though they should be expiring of hunger, they having established this rule since marching with us. Frequently we were accompanied by three or four thousand people, and as we had to breathe upon and sanctify the food and drink of each, and grant permission to do the many things they would come to ask, it may be seen how great was the annoyance."

The route was northwestward, or rather west by north, to some unknown point on the Rio Grande, which the narrator describes as "a great river coming from the north." After crossing the stream the party encountered people different from those met on the plains, which the leader says he called "the Cow nation," because of the numbers of cattle—presumably buffalo—possessed by them. He describes the region as being thickly populated, the people tilling the soil, and leading peaceful and industrious lives. This country which was afterward referred to as "a land of fixed habitations," was the country of the pueblo Indians. All of these tribes received the strangers with the greatest and most unstinted hospitality, and loaded them with presents. De Vaca, who continued his impressive ceremonies, as he had from the start, thus speaks of the generosity of the pueblo people:

"Indeed, they gave us all they had. To me they gave five emeralds made into arrow-heads, which they used at their singing and dancing. I asked whence they got these, and they said that the stones were brought from some lofty mountains that stand toward the north, where were populous towns and very large houses, and that they purchased them with plumes and feathers of parrots."

De Vaca was a sincerely religious man, and was deeply in earnest in his efforts to impress these gentle people with the meaning and ultimate purposes of the doctrines of his church. Of the effect his ministrations had he says:

"We possessed great influence and authority; to preserve both we seldom talked with them. The negro (Estevanico) was in constant conversation; he informed himself about the ways we wished to take, of the towns there were, and the matters we desired to know. We passed through many and dissimilar tongues. Our Lord granted us favor with the people who spoke them, for they always understood us, and we them. We questioned them, and received their answers by signs, just as if they spoke our language, and we theirs, for although we knew six languages, we could not everywhere avail ourselves of them, there being a thousand differences. Throughout all these countries the people who were at war, immediately made friends, that they might come to meet us, and bring what they possessed. In this way we left all the land in peace, and we taught all the inhabitants, by signs which they understood, that in heaven was a man we called God, who had created the sky and the earth. Him we worshiped, and had for our master; that we did what He commanded, and from His hand came all good; and would they do as we did, all would be well with them. They are a people of good condition and substance, capable in any pursuit."

De Vaca continued his westward journey through the land of these friendly people, numbers of whom persisted in going with him, and finally far in the west came upon some natives who had a few objects of Spanish manufacture which, they explained, had recently been left in their country by some remarkable strangers who rode upon large and strange animals, and had come from the southwest. De Vaca, realizing that he was approaching Spanish people, pushed forward far into the present bounds of Mexico, where he fell in with a party of mounted Spaniards returning from a foray toward the new region, and which was the same from which the natives had obtained the objects they prized so highly. With these cavaliers De Vaca and his party, including some of the natives from the pueblos, went on to Culiacan where the story of their adventures produced a most profound sensation among the Spanish people there. Spanish imagination was not curbed in those days, more than it is in ours, and the marvelous accounts the travelers gave of the country through which they had passed, particularly of the pueblo region which they described as "a land of fixed habitations," abounding in riches, greatly excited the curiosity and cupidity of their countrymen.

From Culiacan De Vaca later went to the city of Mexico, where he arrived July 25, 1536. From Mexico at his first opportunity he returned to Spain where he wrote his "Narrative," and where his stories led to De Soto's second and most disastrous expedition to Florida, which was then held to be a vast region of unknown limits, bordering all along the eastward and northward shores of the Gulf of Mexico. De Soto declared that he could and would conquer all the Florida country, and at his own expense. So the King of Spain gave him the title "Governor of Cuba and Florida," and sent him on his way which led to his death.

It has been assumed by some writers that because of De Vaca's long wanderings and his references to the bison—or buffalo, as they are usually but erroneously called—that he came far to the north. Some have it that he reached Colorado territory on the Arkansas, and proceeded to the site of Bent's Fort, where he turned southwestward. There is little or nothing on which to establish this as a fact. His description of the buffalo, aside from being the first given by an European, is interesting:

"I have seen them three times and eaten of their meat. I think they are about the size of those of Spain. They have small horns like the cows of Morocco, and their hair very long and flocky, like that of the merino; some are light brown, others black. To my judgment the flesh is finer and fatter than that of this country. The Indians make blankets of the hides of those not full grown. They range over a district of more than four hundred leagues, and in the whole extent of the plain over which they run the people that inhabit near them descend and live on them and scatter a vast many skins throughout the country."

It is not improbable that De Vaca saw buffalo while he was in Texas; and at any rate it was not absolutely necessary that he should have been as far north as Colorado, in order to have encountered them.

DeLisle's Map, 1722, locating "Quivira" near the latitude of Lake Superior.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary interest aroused in Mexico by De Vaca's accounts, and that the object of Guzman's brief foray in 1530 had not been forgotten, nothing was done toward further exploration in the north until three years had elapsed, the delay having been due to various causes, among which were neither a lack of curiosity nor of eagerness.

However, Coronado in 1539, having the hearty approval of Viceroy Mendoza, decided to organize and send out a preliminary expedition toward the strange country in the north. It was placed in charge of Marcos De Niza, a Franciscan monk, who had with him three others of that order, Daniel and Antonio De Santa Maria, and Honoratos. In the party were several natives of the northern country whom De Vaca had brought with him, and who had remained, or had been detained, at Culiacan. The negro, Estevanico, who appears to have been a most intrepid man, went along as guide and interpreter so far as he was able to be either. The Franciscan friars were glad to go because they were ever eager to propagate the faith among the benighted, by planting the good seed whenever and wherever opportunity offered. The De Vaca natives were expected to help as interpreters, and to conciliate the way through the new country.

So, with Spanish pomp and ceremonies, away they went on their journey. After many weeks of tiresome march over an uninviting land, Estevanico started on ahead of the others and reached the Seven Cities of Cibola, as Spanish imagination, excited by De Vaca's accounts, and the exaggerated versions of revived traditions, had designated the pueblos of Zuni. He had sent back tidings of his advance, to Marcos, but he did not tell of his evil conduct among the natives. As good Friar Marcos drew nearer to Zuni he heard grievous tales of Estevanico's gross licentiousness, and finally that the sinner had been killed by the exasperated people. Thereupon, Marcos, after having approached in sight of Zuni, of which he took careful view from a distant eminence, turned around and went back to Culiacan.

Marcos in his account to Coronado appears to have drawn liberally upon his imagination, and notwithstanding the fact that the loss of Estevanico was the only definite result, the stories were adorned, after the fashion of De Vaca, with much verbal embroidery, and many extraordinary conceptions of the country and people he had visited; even going so far as to confirm the tales told Guzman by the Tejos Indian slave, about the abundance of gold and silver in the northern cities. In his report he said:

> "The houses are builded in order, according, as the Indians told me, all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs, so far as I could discern from the mountain. The people are somewhat white; they wear apparel and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, though they esteemed none so much as turquoises wherewith they adorn the walls of the porches of their houses, and their apparel and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the country. They use vessels of gold and silver for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance than in Peru."

Marcos afterward went around haranguing the people in public places about the wonders and riches of the great cities of the north, which were not great nor rich, and which he had seen only from a long distance. In his lecturings he was far more extravagant in his statements than he was in his reports to Coronado. Since that time the ability of Marcos as a romancer has never been seriously questioned.

Coronado was susceptible, and the narrative of Marcos determined him to organize a new and greater expedition, to head it himself, and get at least a fair share, from the standpoint of his time, of the gold and silver in the land of the Seven Cities. Having the approval of Viceroy Mendoza, Coronado set out on Easter Monday, 1540, with a concourse comprising three hundred and fifty Spaniards, zealous for God and athirst for gold; and about eight hundred Indian allies drawn from the adjacent country. Friar Marcos went along as a guide, and Pedro De Castenada De Nagera as secretary. It was this man who made the records of the expedition's marches, and from his assembled accounts all information of the enterprise has been derived. Coronado, before his departure, organized a second body of men which he left at Culiacan with instructions for it to follow within a month and join him in the land of the Seven Cities. Coronado proceeded to the sources of the Gila river, and thence to his Seven Cities of Cibola; or Zuni, as we shall hereafter know them. To this day the Zuni group consists of seven different pueblos, the Seven Cities of Cibola, of these old Spanish times.

Coronado and his army were bitterly disappointed upon their arrival there, and heaped maledictions on the heads of the friars who had so grossly deceived them with tales of fine cities abounding in riches. Instead of populous towns, rich in golden plunder, they had found but little more than ruined and deserted habitations in that region. The anticipated magnificent Seven Cities were only the forbidding pueblo communities of now hostile natives living a life of barbarism. Coronado had to capture the pueblos of Zuni by storm, and came near losing his own life in doing so. But he subjugated them and the surrounding country, making the natives pay dearly for having killed Estevanico, (or Stephen, as it would be in English,) and arousing a feeling of revengeful hostility among many of the pueblo Indians, that existed for many years after.

The command left at Culiacan joined Coronado at Zuni and several expeditions were sent into the surrounding country. Pedro De Tobar was directed to invest and subdue the Moqui towns, which he speedily did though not without trouble. The Moquis had heard that Cibola had been "captured by a very ferocious race of people, who bestrode great animals that devoured men; and as they knew nothing of horses, this information filled them with the greatest astonishment," and they resisted vigorously.

The Moquis told of a "great river on which there were Indians living who were very tall." Coronado sent Garcia De Cardenas to see about these people and to find the great river; an enterprise in which Melchoir Diaz shared, in a direction nearer the river's source, and in which he lost his life. Diaz named the Colorado the Rio Del Tizon. Cardenas discovered the Grand Canon of the Colorado, according to Castenado's account:

"After a journey of twenty days through a desert they reached a river whose banks were so high that they thought themselves elevated three or four leagues in the air."

Coronado's March—Ideal Sketch

While Coronado's lieutenants were ranging around to the west and northwest of Zuni the commander was visited by a delegation of natives from the eastward bearing gifts and offering friendship to the wonderful strangers of whose presence and deeds they had heard. Their leader, Bigotes (Moustaches), invited the Spaniards to visit his town, and Coronado sent Hernando De Alvarado with a small company to escort the visitors back home, which was in a place or province seventy leagues eastward from Zuni, and their pueblo was the Acuco, later known as the Acoma. Of this village the historian says:

"This village was very strongly posted, inasmuch as it was reached by only one path and was built upon a rock precipitous on all its other sides, and at such a height that the ball from an arquebus could scarcely reach its summit. It was entered by a stairway, cut by the hand of man, which began at the bottom of the declivitous rock and led up to the village. * * * * On the summit there was a great arsenal of huge stones, which the defenders without exposing themselves, could roll down on the assailants, so that no army, no matter what its strength might be, could force this passage. There was on the top, a sufficient space of ground to cultivate and store a large supply of corn, as well as cisterns [basins or reservoirs] to contain water and snow."

Alvarado went from Acoma to the country called the Tigeaux by the natives. Bigotes accompanies him as a guide and sponsor, and the visitors were hospitably received by the inhabitants, who asked that Coronado and all his company come and spend the approaching winter with them. Alvarado next visited the four-storied pueblo village Cicuye, the inhabitants of which made no resistance. Indeed, he was received everywhere by the simple-minded people more as a friendly visitor than as an invading conqueror.

While Alvarado was thus engaged Coronado visited another district in which was a group of eight large pueblos built of earth, instead of stone as all the others were. They are described as being seven stories high and such "as were seen nowhere else. These belonged to private individuals, and served as fortresses. They rise so far above the others as to have the appearance of towns. There are embrasures and loopholes, from which lances may be thrown and the place defended. As all their villages have no streets, all the roofs are flat and common to all the inhabitants; it is therefore necessary to take possession, first of all, of those large houses which serve as defenses."

Coronado next proceeded into the Tigeaux country that had been invaded by Alvarado, and found the hitherto peaceful people up in arms on account of outrages committed by roving squads of Spaniards. The leader had nearly two months fighting to do before the Tigeaux natives were subdued. Having crushed all opposition thus far, and formally taken possession of all the country he and his men had visited, Coronado proceeded northeastward to the Rio Grande, upon which at some point that has not been identified, he and his command wintered in 1540-41.

Some of the pueblo Indians regarded Coronado and his men with superstitious awe and reverence. When he left the Zuni country late in the autumn of 1540 he told those people he would return and remain with them. In consequence of his failure to do so, and of the religious veneration some of them had conceived for him, his memory became, in later years, confused in the traditions certain tribes retained of Montezuma.

The spirit of adventure, backed by a seemingly reckless courage, that inspired these old-time Spanish cavaliers, excites admiration. They were ready to go anywhere. By this time they had frequently heard from the natives of a mythical place which the invaders called Quivira. By some it was thought to be a city of fabulous wealth; by others a vast, populous region containing many treasure-laden towns. Whichever it was they were anxious to find it; and to do that now became the further object of the expedition. The winter was passed in happy anticipations of the journey and in preparations for it.

While Alvarado was at Cicuye he picked up an alien Indian who claimed to be from the country far to the northeast where the bison were in abundance, and which the Spaniards thought was adjacent to Florida where, they knew or had heard, De Soto was making explorations, or had undertaken to do so. Upon this Indian the Spaniards bestowed the name El Turco (The Turk,) from his resemblance in appearance and dress to the subjects of the Sultan. Whatever else El Turco may have done and been, he shed luster on his namesakes; for he was a most gifted and plausible rascal, and the truth was not in him. He told Coronado that he was a native of that country a thousand miles to the northeast, in which Quivira, roofed and paved with gold and silver, was situated. El Turco got another Indian named Xabe, from no one knows where, to corroborate his stories; and when still another Indian, named Sopete, the only one of the trio who told the truth, contradicted El Turco, the Spaniards would hardly listen to him. El Turco's story was the kind of story they wanted. To crush Sopete and his unpopular views, El Turco, who was a resourceful scamp, brought in some of his other friends, who were of the Querechos Apaches, and they readily confirmed all he had told about Quivira, although they knew nothing whatever about it.

While El Turco's stories were not very definite, they satisfied the Spaniards that Quivira lay far across the country to the northeast. Therefore, on May 5, 1541, Coronado and his little army left the banks of the Rio Grande and started after El Turco's jack-'o-lantern. Routes are not given in any satisfactory manner, but it appears that the party crossed the Raton mountains and entered the plains of Colorado somewhere near where the city of Trinidad is now located. Coronado pushed forward without obstruction or delay, to a point believed to have been the site of the present city of Wichita, Kansas, where, according to the accounts, the expedition was encamped late in June, at the junction of two rivers which were named St. Peter and St. Paul. These are supposed to have been the "Big" and the "Little" Arkansas rivers. Here the company was divided, the main part of the cavalcade, under Arelanno, being directed to return to New Spain; while Coronado with sixty or seventy chosen followers, proceeded on the long march toward Quivira, through a country improving in fertility and appearance as they advanced, and abounding with buffalo.

Finally, after forty-eight days of toilsome travel Coronado and his little company reached El Turco's Quivira, or the only one that could be found. It was a village of Indian wigwams, assumed by some writers to have been a Pawnee town. By others it is held to have been farther to the northeast than the country of that tribe. Coronado's historian says it was on about the fortieth parallel of north latitude, and that the country was occupied by powerful tribes of Indians whose chief ruler was called Tatarax, as nearly as the Spaniards could get it. The latitude and description given of the region, corresponds with the Platte river country, and if Castenada's account of the long distance traveled, and his reference to a great river seen, be correct, this village must have been in eastern Nebraska on or near the Missouri, and not far from Omaha. Jaramillo, one of Coronado's officers, mentions the houses in the Quivira country as having been unique in Spanish experience, and says of them:

> "The houses are of straw, very many being circular in shape. The straw reaches almost to the ground, like walls; on the outside on top is a kind of chapel or cupola, having an entrance where the Indians sit or lie down."

This is a strange account of the domiciles of our plains Indians, and it is certainly an error. No such structures were ever known to have been built by them by the white men who next visited their country. They appear to have used the ordinary wigwam from time immemorial.

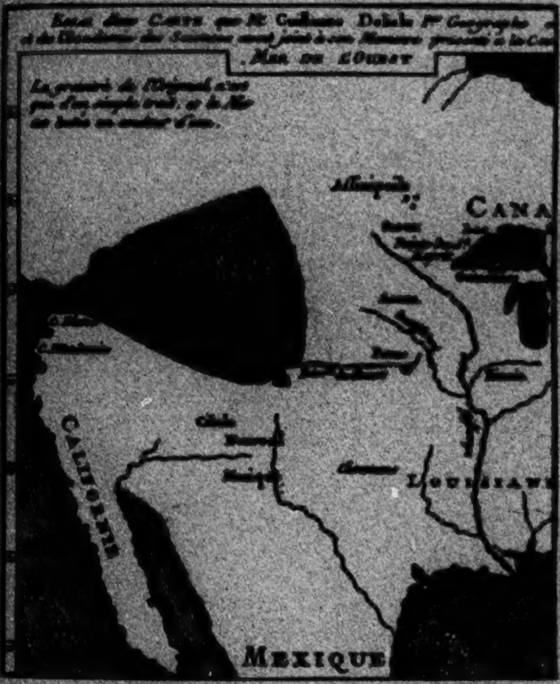
Castenada was exceedingly obscure in many parts of his narrative. In one place, referring to Quivira, he says it was situated "in the midst of the countries which adjoined the mountains that skirt the sea." In another he gives this account of the region:

> "It is in this country that the great River of Espirita Santa [the Mississippi] which Fernando De Soto discovered in Florida, takes its rise; it afterward passes through a province called Arache. Its sources were not seen; they are very distant and on the slope of the mountain range which borders the plains. It traverses them entirely as well as the Atlantic range, and its mouth is three hundred leagues from the place where De Soto and his comrades embarked."

With due allowances for confusion natural under such circumstances this description would apply very well to the Missouri.

The miserable Turco who had led Coronado on this long wild-goose chase, though he did not desert his dupes as he neared the destination, a thing he probably might have done, met a deserved fate. The Spaniards were angry enough when they realized how they had been deceived by Friar Marco's accounts of the Seven Cities of Cibola, but now they were in a fury of rage. They seized El Turco, and in his alarm that worthy confessed that he had been induced by some of the pueblo tribes to lure the Spaniards into that distant country where they would encounter fierce enemies, be overwhelmed and made prisoner-slaves, and nevermore be seen again by the southwestern people, many of whom had learned to fear the mailed invaders and to dread the future consequences of their continued presence in their country. After this admission of his treachery El Turco was condemned to be strangled, and strangled he was by the Spaniards with little ceremony.

Disconsolate over such an ending for his long and toilsome expedition, and cast down by the prospective effect it would have upon his fair fame, Coronado and his little cavalcade dejectedly took up their long march homeward, stopping on the way at the Indian town which later became Santa Fe, and going thence through the pueblo country to Culiacan, his capitol in the western part of New Spain (Mexico). His undertaking resulted in great personal misfortune to himself. While on the homeward journey he fell from his horse, and the injuries, which caused insanity, resulted in his death before the year (1542) closed. He was yet a young man, having been born in Salamanca, Spain, in 1510.



DeLisle's Map, 1752, showing the great "Sea of the West," and mythical city of "Quivira" in latitude and longitude of Denver.

The following quotation from Coronado's historian recounts some of the circumstances of the expedition, but its chief interest lies in the quaint description given of the buffalo, of which "the number was incredible:"

"From Cicuye they went to Quivira, which, after their account, is almost three hundred leagues distant, through mighty plains, and sandy heaths so smooth and wearisome, and bare of wood that they made heaps of ox-dung, for want of stones and trees, that they might not lose themselves on their return; for three horses were lost on that plain, and one Spaniard which went from his company on hunting. * * * All that way of plains are as full of crooked-back oxen as the mountain Serrena in Spain is of sheep, but there is no such people as keep those cattle. * * * They were a great succour for the hunger and the want of bread, which our party stood in need of."

"One day it rained in that plain a great shower of hail, as big as oranges, which caused many tears, weakness and bowes."

"These oxen are of the bigness and color of our bulls, but their bones are not so great. They have a great bunch upon their fore-shoulder, and more hair upon their fore part than on their hinder part, and it is like wool. They have as it were an horse-mane upon their back-bone, and much hair and very long from their knees downward. They have great tufts of hair hanging down on their foreheads, and it seemeth they have beards because of the great store of hair hanging down at their chins and throats. The males have very long tails, and a great knob or flock at the end, so that in some respects they resemble the lion, and in some others the camel. They push with their horns, they run, they overtake and kill a horse when they are in their rage and anger. Finally it is a foul and fierce beast of countenance and form of body. The horses fled from them, either because of their deformed shape, or else because they had never before seen them."

The account goes on to say that when the Spaniards in their excitement of the chase made up to a large herd of buffaloes, the frightened animals rushed together in such crowded and terrified masses that hundreds were crushed and trampled to death; and that in one place where a ravine interposed, the creatures plunged into it in their frantic efforts to escape from the hunters, and so filled the depression with their bodies that the remainder of the herd passed over upon them as on a bridge.

The Spanish accounts of Coronado's expedition, while probably intended to be full narratives of the ambitious undertaking, and perhaps as good as could have been made under the circumstances of those times, are, to an extent which now would seem to be most unfortunate, laden with many vagaries. Localities, directions, and other details appear in such an indefinite and confused way that it would be useless to make many positive statements concerning them. No doubt there are buried in the old archives of Mexico, much now unknown record of this and other early Spanish operations in the southwest portion of what is now the United States, that would be of great historical value and interest, even with their probable minor uncertainties.

In many Spanish chronicles there are frequent references to "Quivira," which appears to have been a name sometimes given to a vast, undefined region lying to the northward, and of which country Colorado is a part. Some of the historians have held that Coronado's route took him so far to the eastward into western Kansas and thence into Nebraska, that if it crossed Colorado, at all, it was only through the southeast corner. Others have held that he crossed the Arkansas river at or near the foot-hills and came northward by a route that brought him near the site of Denver. Still others suggest that his expedition did not pass up on the eastward side of the Rocky Mountain ranges, but on the west; and that Quivira was the Utah country. These quote Jaramillo's description of the Quivira habitations, and Castenada's statement that Quivira was "in the midst of the countries which adjoined the mountains that skirt the sea," to sustain their views, and assume that the great river "having its sources on the slope of the mountain range which borders the plains," was the Colorado, which the confused Spaniards took to be the Mississippi; and finally that the "province called Arache" through which "it afterward passes" was the former Apache country of our present Arizona.

Several old Spanish writers made the sea visible from Quivira, a possible reminiscence of Salt Lake. Others say that some of Coronado's men afterward claimed to have seen in Quivira structures similar to the ruined buildings now existing in southwestern Colorado. Greenhow, in his "History of Oregon and California" (1844), says this traditional locality was probably the region about the headwaters of the Arkansas and South Platte rivers. Scanland, a recent writer on the "Missions of California," states that according to an ancient Latin publication, dated 1579, California was then called "Quivira," but does not give the name of the ancient publication. All the sources of information about Quivira are exceedingly slender and equally obscure; and while nothing positive can be said of its whereabouts, there is little or no reason for doubting that Coronado's journey led him northeast across the great plains east of the Rocky Mountains, and that the Utah theory is hardly worth considering.

At all events the reader will probably conclude, after considering these diversities of opinion and Coronado's sorry experience with the region, that the term "mythical" as applied to such a place or country, was certainly well chosen.

CHAPTER IX.

Antiquity of Spanish Settlements in the Southwest—Moscoso's Expedition Toward the Rocky Mountains—Later Visits of Spanish Explorers to the Colorado Country—Their Tireless Searches for Gold and Silver—Ill-fated Expedition of Borilla and Humano—Founding of Santa Fe—Subsequent Northward Explorations—Spanish Settlements on and Near the Arkansas—Escalante's Colorado Explorations—Last Spanish Military Expedition Northeast from New Mexico.

We have been so long accustomed to accounts of and references to the early settlements along our Atlantic coast, that we almost unconsciously think of their localities as having been the scenes of the first appearance of Europeans within the present borders of the United States; and that the people who made those settlements were the pioneer white men in this great country. We forget that long before a beginning had been made there, white men of the Spanish nation were roving over this region of the west; a quarter of a century before the first Huguenot exiles visited Port Royal harbor, South Carolina, in 1562, and others of that persecuted people made a settlement on the St. John's river, Florida, in 1564; more than a quarter of a century before St. Augustine, Florida, was founded in 1565; three quarters of a century before the English settled at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607; and nearly a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620.

Hearing so often of what was done in the east, and so rarely of what was done here in the west-southwest, we forget the more remarkable achievements of these brave, visionary, romantic Spanish pioneers in the very dawn of our country's history.

Contemporary with the expedition of Coronado to the northeast from New Spain, another body of Spaniards was in the country west of the lower Mississippi trying to find a way to the Spanish settlements in New Spain. This was the company which had made its way to and beyond the great river, under the unfortunate De Soto, after whose death the command of which fell upon Louis De Moscoso, one of his trusted lieutenants. De Soto had landed in Florida on the shores of Tampa Bay in 1539, and was about two years in the wilderness between his landing place and the Mississippi. Some account of his explorations and fate appears later.

After De Soto's death, which occurred on June 5, 1542, Moscoso determined to proceed northwestward from the Mississippi river. He left the river about the middle of that month, and all the men being mounted, they made rapid progress after getting out of the lowlands' jungle. Early in August the party was encamped on the Arkansas river somewhere in what is now western Kansas. Fiercely hostile Indians were encountered, and the Spanish historian of the expedition declared that "the entire route became a trail of fire and blood." Of the fighting qualities of the savages he furthermore says:

"They were of gigantic stature, and fought with heavy strong clubs, with the desperation of demons. Such was their tremendous strength, that one of these warriors was a match for a Spanish soldier, though mounted on a horse, armed with a sword and cased in armour!"

While encamped on the Arkansas, Moscoso learned from some Indian captives, and from scouting parties he had sent out, that the country to the west was sterile, and thinly peopled by small bands of roving Indians; information that greatly discouraged the leader. Like the Coronado accounts, the chronicles of Moscoso's expedition are vague and uncertain. Several versions of them that undertake to specifically state movements and localities in connection with it, are open to many suspicions.

It can not be said with desirable approach to accuracy how far west Moscoso penetrated. It would seem that scouting parties went farther than the main body of the command, and that some of them came into what is now Colorado, after fifteen days' absence from the established camp. Moscoso's chronicler asserts that "they saw great chains of mountains, and forests, to the west, which they understood were uninhabited."

Some later versions of the Moscoso narratives have it that he came with his command as far as the Rocky Mountains, but did not explore them. There is no satisfactory evidence that he did so or that, beyond what may have been done by his scouting parties, the expedition as a whole entered Colorado territory, at all. Moscoso has been represented as the first European to tread the soil of our State, and the first to look upon the Colorado mountains—statements that would seem to escape acceptable verification. That Coronado was the Spanish pioneer in this general region, in 1541, is almost a certainty, for there is little foundation for the theories that he visited Utah instead of the great plains.

Dismayed by the prospect that lay before him to the west, Moscoso decided in the autumn to retrace his way to the Mississippi with his seriously decimated command. While on his retreat eastward he discovered the well-known Hot Springs of Arkansas. His worn and wasted people, when they reached them, believed that they were at last to be rewarded for all their hardships and sufferings. His chronicler says:

> "And when they saw the foaming fountain, they thought it was the long-searched-for "Fountain of Youth," reported by fame to exist somewhere in the country, but ten of the soldiers dying from excessive drinking, they were soon convinced of their error."

From the Hot Springs Moscoso proceeded directly to the Mississippi which he reached about the middle of December, after an absence in the west of six months. Having concluded to endeavor to reach Cuba by water, several months were passed in building boats and making other preparations, after which he started down the river and came to its mouth on July 18, 1543, thus antedating La Salle's discovery of that river's entrance to the Gulf, by one hundred and thirty-nine years.

Several purposes have been attributed to Moscoso as motives for his hazardous expedition. One is that he expected to discover much gold and silver; another, that he expected to reach the Spanish settlements in the far southwest; another, that he intended joining Coronado on his Quivira expedition. While De Soto was west of the Mississippi he heard reports from the Indians that far in the west there were strange men making war on the native people and subduing them. De Soto had concluded that these strangers must be Spaniards making their way northward from Mexico. The Indian accounts were probably based on rumors of Coronado's operations in the pueblo country in 1540. Moscoso acted upon this information and set out to find and join his countrymen, though he greatly underestimated the distance that lay between, for he concluded that "they could not be far distant," and expected to encounter them in a few weeks' march. He did not know who they were, and was not searching for Coronado, for it is not likely that after so long an absence from communications with Spanish settlements or authorities, that he had any knowledge of that explorer's recent presence on the plains. It would seem probable, however, that the routes of the two parties intersected at some point.

In 1884, several grave-like mounds were discovered in McPherson county, Kansas, which, upon being opened under supervision of members of the faculty of Bethany college, at Lindsborg, revealed many relics proving that some of the mounds were burial places of Europeans. Among the objects exhumed was a piece of steel chain-mail armor, which, it is believed, was part of the equipment of one of Moscoso's men, or of one of Coronado's. Some writers have thought De Vaca may have gone that far north in his wanderings, and that he might have been responsible for the presence there of those relics, oblivious of the fact that long before he and his party escaped from captivity their personal belongings had disappeared, and that they had scarcely anything with which to cover their nakedness, according to De Vaca's narrative.

Among those who accompanied Coronado on his journey in 1540-42 was Padilla, another Franciscan friar. A few years afterward—the exact date not being available to us—Padilla set out from New Spain with several companions to re-visit the Quivira country. Nothing was ever heard of them after their departure, and how, and when, and where they lost their lives are unknown.

After the ventures of Coronado and Padilla, other expeditions from New Spain far to the northward were not undertaken for a considerable period, although several friars at various times entered the pueblo country seeking to establish missions, most of them losing their lives in the attempts. One of the more prominent of these was Augustin Ruiz, who was killed in 1581. In that year two others of the devoted Franciscan fathers, whose names are not retained, in company with one Chamuscado, a miner or gold-seeker, and a small company of followers, came up into the Zuni country where the friars remained to evangelize the natives, at whose hands they, also soon after met their death. Chamuscado and the rest, inspired by quite different motives, got out of the region without imperiling themselves.

In 1582 Espejo was sent by the Viceroy of New Spain to learn the details of the fate which had overtaken these friars, to see what could be done toward protecting such missionaries in the future, and otherwise to explore the region to the north. He proceeded to Zuni and from there to the Moqui country; but it is not known whether he went as far as southern Colorado, or not. Espejo visited some seventy-five pueblos, which he estimated to have had a population of two hundred and fifty thousand; in which he was, of course, vastly mistaken. He then made his way to Santa Fe, where he founded a mission; and he afterward explored the Pecos valley.

In the years immediately following Espejo's enterprise, several unimportant Spanish expeditions were made to the north from New Spain, but none of them appear to have gone as far as Colorado.

In the closing years of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards, after considerable fighting with the natives, had subdued a large portion of the region now represented on the maps by the western part of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and were in nominal, if not actual, possession of it.

A prominent Spanish leader in those times was Juan De Onate, of Zacatecas. His wife was Isabel, a grand-daughter of Cortez and a great-grand-daughter of Montezuma. In 1595, he organized and led a pretentious expedition for exploring and adventure in the north country. His route was up the Rio Grande and into the San Luis park region of Colorado. Onate was a colonizer who desired to definitely establish Spanish rule in the new country; and he was also a seeker for the precious metals. He established several settlements, the most important of which was the older Chama, the one on the Chama river near its confluence with the Rio Grande, which survived the vicissitudes of all the intervening years and still exists. In the San Luis park in the vicinity of the site of Fort Garland, he is recorded as having discovered gold and silver mines which his people were said to have successfully developed. From this time forward the Spanish population in that region steadily increased.

The old Spanish accounts state that mining was extensively engaged in, but it is now difficult to identify with certainty the localities in which it was done. They reduced the natives to virtual slavery for the purpose of working these mines, wherever they were. Some of them were undoubtedly in our San Luis park and in the San Juan country. However, the Spanish accounts of their mining operations are believed to have been greatly exaggerated, and the alleged importance of these mines is regarded with some doubt.

There is a cloudy story of a Spanish undertaking in 1595, under Captain Borilla, which rivaled that of Coronado in audacity and the distance traveled. It was said to have been sent against the Indians on the plains in what appears to have been southeastern Colorado, so far as any locality can be determined from the account. Borilla is represented to have become excited by reports of great wealth among the Indians farther to the northeast, and disregarding his instructions, started toward the Missouri river to see about it. The reader will observe that Borilla was heading in the direction of Coronado's Quivira; or rather, El Turco's Quivira. The Spanish Governor of Viscaya, in northern Mexico, sent Cazorla to overhaul Borilla and bring him home. The latter refused to return and persisted in his new enterprise. Later, in a quarrel with one of his subordinates, named Humano, Borilla was killed, his slayer taking command of the expedition, which the hazy accounts say, soon reached a large river that was crossed on rafts. Here three Indians who had accompanied the party from New Mexico, deserted and started back to their own country. One of them reached the Spanish settlement on the Chama, and he informed the Spanish official, Onate, of what had happened up to the time he left the adventurous party.

It appears that Humano after crossing the river went onward, and at some unknown place, was attacked by Indians, who fired the grass around the invaders, and then destroyed all but two —Alonzo Sanchez and a half-breed girl, both of whom they adopted into their tribe. They afterward so liked Sanchez that they made him a chief; at least, this is in the story Alonzo told years later of the concluding incidents of Borilla's ill-starred undertaking.

In 1601 Onate organized an expedition at Chama and started northeastward for the great plains country to learn something further about the fate of Humano and his associates. He was absent from June to October of that year, and is credited with having come northward about to the latitude of Denver and thence gone east through the country south of the Platte river, far into what is now eastern Kansas; some writers have him go as far as the Missouri river. His enterprise appears to have been destitute of noteworthy events, for the accounts of it are exceedingly meager and unimportant, with nothing definite as to what further knowledge he gained of Humano's fate.

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There are several uncertain references to an expedition from New Spain up this way along the eastern base of the mountains, which is said to have traveled "many leagues," but all particulars as to who led it, and its objects, are lacking. Indeed, it is difficult to find any trustworthy record of Spanish visits to the immediate locality of Denver up to this time, in any of these old and misty accounts. After the occupation of the New Mexico region by the Spaniards, and the founding of Santa Fe, minor excursions in many directions were common, but there is no evidence that any of them went far enough to have reached the Platte river near Denver, though several of them came to the vicinity of Pike's Peak, and that lofty mountain became well known to the early Spanish adventurers.

Santa Fe—Santa Fe de San Francisco, the City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis—is probably the oldest and certainly the oddest permanent town in the United States. When the Spanish first visited it, in 1542, it was a permanent Indian town and appeared to have existed for many years. This was twenty-three years before the founding of St. Augustine, in Florida. In 1580, a Spanish mission for the benefit of the Indians had been established at El Paso, and it was about two years later, as we have stated, that Espejo founded one at Santa Fe. Others soon followed at various places in the region. Espejo is by some held to have been the founder of Santa Fe; but the first organized Spanish colony having settled there in 1605, the history of the place as a Spanish town is usually dated from that year. In 1640, it became the capital of the province of New Mexico.

In 1662 Diego Penalossa came out of Mexico to Santa Fe with a large company of Spanish cavaliers, and thence proceeded northeast across the country to the plains of Kansas. It is narrated that he went far toward the Missouri river which, according to some accounts, he reached; but nothing is definitely told of his purposes or of what he succeeded in doing, and the narratives of his enterprise are left singularly barren of information of any historical consequence.

In 1680, the native people of the pueblo country, who had long been on the verge of rebellion, revolted, and under the lead of Pope, a chieftain of great influence, marched on Santa Fe, and there besieged Governor Otermin and the Spanish army, who were finally compelled to evacuate the town and retreat to El Paso. For thirteen years the pueblo people continued to control their old country, defeating successive Spanish expeditions sent against them. In 1693 Diego De Vargas succeeded in re-conquering them and peace was made, one of the terms of which was that there should be no more slavery in the mines. The Spanish historians say that the Indians had, in the meantime, filled up all the shafts, and otherwise obliterated or destroyed all evidences of their slavish toil in their taskmasters' mines.

Aside from these events there had been a long period of inactivity in the southwest. The Spaniards had ceased from their ambitious exploring and expeditionary labors for many years, and their seventeenth century history contains little or nothing more of interest pertaining to the territory near Denver. In 1698, they began to be apprehensive of inroads by the French, who were then preparing to make permanent settlements in "Louisiana." This fear of invasion from that quarter grew out of La Salle's operations, the particulars of which appear in another chapter.

In 1719 Valverde, at the head of upward of a hundred Spanish cavaliers and their followers, with a large contingent of Apaches started out from Santa Fe to make war upon the Comanche and Ute Indians who had been committing some of their customary depredations, in Spanish territory. Valverde was also charged with the duty of ascertaining what the French, of whom the Spaniards were then very suspicious, were doing or trying to do up here in this region. In carrying out his purposes Valverde appears to have skirted the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains as far north as the South Platte river, and if he did not reach the site of Denver, it is believed that he came nearer to it than any of his Spanish predecessors. The accounts of his enterprise say he crossed a river flowing eastward from the mountains, which, from the related circumstances probably was the Arkansas, and proceeded northward some leagues beyond it. Of the faring of the Utes and Comanches little is told, so it is likely that they did not seriously suffer.

In 1720 an expedition was dispatched from Santa Fe against the French in the Missouri river country, an account of which unfortunate enterprise appears in our next chapter.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the Spaniards founded the old and historic town of Taos—named for the Spanish cavalier Fernandez De Taos—in the valley of the Rio Grande, about midway between Santa Fe and the present southern boundary of Colorado. Pando, a Spaniard, had settled himself there in 1745, and there had long been a native pueblo at or near the place. After establishing their Taos colony the Spanish promoters crossed the mountains to the valley of the Arkansas river, with which they had by that time become somewhat familiar, and made, according to their accounts, several settlements in what is now southeastern Colorado.

One of these was on the Las Animas—or Purgatoire—river, near its confluence with the Arkansas; another, a kind of military post, was on the Huerfano river, to the eastward of the Sangre De Christo Pass, which it was intended to guard. Along the Arkansas for some distance southeast of the city of Pueblo traces of this old Spanish occupation still exist in the forms of ditches and remains of foundations for buildings. But these attempts of the Spaniards to establish themselves along the Arkansas proved failures, the settlements being abandoned within a few years, probably in consequence of the plains Indians' hostility, though nothing definite is known of the immediate cause of their abandonment. When Lieutenant Pike traversed the Arkansas valley to the mountains a half century later, he found the region destitute of any kind of inhabitants, and in his very circumstantial narrative of each day's events he does not mention having seen the sign of a single human habitation along the Arkansas in what is now southeastern Colorado; although he noted that the Indians of central Kansas possessed a few wares of Spanish manufacture which they had long before obtained of traders hailing from Santa Fe.

In 1761, Don Juan Rivera in company with Pedro Mora, Joaquin Lain, Gregoria Sandoval, and a retinue of attendants, made an extended exploration of what is now southwestern Colorado. They visited the valley of the San Juan and from there went up into the Gunnison river country, which they traversed for several months. Rivera searched diligently for gold and silver, and found some of the more precious metal on the San Juan and its tributaries. After the "Pike's Peak gold discoveries," when the American miners got down into that region they found many traces of Rivera's mining operations of a hundred years before.

Through the last half of the eighteenth century there were many Spanish parties prowling around in the country to the northward of Santa Fe. Natural love of adventure, inborn to the Spaniards, curiosity, and the ever-present hope of finding gold and silver—preferably dug out and awaiting capture—prompted these enterprises, which were neither of much interest nor of great importance. Some of the cavaliers careered their way along the foot-hills up here to and far beyond the South Platte. There was much to induce them to penetrate this more inviting territory and little or nothing to prevent. If they encountered hostile Indians and did not want to fight them, their fleet steeds and good horsemanship enabled them to quickly run away. Cachupin, who was Governor at Santa Fe for a long time in the last half of that century, sent several such expeditions into this plains country.

Prior to 1775, Padre Junipero Serra, in charge of the Spanish missions in California, had urged the authorities at Santa Fe to explore and locate a route or trail from that town to Upper California. Accordingly, Padre Francisco Silvestre Velez Escalante, Ministro Doctrinero of Zuni, was appointed to lead an expedition to see what could be done toward that end, and made preparations for the long and perilous journey.

In 1776, Escalante and Padre Atanacio Dominguez, the Visitador Comisario of New Mexico, with Joaquin Lain, who had been with Rivera fifteen years before, to serve as guide, set out from Santa Fe with a suitable company of retainers on this long and toilsome mission. They proceeded northwest to the San Juan river, which they reached at a point three leagues below the junction of the Navajo, on August 5th. This place they called Neustra Senora Las Nieves, and it was the first in Colorado receiving a definite name on a certainly known date. From Nieves the party again proceeded northwest, crossing several affluents of the San Juan, giving them names still retained, as Piedra Parada, Pinos, Florida, and Los Animas. (To avoid confusion of river names it should be remembered that the Rio Los Animas in southwestern Colorado is a tributary of the San Juan; and that the Rio Las Animas, or Purgatoire, in the southeastern part of the State, is a tributary of the Arkansas. There are also two Cherry creeks: one in the southwestern corner of the State, and our own sometimes riotous stream here at Denver.) The La Plate range was named Sierra De La Grulla; and the La Plata river, the San Joaquin. In the canon of this stream, Escalante stated, were evidences of Rivera's pioneer mining operations, fifteen years previous.

When Escalante reached the Rio Mancos he heard reports from some Indians he encountered, of gold mines in the country northeast, and observed with wonder the ruined habitations of the ancient Cliff Dwellers, that are so abundant in that region. He and his associates were the first white men who ever beheld them, and his brief references to them are the first of which there is any record. He saw but few of the many ruins, and knowledge of what he did see was long-buried in the dust-covered archives of New Mexico.

From the Mancos the explorer went northward to the Rio Dolores. Along this stream he gave names to many places and localities—Asuncion, Aqua Tapada, Canon Aqua Escondida, Meiro Labarinto (in honor of one of his officers), and Ancon San Bernado. A small tributary of the Dolores was called Paraliticas in consequence of having there encountered three paralyzed Ute squaws. Near this point the party left the canon of the Dolores and entered Gypsum valley, or Cajon Del Yeso, a name it still bears. Ascending to a mesa, they went six leagues northwest to their next station, San Barnabe. Another six leagues brought them through a canon to the San Miguel, or, as they named it, Rio San Piedro. Places where they encamped on the north side were named San Luis, San Felipe (where they found more traces of Rivera's expedition), and Fuento De La Guia. Then they passed through the canada Honda, probably the Uncompahgre Park, to Ojo De Lain, named so in honor of their guide.

Here the party reached the Uncompahgre river —spelled by Escalante "Ancapagari"—but which they christened the Rio Francisco. Escalante gave the distance traveled from the San Miguel to this point as twenty-four and one-half leagues, indicating long detours in the Uncompahgre country. The first station beyond was named San Augustin, and the distance from the Uncompahgre to the Gunnison river by the route followed was held to be ten leagues. The Indians called the Gunnison river "Tomichi," but Escalante named it San Javier. Rivera had reached this region, and a little farther down a cross had been cut by him in the river bluff.

Proceeding northeasterly four leagues up the Gunnison, the explorers came to a stream which they named Santa Rosa; and farther along they reached another which they called Rio Santa Monica. This was probably the north branch of the Gunnison's north fork. Following this stream they came to the Rio San Antonia Martir, the present Divide creek. The two buttes, North and South Mam, they named San Silvestre (in honor of Escalante himself), and Nebuncari, and the present Mam creek was called Santa Rosalia. Near here they crossed the San Rafael, or Grand river, proceeding thence northwest to the White river—called by them San Clemente—to the point about where it crosses the Utah boundary, where they arrived September 9th, after having been on their journey upward of two months, and traveling eighty-six and one-half leagues from the Dolores.

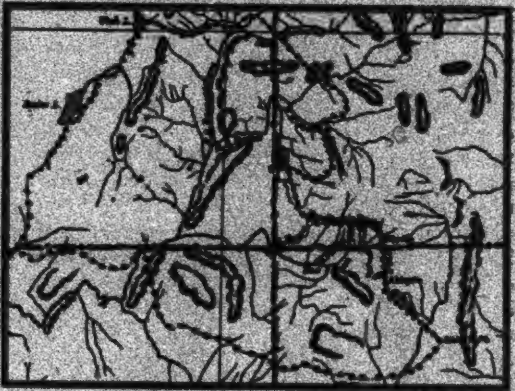
Escalante observed two other trails while on his way, and states that there was a shorter route than the one he had followed from the Gunnison to the Grand. Beyond White river, the explorers passed through a long canon, on a wall of which pictures of three shields, a spear, and a couple of warriors in combat, were painted. Here they saw veins of metal, and found buffalo trails, from which latter circumstance the gorge was named Arroya Del Cibola. At Green river they came to a lone tree, and six cottonwoods in a group. On one of these Lain carved his name and the date, 1776, with a cross above and below.

Passing into what is now Utah, Escalante went west to the great Salt Lake, and he and his companions are believed to have been the first white men who visited that remarkable body of water. On their return journey the explorers traveled expeditiously by a more southerly route, which presented fewer obstacles to their progress, and reached Santa Fe in safety after an absence of more than a year. For that time and under then existing conditions their undertaking was a remarkable one, and in accomplishing it they afforded another example of the courage and devotion to duty characteristic of the old Spanish priests and missionaries wherever they were in the southwest. The name of Father Escalante is retained in many places in western Colorado, and most fittingly in the designation of the great range of mountainous hills in the northwestern corner of the State.

A Spanish trail was established from Santa Fe to California, northwest to and a little above the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, which is the south line of our State, thence westward to what is now southern Utah, and on down southwest to San Bernardino in what is now southern California. A Salt Lake trail was established later, branching from the one to California, and crossing the present west boundary of Colorado just south of where the Rio Dolores passes into Utah.

We have entered much into the details of this expedition, partly because they illustrate the old Spanish preference, if not fondness, for saintly nomenclature, and partly because of the remarkable character of the undertaking. Escalante's accounts are very circumstantial—much more so than any other narrative of Spanish explorations in what is now Colorado—and many of the names he bestowed in the western country have not been displaced.

In no part of Colorado is there any conspicuous evidence now remaining of old-time Spanish occupation. Notwithstanding that those people so frequently visited this part of the country, their only attempts to make permanent settlements were their short-lived efforts on the Arkansas river. But there, as elsewhere in the territory of our State, they appear to have built no mission buildings, which were usually substantial and enduring, and their other structures soon decayed and disappeared. It is probable that their evangelizing labors were not so encouraging among the warlike and war-loving tribes of the plains as they were among the gentler and more peaceable people of the pueblo country.



Map showing Escalante's Route.

There remains but one more story to tell of Spanish expeditions into this region of the west, and it is of a somewhat daring military enterprise. Immediately after the United States purchased the Province of Louisiana with its uncertain limits in the southwest, the Spanish authorities became excited and apprehensive. As the claims of our government became known to them the feeling rose higher, until it appeared that war only could settle the dispute. The Spaniards were further exasperated by rumors of Burr's conspiracy, and reports of his intention to invade and conquer the northern Spanish provinces, after he had established his republic in the southwest. By 1806 these irritations had strained the relations between the two countries to the breaking point.

In the spring of that year, the Spaniards having heard through their emissaries at St. Louis of Lieutenant Pike's proposed expedition into the west, for which preparations were then making in that city, and attaching a greater importance to it than it would seem to have deserved, determined to make a counter-move against it and other assumed American aggressions. Therefore, by order of General Salcedo in command at Chihuahua, a military expedition was organized with three objects in view:

First—To descend the Red river to intercept Pike's or any other American force approaching the assumed Spanish frontier, that it might meet; to oblige such forces to return without attempting to farther penetrate the country; and in the event of their refusal to retreat to make them prisoners of war.

Second—To thoroughly explore all the interior parts of the country between the Platte and Arkansas rivers from the northeastern frontier of New Mexico to the Missouri river.

Third—To visit the Comanche, Pawnee, Kansas and other Indian tribes, and make proffers of friendship and alliance with them; and, under positive orders, "to oblige all parties or persons in the above specified countries, either to retire from them into the acknowledged territories of the United States, or to make prisoners of them, and conduct them into the province of New Mexico."

This elaborate undertaking was committed to the charge of Lieutenant Don Facundo Melgares, a native of Spain, a distinguished officer in the army of New Spain, and a man of the highest personal character. Melgares marched from the Province of Biscay, with one hundred dragoons of the regular service, to Santa Fe, where the expedition was organized and equipped, and supplied for a six months' campaign. In their then apprehensive state of mind the Spanish authorities were anxious, as a precautionary measure, to make friends and allies of as many of the plains Indians as they could; and especially with the "Ietons [Comanches], Pawnee Republic, Grand Pawnees, Pawnee Mahaws, and Kanses." To the head chieftains of these tribes the commanding officer "bore flags, a commission, grand medal, four mules; and with all of them he had to renew the chains of ancient amity, which was said to have existed between their father, his most catholic majesty, and his children, the red people."

Therefore, when Melgares left Santa Fe for the northeast, with his force increased by five hundred mounted militia from that province, making a total of six hundred men, he took with him an aggregate of two thousand and seventy-five horses and mules, and a great array of supplies and goods. Each soldier had to lead and care for two horses and one mule. The little army went down along the Red river into the heart of the Comanche country. No American invaders were encountered, but councils were held with the Comanches, the commissions bestowed, and the presents delivered. Those people were inclined to be hostile to Americans, but they would have gladly accepted the mules and trinkets if they had not been so.

Melgares then marched northeast across the country to the Arkansas river, which he reached at a point in what is now the middle southern part of Kansas, where, leaving about one-third of his men and his disabled horses, he crossed the river and pushed forward into the Pawnee country to the north. This daring invader went on to a point on the Solomon Fork of the Kansas river in what is now the middle northern section of Kansas, keeping, in the meantime, a sharp outlook for Pike's expedition which he knew must be somewhere in that country. On the Solomon he met and counseled with the chiefs and warriors of the Pawnee tribes, mutual friendship was declared, and the mules, commissions and other proofs of Spanish esteem were delivered. He did not visit the Mahaws and Kansas tribes, owing to the discontent of many of his men, and the jaded condition of his horses.

The Spaniards returned to their point of crossing the Arkansas, whence the united force marched up that stream nearly to the site of Canon City, hunting for Lieutenant Pike. Concluding that Pike was not to be found in this part of the country, they went down along the foot-hills, crossed the mountains to Taos and thence to Santa Fe, where they arrived in October.

Melgares fell in with several American traders while on his march through American territory and frightened them into leaving the country forthwith; but he was too early to meet Pike. However, that brave officer was but a few weeks behind him, and on the march up the Arkansas followed the Spanish trail, which was marked all the way by camping places.

While Pike was a semi-prisoner in Spanish hands he made the acquaintance of Melgares at Santa Fe and was in his nominal custody on the journey from that place to Chihuahua. The two became fast and admiring friends, and Pike in his "Account" almost fails of words to adequately express his admiration for the charming and noble character of Don Facundo Melgares, to whom he was indebted for endless kindnesses and courtesies.

The war-cloud passed away, the boundary disputes were peaceably settled, and this brilliant exploit of Melgares was the last expedition of the Spaniards into a land that had long been endowed by their willing imaginations with marvelous wonders, and with populous cities holding great riches.

CHAPTER X.

Pioneer French Incursions Toward the Denver Region—Uncertainty of Boundaries—Early Movements Northwest from New Orleans—Vague Geographical Beliefs of the French—Westward Expeditions by Way of the Missouri River—Spanish Movement Against Them—First Known Visit of White Men to the Site of Denver—Subsequent French Operations—Jurisdictions in Authority Over the Denver Region.

This region immediately around Denver has but little ancient history; that is to say, it has not much within the white man's period on this continent, and most of what there is is by reflection. What there may have been in the long ago, centuries before his coming, is buried far in the depths of vanished years. Some rays of light were later flashed over the country by the old-time Spanish people from the south, but there was no glare as they passed on their adventurous journeys and disappeared again. Like a far-off dull flame in the night-time, these feeble beams show us outlines of the figures close about them, and then die down.

After the Spaniards, came the French making their cautious, hesitating advances toward the country of the South Platte, but without establishing themselves and entering upon its possession. It is to these old-time movements of the French that we will now briefly give some consideration. There is not much to tell, and the story of it is likely to be the shortest we will have, although it involves some account of Spanish endeavors to keep the French intruders from coming near the domain here, which the former held to be subject to the Castilian flag.

The boundaries of French and Spanish territory here in the west and southwest, were never clearly defined nor agreed upon between those nations. In the beginning, this made little difference. The new country was so vast that New Spain seemed to have no limits, nor was there any apparent necessity through many years for assuming it to have any. But after the French pushed out to the west by way of the great lakes, and so soon thereafter established themselves near the mouth of the Mississippi, of which events we shall give some further account in the story of their "Province of Louisiana," the domination of the Spaniards over this great, central region, not then very clearly defined nor actually maintained was, insofar as it may be said to have existed, seriously menaced by the activity of their rival neighbors.

As to "Louisiana," the French had adopted the policy of claiming for it a great portion of everything that lay out-doors, and afterward ascertaining how much of their claim they could make good by occupation and more or less nominal possession.

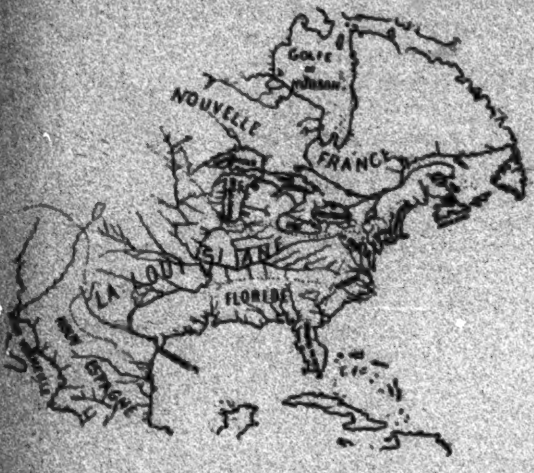
In consequence of this, and of French movements in harmony with it, there was, in the early years of the eighteenth century much mutual apprehension, rivalry, jealousy and friction between the French in lower "Louisiana" and the older Spanish authority in our southwest. Very soon after the French had settled themselves on the Gulf coast just east of the mouth of the Mississippi, considerable curiosity concerning the country far to their northwest was aroused among them—a country of which the authorities of New Spain expected to take actual possession whenever they thought they had use for it.

In 1712 a company of French adventurers was made up down there to penetrate the unknown region and learn something about it. These people started off in a northwestern direction by land and were gone several months. There is little record of the enterprise, beyond the facts that these explorers went away, stayed away for a season, and came back again; and that they went far out into the plains country where they saw vast numbers of buffalo, and heard of great mountains still more distant.

By the time this had happened the French traders and trappers coming in from the northeast had begun navigating the Missouri river and its branches for considerable distances. None of them had penetrated the region anywhere near Denver at that time, but they had gone toward the northwest country of the Missouri over distances almost as great. But it was not many years before a party of French explorers did come out here by the way of the Platte and pass over the site of Denver, as we will presently see.

Soon after the Crozat rule began in lower Louisiana in 1713, its officials heard accounts of the Arkansas river having been explored to its sources in the "mighty mountains of the west" by a party of French adventurers a short time before. Beyond the probability that these reports grew out of the expedition of 1712, they have never received very serious consideration. It would seem that the pioneer French on the upper and lower Mississippi had derived their vague and very slender knowledge of the "mighty mountains," which they then occasionally mentioned in their stories, from the Indians, and from Spanish sources by way of Mexico or New Mexico—or, to be more specific, New Spain. However, the Crozat administration early attempted to establish trade relations with the Spanish region and the Arkansas river country, by way of that river, but the feeble and short-lived efforts came to naught. It is not known how far the Crozat people ascended the Arkansas.

In 1717, Bourgmont, a French explorer and trader who, for several years had periodically visited the country along the lower reaches of the Missouri river, reported that he had learned that the "Panis" (Pawnees) and their kindred in the remote west were trading with other peoples living about a great lake. This faraway race was represented as small of stature, and dressed like Europeans. This story came to the ears of the French officials in lower Louisiana, and notwithstanding their knowledge of Spanish occupation of New Mexico, and the ascertained fact that China was separated from America by a great ocean, surmised that these people might prove to be Chinese.



Franquelin's Map of North America, 1684

In a memorial which was prepared at Paris in 1718, outlining a plan for giving Louisiana a dominating position in North America, it was made a part of the means to that end that "the mines on the Missouri" should be worked, and commerce with Mexico established from that basis. "Inasmuch," it went on to say, "as the Missouri has one branch leading to the South Sea, trade can also be opened with Japan and China." The Parisian promotors of this enterprise supposed the River Platte, of which they had a little knowledge, to be the branch of the Missouri leading out to the South Sea.

In 1719, La Harpe, a French officer, left New Orleans with a small company, on an exploring expedition into the country to the northwest. He ascended the Arkansas river early in the summer, and according to his stories, must have gone as far northwest as the plains of southeastern Colorado, whence he returned the way he came, in consequence of Spanish protests against his presence in that part of the country. He gave glowing accounts of the beauty and fertility of the region he had visited.

In 1719, Du Tissenet, with a considerable cavalcade, also put out from New Orleans, on a similar errand, traveling by land. How far he proceeded and how long he was gone, are not definitely stated, but this inroad, in connection with other circumstances, alarmed the Spaniards in New Mexico. Du Tissenet came up this way far enough to encounter some Indians who were friendly to the Spaniards, and they reported his presence in the country.

In the meantime the numbers of French trappers and traders had been increasing along what was then considered by Spain to be the northeast frontier of the Spanish domain here in the west-southwest, and the Spaniards determined to put a stop to these encroachments, if they could.

In the autumn of 1719 La Harpe tried another route to the west. He followed the Missouri until he came to a large branch supposed to have been the Platte. Turning westward along this stream he proceeded a distance which is not definitely known, but which was far enough for him to learn of Valverde's expedition northeastward from New Mexico into the plains of Colorado; whereupon the Frenchman turned back. La Harpe reported that he found unicorns and other fanciful creatures in the country. By way of comment on this, Charlevoix remarked that traveling in the distant west seemed to unfit most men for telling the truth.

In 1720, a Spanish force was dispatched from Santa Fe to drive all the French out of the territory claimed by the Spanish, or to which they were getting ready to lay claim. Historians do not agree as to all the circumstances of this movement and its consequences. But the Spaniards marched from Santa Fe northeastward nearly to the Missouri river, though it does not appear that they fell in with Du Tissenet and his party, who were the immediate provocation of the enterprise. Some of the accounts say the Spaniards blundered, which would seem not improbable in the light of our recent experience with them, and that the Missouri Indians, who were friendly to the French, treacherously fell upon them, killing all but one man, a priest, who escaped and made his way back to Santa Fe, with the records of the ill-fated expedition and the story of its destruction. Other writers say the Spaniards were annihilated on the Missouri, not one man surviving the slaughter.

The more circumstantial of the old accounts of this tragedy is that of Lieutenant Dumont, whose "Memoires Historiques sur La Louisane" have preserved many interesting historical details of those times. He served in Louisiana and accompanied one of the French enterprises from New Orleans toward the northwest, undertaken in the early decades of the eighteenth century. Dumont says:

"The success of this expedition was very calamitous to the Spaniards. Their caravan was composed of fifteen hundred people, men, women and soldiers, having with them a Jacobin for a chaplain, and bringing also a great number of horses and cattle, according to the custom of that nation to forget nothing that might be necessary for a settlement. Their design was to destroy the Missouris, and to seize upon their country, and with this intention they had resolved to go first to the Osages, a neighboring nation, enemies of the Missouris, to form an alliance with them, and to engage them in their behalf for the execution of their plan. Perhaps the map which guided them was not correct, or they had not exactly followed it, for it chanced that instead of going to the Osages whom they sought, they fell, without knowing it, into a village of the Missouris, where the Spanish commander, presenting himself to the great chief and offering him the calumet, made him understand through an interpreter, believing himself to be speaking to the Osage chief, that they were enemies of the Missouris, and that they had come to destroy them, to make their women and children slaves and to take possession of their country. He begged the chief to be willing to form an alliance with them, against a nation whom the Osages regarded as their enemies, and to second them in this enterprise, promising to recompense them liberally for the service rendered, and always to be their friend in the future. Upon this discourse the Missouri chief understood perfectly well the mistake. He dissimulated and thanked the Spaniard for the confidence he had in his nation; he consented to form an alliance with them against the Missouris, and to join them with all his forces to destroy them; but he represented that his people were not armed, and that they dared not expose themselves without arms in such an enterprise. Deceived by so favorable a reception, the Spaniards fell into the trap laid for them. They received with due ceremony, in the little camp they had formed on their arrival, the calumet which the great chief of the Missouris presented to the Spanish commander. The alliance for war was sworn to by both parties; they agreed upon a day for the execution of the plan which they meditated, and the Spaniards furnished the savages with all the munitions which they thought they needed. After the ceremony both parties gave themselves up equally to joy and good cheer. At the end of three days two thousand savages were armed and in the midst of dances and amusements; each party thought of nothing but the execution of its design. It was the evening before their departure upon their concerted expedition, and the Spaniards had retired to their camps as usual, when the great chief of the Missouris, having assembled his warriors, declared to them his intentions, exhorted them to deal treacherously with these strangers who were come to their home only with the design of destroying them. At daybreak the savages divided into several bands, fell on the Spaniards, who expected nothing of the kind, and in less than a quarter of an hour all the caravan were murdered. No one escaped from the massacre except the chaplain, whom the barbarians saved because of his dress; at the same time they took possession of all the merchandise and other effects which they found in their camp. The Spaniards had brought with them, as I have said, a certain number of horses, and as the savages were ignorant of the use of these animals, they took pleasure in making the Jacobin whom they had saved, and who had become their slave, mount them. The priest gave them this amusement almost every day for the five or six months he remained with them in their village, without any of them daring to imitate him. Tired at last of his slavery, and regarding the lack of daring in these barbarians as a means of Providence to regain his liberty, he made secretly all the provisions possible for him to make, and what he believed necessary to his plan. At last, having chosen the best horse and having mounted him, after performing several of his exploits before the savages, and while they were all occupied with his maneuvers, he spurred up and disappeared from their sight, taking the road to Mexico, where doubtless he arrived."

In a letter written by Charlevoix, the famous and intrepid Jesuit explorer, to the Duchess of Lesdiguieres, from Kaskaskia, Illinois, July 21, 1721, while the brave pioneer was on his way from Quebec to New Orleans, he thus referred to this ill-starred Spanish expedition; his account being materially different from the preceding:

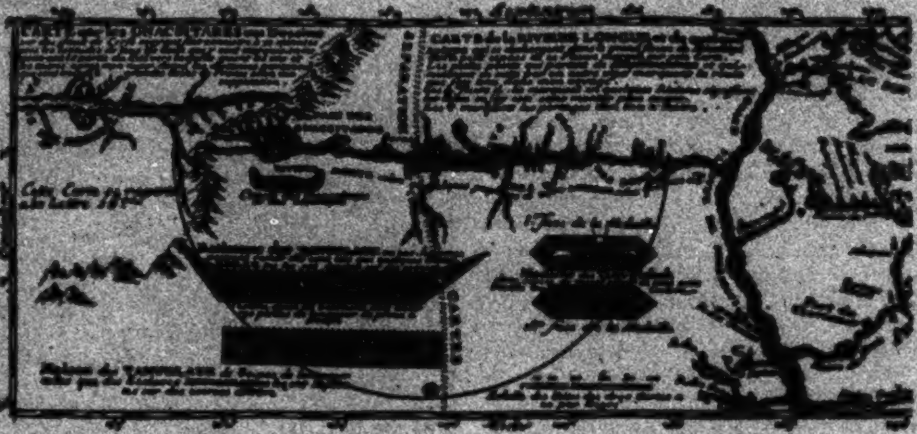
"About two years ago, some Spaniards, coming, as they say, from New Mexico, and intending to get into the country of the Illinois and drive the French from thence, whom they saw with extreme jealousy approach so near the Missouri, came down the river and attacked two villages of the Octoyas [Otoes], who are the allies of the Ayoues [Iowas], and from whom it is said also that they are derived. As the savages had no firearms and were surprised, the Spaniards made an easy conquest and killed a great many of them. A third village which was not far off from the other two, being informed of what had passed, and not doubting but that their conquerors would attack them, laid an ambush into which the Spaniards heedlessly fell. Others say that the savages, having heard that the enemy were almost all drunk and fast asleep, fell upon them in the night. However it was, it is certain that the greater part of them were killed. There were in the party two almoners; one of them was killed directly and the other got away to the Missouris, who took him prisoner, but he escaped them very dexterously. He had a very fine horse and the Missouris took pleasure in seeing him ride it, which he did very skillfully. He took advantage of their curiosity to get out of their hands."

"One day as he was prancing and exercising his horse before them, he got a little distance from them insensibly; then clapping spurs to his horse he was soon out of sight."

In 1722, Bourgmont put in an appearance again, coming up the Missouri river with a considerable force of men, intending to push out into the west from some convenient point on that stream, on the lower reaches of which a few French traders were already establishing themselves. The French were always solicitious about making friends and allies of the Indians, and Bourgmont was authorized to make treaties with all the tribes he encountered; to win them from Spanish influence from New Mexico, and to establish relations with them for a permanent French monopoly of their trade. Bourgmont reached a point on the Missouri not far from the present site of Kansas City by midsummer of that year, and there built a stockade, which he called Fort Orleans, as a base of supplies. He then proceeded up the Kansas river and established another little post somewhere near where Topeka is built. Starting from that point in the autumn, having been delayed by illness, Bourgmont went westward through northern Kansas making treaties with several tribes, and by gifts arranged for safe conduct through the country to the Spanish territory in the southwest; a privilege, however, that he did not use, as he soon started back to the Missouri, abandoning further purposes of his enterprise. From reference in his accounts to tribes dwelling on the Platte in the west, he is believed to have approached near to the eastern boundary of Colorado, and to have been almost in sight of "the mighty mountains," which figured in most of the French stories of the west in that period.

Early in the eighteenth century rumors of a water passage existing between the Mississippi and the great western ocean, by way of one of that river's tributaries, were revived among the French in Canada. They were based on tales told by Indians to French explorers on the headwaters of the Mississippi. Beside this water connection there was supposed to be a great gulf or sea extending eastward from the Pacific and covering a large area in this region. An old map of this period, of which we have an engraving, shows this sea reaching about to the longitude of Denver. On its southeastern coast the old map-maker locates the mythical city of Quivira in latitude and longitude very near those of Denver.

From 1731 to 1745 Verendrye, a French explorer, with a large company, made repeated attempts to find this western connecting water way in the region to the west of Lake Superior. In 1739 another company of French, under two brothers named Mallet, one of whom was a priest, believed they could find it by following the Missouri, which stream they thought to be one connecting through, in some way, to the western sea, and that it was part of the traditional water-way of which they so long had heard. So, they ascended the Missouri, came up the Platte to its forks, and then followed the South Platte past the site of this city, and on southward to the Arkansas river; and it would seem that they also went into the South Park on their way. But by this time the presence of "the mighty mountains" convinced them that if there were a water passage through America to the western sea, it was not to be found in this part of the country.


LaHontan's Map, 1706, showing great waterways east and west from the Rocky Mountains.

After a brief stay on the Arkansas they proceeded to Santa Fe, where they arrived in July, 1739, and remained through the following winter. In May, 1740, they started on their return. The party divided, one portion crossing the plains through southeastern Colorado and on to the Missouri, while the other went down the Arkansas river to the Mississippi and thence to New Orleans,

The statements this south-bound division made upon arrival at New Orleans induced Bienville to revive the Chinese theory, and to assume, or pretend to assume, that some of the regions traversed by the party might have been parts of China, notwithstanding his knowledge of the Spanish people in New Mexico, and the fact that the explorers had come almost directly from Santa Fe—altogether a most singular instance of the persistence of the old Asiatic idea of this continent. Bienville could not rest until he sent an expedition up the Arkansas river to see about it, and which went as far as the Canadian river.

This expedition was under Fabree, and did not accomplish anything of great importance, though it was absent nearly two years. It proceeded up the Arkansas to the mouth of the Canadian river, and then up that stream about one hundred miles, where a kind of fort, named for the commander of the expedition, was built, and where the company remained during the winter of 1741-42. It is to be remembered that these so-called "forts" were very crude affairs, and the ease with which they were built and the frequency of their abandonment, were not a serious drain upon resources.

In the spring of 1742, Fabree left his post and started on his homeward journey. When he came to the mouth of the Canadian he halted, and there on the point of land between it and the Arkansas, he buried at the foot of a large tree a leaden plate bearing the arms of France, enclosing it in a heavy leaden box, as a mark of French occupation of that part of the country. This proceeding was solemnized by ceremonies so dear to the French heart, and after they were over, Fabree and his men went away down the Arkansas valley, and never came back again.

The enterprise of Fabree appears to have been the last French excursion from New Orleans in this direction. His report probably convinced Bienville that there was nothing in the Chinese theory. Furthermore, the Spanish irritation in consequence of these repeated French forays into the debatable land, was becoming intense, and as there was so large an opening for French enterprise and industry in other parts of "Louisiana," the Frenchmen ceased from troubling their Spanish neighbors. The upper country of the Red and Arkansas rivers was, by both peoples, left in the possession of the Indians and the buffalo for many years.

The French belief in a water way through to the Pacific, which grew out of Indian accounts of the large, connected lakes in British North America, lingered for a long time, and did not entirely disappear until the close of that century. Their old maps usually located it in the latitude of North Dakota, along which it stretched its ragged way to the western sea. A map published in Paris as late as 1782 still retained it.

They also clung to the mythical city of Quivira for more than two hundred years after Coronado's long and fruitless march in search of it. All of their old maps of the west down to 1750 gave it place, and all of them located it about where Denver stands.

Until France ceded Louisiana to Spain, her explorers, traders and trappers were busy in the upper west. However, they confined their operations chiefly to the country of the Missouri river, and its tributaries on which they could navigate their bateaux. The river Platte was nowhere favorable for the movements of boats requiring two or three feet of water and, therefore, their kind of traffic on it was altogether impracticable. It was this, more than any other difficulty, that kept the French out of our immediate locality in those early years.

This Denver land has been under the flags of three nations, and under one of them twice; though it might be said it was twice under that of Spain, for as we have seen, Spain asserted her authority over it in the early part of the eighteenth century, and as a practical proposition, she was nearer in possession of it than the French ever were.

LaPotherie's Map of New France, 1722.

But considering things as they were nominally assumed to be, and which made the Arkansas river Spain's northern boundary here in eastern Colorado, this Denver region was French territory from 1682 to 1763; Spanish from 1763 to 1800; and again French from 1800 to 1803-04; and thenceforward a part of the land of the free and the home of the brave.

The first Commandant, or Governor, at St. Louis, may properly be regarded as the first official having jurisdiction over it, though he knew nothing whatever about it. He was Captain St. Ange of the French army, who went to St. Louis in 1765, soon after its founding by Laclede and Choteau, and served until 1770, notwithstanding that "Louisiana" had passed to Spain seven years before, a matter that will be duly considered in our account of the old Province. St. Ange was succeeded on May 20, 1770, by the first Spanish commandant, Don Pedro Piernas, who served until May 19, 1775, when he was relieved by Don Francisco Cruzat, who remained in office to June 14, 1778, when he gave way to Don Fernando De Leyba, who was a very unpopular man, and whose official career was ended by his death in June, 1780.

The official mantle then temporarily rested on the shoulders of Lieutenant Silvio Francisco Cartabona of the Spanish army, who served until the arrival of Cruzat who had been re-appointed to his old position. Cruzat was a sensible man, and in his second term served until November 25, 1787, when Don Manuel Perez, another Spanish officer who made a good record, succeeded him. Perez was in power until 1793, and was then followed by a man without a title, Zenon Trudeau, whose first name is Spanish, but whose second has a decided French flavor. Nevertheless, he was a good enough Spaniard and a good executive. Trudeau held the office till August, 29, 1799, in the meantime having made sincere efforts to arouse the ambition of the people under his rule to enlarge the field of their sluggish business undertakings. His successor was Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, a Frenchman who had become a Spanish subject, and who had commanded a Spanish regiment in Florida.

Though the country passed back to France in 1800, Delassus remained in authority over "Louisiana" until the United States took possession in 1804, and, as will presently be narrated, France never really assumed control of "Louisiana" under its re-cession to her in 1800. The Spanish flag floated over St. Louis, and theoretically over the mouth of Cherry creek, until Governor Delassus pulled it down in March, 1804, and General (then Captain) Amos Stoddard of the United States army, who also acted as agent and Commissioner of the French Republic, ran up the stars-and-stripes.

But during those years of theoretical Spanish rule over this land where Denver stands, it did not make the slightest difference to the kind of people who were careering up and down and around the South Platte river, who was in distant authority over them, nor under whose jurisdiction they were killing buffalo and each other.

While we are on the subject of old-time Commandants and Governors, and at the risk of being somewhat out of chronological order in the narrative, we will include here the names of the American Governors of this region up to the time of the admission of Missouri to the Union, the first of the "Louisiana Purchase" States, proper, Louisiana having been organized as a State from the Territory of Orleans, as will later appear in the course of this story.

At first the country was placed under the temporary command of General William Henry Harrison, then Governor of the Territory of Indiana, with Captain Amos Stoddard as Deputy Governor and Commandant at St. Louis. On October 1, 1804, General Harrison appointed Colonel Samuel Hammond, of Virginia, to succeed Captain Stoddard. On July 4, 1805, General James Wilkinson superseded Hammond as Governor, under a new arrangement which ended General Harrison's connection, and gave the region an executive of its own. In 1807 Merriwether Clark, the explorer, succeeded Wilkinson, and at his death in 1809, his successor was Benjamin Howard. Howard resigned in 1813 and Captain William Clark became Governor. He remained in office until relieved by the State organization of Missouri. The enumeration of all the other Governors whose nominal jurisdiction extended here to the Rocky Mountains in the succeeding years, would be more of an undertaking than is called for in this narrative.

After Spain acquired the "Louisiana" country in 1763, and until the United States purchased it in 1803 there was no progress. What the consequences would have been in that time had French rule continued, lies off in the field of conjecture. But in that interval there were but feeble efforts made to further explore its western parts to ascertain their value and resources. A pall of Spanish lethargy rested upon the whole region, and history-making events practically ceased within its borders.

CHAPTER XI.

The Province of Louisiana—De Soto's Expedition West of the Mississippi—La Salle's Rediscovery of Mouth of the Mississippi, on Which French Claims Were Based—French Settlements in Lower Louisiana—Extensions of French Occupation—Cession to Spain—Outlines of Political History of the Mississippi Valley Region—Purchase of Louisiana by the United States, and Causes Leading Thereto—Acquisition of the Floridas.

Denver is enthroned on the western border, about midway between the southern and northern limits of a territory in which, within its original confines and in the lifetime of the century just closed, have been the scenes of the most magnificent development of civilization and human progress that the world has ever known. In the great natural empire embraced by that territory, man fought his way through countless obstacles, triumphed over nature, and set the stamp of his highest and best endeavors.

The history of the vast region once claimed as the "Province of Louisiana," and which was later known as the Territory of Louisiana, began in years not long after the death of Christopher Columbus in 1506. Passing the somewhat indefinite and unsatisfactory accounts of the early Spanish expeditions through the southwest, the first fairly-well recorded exploration of any part of it, by Europeans, was that of another Spaniard, Hernando De Soto, in 1540-41. He landed at Tampa Bay, on the Florida west coast, in 1539, with a large company of adventurers from Spain, and later made his way through the trackless forests and swamps to the Mississippi, reaching it in the summer of 1541, at a point not far from the Chickasaw Bluffs, though the exact locality is not clearly established. De Soto and his company then crossed the great river and passed the winter of 1541-42 on the Washita river. Their stopping place was on the Washita, in the northern part of the present State of Louisiana, not far from the Arkansas line.

In the spring of 1542, De Soto and his men started on their return toward Florida. The leader had contracted a swamp fever, and when his company reached the Mississippi the disease prostrated him. The party halted on the river's bank, and on June 5, 1542, De Soto died there; the noble stream he had discovered less than a year before receiving his body in the depths of its waters, his men conceiving that to be his most appropriate burial place. Of the subsequent movements of his party some account has already been given in connection with that of Spanish explorations in the southwest.

More than a hundred years passed before another European saw the Mississippi. In 1654, an English officer, Colonel Wood, with a small party, penetrated the wilderness northwest of the Ohio river, and was followed in 1670 by Bolt; but neither of these explorers went as far west as the Mississippi, and neither left any important account of his travels.

The first step toward extending the dominion of France in North America was in the direction of the great region watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries. In 1665, Father Claude Allouez started from Quebec for the western country. He went to the Falls of St. Mary in what is now the eastern part of the upper peninsula of Michigan, and there, at the southernmost point of Lake Superior founded a mission. French traders and trappers had been in lower Michigan and Wisconsin more than forty years earlier, but no permanent occupation had been made. A temporary mission had been established near Allouez's location, in 1641, but was soon abandoned. In 1659, the traders, accompanied by adventurous missionaries, penetrated the region around the western end of Lake Superior; but the mission of Father Allouez was the first permanent settlement on the shores of that inland sea.

Allouez remained at this mission two years, when he returned to Quebec to enlist others in his undertaking. This he readily succeeded in doing, and with his recruits immediately went back to Lake Superior.

Among those who accompanied Father Allouez to the new country were Father Jacques Marquette, and Louis Joliet. Soon after his arrival in the west, Marquette learned from the Indians that a great river flowed in the region nearer the setting sun, and he determined to explore the stream. After acquiring some knowledge of the Indian languages he set out on his expedition in 1673, accompanied by Joliet and five other Frenchmen.

Leaving St. Ignace, on the Strait of Mackinac, where Marquette had established a mission in 1671, the party went westward, along the southern shores of Lake Superior, and thence across to the headwaters of the Wisconsin river. Here they constructed a large bateau in which they voyaged down the Wisconsin. On the seventh day they entered the Mississippi, an event which Marquette celebrated with religious fervor characteristic of the devoted French missionaries wherever they were and whatever they were doing. Marquette proceeded down the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas river, and then turned back, on his homeward voyage, stopping at several places to explore the country adjacent to the great stream.

Early in 1682, Robert, Chevalier, Sieur De La Salle navigated the Mississippi from the Illinois river to the Gulf of Mexico. But little is known of his earlier career. He had been in the region of the great lakes for several years prior to his Mississippi voyage. In 1680, he went to the Illinois river country, the King of France having authorized him to make further explorations in the west. When he reached Lake Peoria he determined to build a sail vessel in which to explore the Mississippi by way of the Illinois, having previously built the first one that had sailed the great lakes. Before finishing this boat he decided that it would be impractical on the rivers, and concluded that he would use canoes or bateaux.

So, having in the meanwhile been joined by Fathers Hennepin and Membre, and by De Tonti and Dautray, he started with his company down the Illinois river in February, 1682. On February 14th the explorers entered the Mississippi and paddled away on their historic voyage, which ended in the Gulf of Mexico, on April 7th. They stopped frequently to make friendly visits with the Indians, but in his report of the expedition La Salle mentions nothing of any importance occurring while on the way, until he reached a place he calls Tangibao where, he says, a tremendous battle had just been fought by rival Indian tribes. After passing this sanguinary town, the explorers continued their voyage forty leagues, and on the 6th of April saw that the river was divided into three branches. The next day, April 7th, La Salle reconnoitered the right channel; sending De Tonti to follow the middle branch, and Dautray the left. At the end of two leagues they found salt water, and a little while after emerged into the open sea. They then retraced the same channels and, upon reassembling, congratulated each other with extreme joy in having so happily achieved so great an enterprise. On the 9th of April La Salle caused to be erected the Arms of France, and after having sung the hymn Vexilla Regis, and the Te Deum, he took possession of the river in the name of his King, and of all the rivers which entered it, and of all the country they watered. Then he caused to be made an authentic act, signed by all his people, and, after a discharge of guns, he placed in the ground a plate of lead with the Arms of France upon it, and upon which the names of those who made the discovery were engraved. He then named the great region of which he had thus taken possession, "Louisiana," in personal honor of the French monarch, Louis XIV. This was the beginning, nominal though it may have been, of civilized authority in the southern part of the Mississippi valley.

One of La Salle's chroniclers says he proclaimed the name "Louisiana" in a loud voice, and declared its extent to be—

> "From the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called the Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chiskagona, and this with the consent of the Chaonanons, Chikachas, and other people dwelling therein with whom we have made alliance, as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the Kious or Nadongesious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Montanties, Illinois, Mesigamens, Natches, Koroas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance * * * as far as its mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico * * * and also to the mouth of the river Palms, upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said river Colbert."

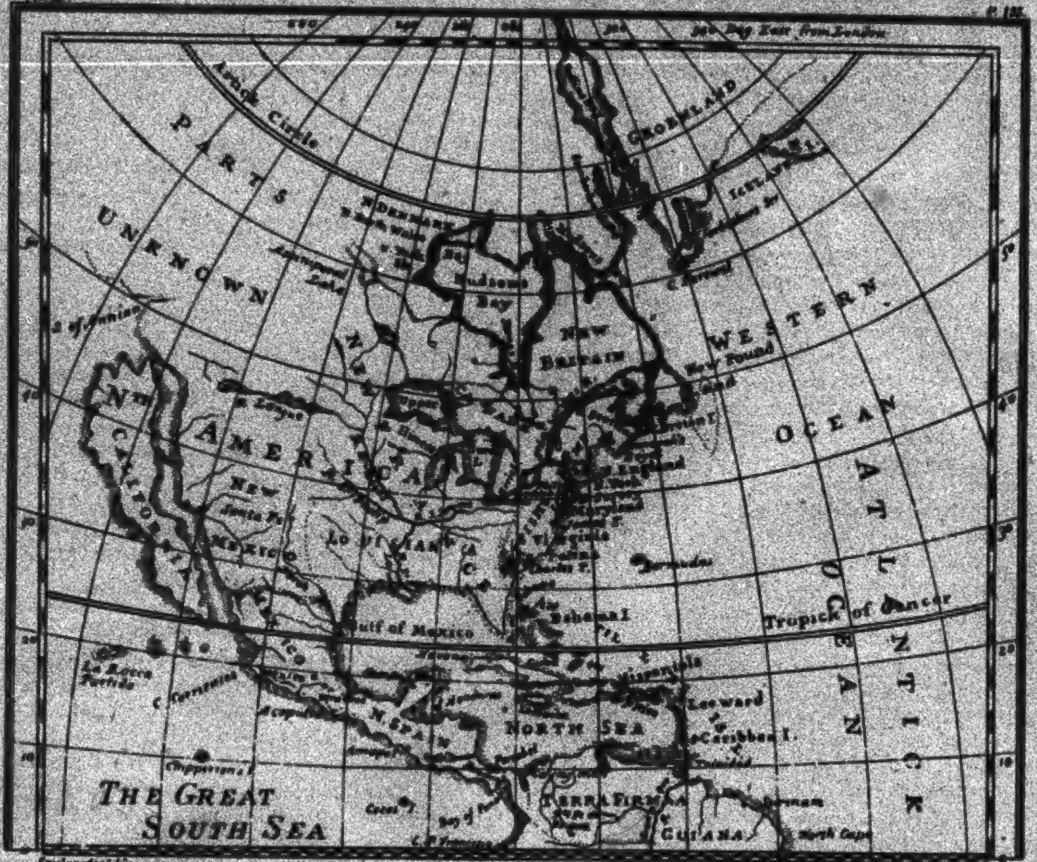
La Salle named the Mississippi the "River Colbert," in honor of his friend and patron M. Colbert, the Colonial Minister under Louis XIV, and upon whose report the King conferred on La Salle the rank of "Esquire" with power to acquire Knighthood. In addition to the names the explorer assigned to the Ohio, it was also called the "Ouabache"—Wabash. The name "Colbert" did not stick to the Mississippi, as the French soon renamed it the "St. Louis" in honor of their monarch.

It is a fact curious enough to deserve mention, that this vast region to which La Salle thus laid claim is almost identical with that once occupied by the ancient race of "Mound Builders."

In this year—1682—a trading post had been established by French adventurers, with a mission by the Jesuits, on the Illinois river. In 1700 it was removed to a point two miles from the Mississippi, below the site of the modern city of St. Louis, and from it the old town of Kaskaskia, Illinois, dates its founding.

La Salle immediately returned to France, where, under the auspices of the French government, he fitted out an expedition of four vessels and about three hundred people, well equipped. While ostensibly for the purpose of founding a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, it was in fact, intended to be the nucleus of a French military enterprise against the Spaniards in Mexico, who were suspected of possessing gold and silver mines in that country, of fabulous richness. In those days it was considered proper to plunder a neighbor who had anything worth taking.

La Salle sailed from France in July, 1684, with soldiers for a large part of his company, and after an uneventful voyage, at the end of which he carefully avoided the mouth of the river, landed on the shores of Espirita Santa Bay—later known as Bay St. Louis, or St. Bernard Bay—an indentation of the coast of Texas, west of Galveston. Here he started a settlement which he named Lavaca, and built a fort after the fashion then prevailing in the wilderness. For more than two years little else was done. The soldiers and colonists dwindled away, and in January, 1687, La Salle with a portion of his force set out by land for Canada to obtain relief. He was a harsh, arbitrary man, and on March 19, 1687, near the Trinity river, in Texas, was assassinated by two of his embittered and exasperated followers. Some of the company afterward perished in the swamps and forests, while others eventually succeeded in getting through to Canada, and returning to France. Of those left behind on the Gulf coast, nearly all were cut off by the Indians, and the few survivors were rescued by a Spanish force that had been sent to rout out the settlement and its fort—seemingly an instance of righteous and magnanimous retribution. The French made no further attempts to establish themselves in that region, and it was not afterward successfully maintained by France that the Province of Louisiana extended west of the Sabine river, now part of the eastern boundary of Texas.


Arctick Circle
PARTS UNKNOWN
Hudsons Bay
NEW BRITAIN
GROENLAND
ICELAND
WESTERN OCEAN
ATLANTICK OCEAN
New Found land
New England
Virginia
Carolina
Bermudas
Bahama I.
Tropick of Cancer
NEW AMERICA
CALIFORNIA
New Mexico
Santa Fe
LOUISIANA
Gulf of Mexico
N. SPAIN
NORTH SEA
Hispaniola
Leeward Caribbee I.
Trinidad
TERRA FIRMA
GUIANA
North Cape
THE GREAT SOUTH SEA
Equinoctial Line

PART OF MAP BY HERMAN MOLL, ENGLISH GEOGRAPHER, PUBLISHED IN LONDON ABOUT THE YEAR 1710.

La Salle's enterprise was beset by many difficulties at Espirita Santa Bay, and its unhappy fate, together with the sorry tales of the few survivors who got back to France, had a discouraging influence. It was not until 1699 that the next organizations of French—peaceful and fairly honest colonists this time—under the leadership of Iberville, reached the new country, the leader formally disembarking to the mainland on February 27, 1699. They made settlements on Ship Island, and Cat Island (both now belonging to the State of Mississippi), on the main land at the eastern side of Biloxi Bay, at Bay St. Louis—the second one of this name—and at Mobile. Biloxi became the first capitol of the new Province of Louisiana.

These several colonies for some reason failed to have satisfactory prosperity, and, in 1712 the King of France granted the Sieur Antoine Crozat a charter, which was to be in force fifteen years, and which gave him a monopoly of the commercial privileges of nearly the entire valley of the Mississippi, and practically made him ruler of the region.

By this grant, Louis XIV established a system of jurisprudence for the territory, consisting of edicts, ordinances, and customs of Paris, which was held to embrace the civil law in cases not covered by those customs; and empowered Crozat—

"To carry on a trade in all the land possessed by us and bounded by Old and New Mexico on the west, and by the English of Carolina on the east, upon the River St. Louis heretofore called the Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois [both the French and the Spaniards called the Illinois river country "the Illinois"], together with the River St. Phillips heretofore called the Missouri, and the River St. Jerome heretofore called Ouabache [both the Ohio and Wabash had this name at that time] with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the River St. Louis. Our pleasure is that all of the aforesaid lands, streams, rivers and islands be and remain comprised under the name of the Government of Louisiana."

Crozat's management brought no improvement, the colonies continuing to languish. In 1717 he surrendered his charter and the King granted another, with greatly enlarged, and additional, privileges to the Mississippi Company—the famous "Mississippi Scheme"—with John Law as Director-General, and Jean Baptiste Lemoyne De Bienville as Civil Governor of the colonies. The city of New Orleans was founded the next year, 1718, by Bienville, and the capital of the Province removed thither in 1723, from Biloxi, which then quickly went to decay.

John Law was born in Edinburgh in 1671, developed as a financier-adventurer in London, and organized the Mississippi Scheme in France in 1717. In English history it is often called the "Mississippi Bubble," and upon its collapse, as collapse it speedily did, a great financial panic was precipitated in France, and thousands of French and English investors were beggared. Law fled from France bearing with him the reputation of having been the greatest confidence man the world ever knew; a distinction which still attaches to his unhallowed memory. Law's charter made him an autocrat over the country in which his company operated.

Under this management the rich alluvial lands along the Mississippi began to be occupied; tobacco, rice and indigo were cultivated, and African slaves introduced. In two years the collapse of Law's company occurred, and the Louisiana colonists were sorely embarrassed, many of them going down in the wreck and ruin it occasioned. In 1732 representatives of the bankrupt company surrendered its franchises to the King and thus finally ended its career. At this time the colonists and their slaves numbered about seven thousand. De Bienville remained as Governor until 1740 when he was superseded by the Marquis De Vaudreuil.

In 1762, while engaged in war with England, France by a secret treaty concluded on November 3rd, and formally ratified on November 13th of that year, ceded the larger portion of her Province of Louisiana to Spain.

The particulars of this treaty were never publicly known in the United States until seventy years after, and until published, in 1837, in the appendix to Gales & Seaton's Reports of Debates, Twenty-fourth Congress. This partly accounts for the misunderstandings among so many of our public men in the time of Jefferson's administration, as to the exact territory which belonged to either France or Spain. The treaty included all of the territory claimed by France west of the Mississippi, and the town of New Orleans with a considerable district on the east side of the river. This New Orleans district was referred to as the "Island of New Orleans."

This "island" was formed by the River Iberville debouching from the Mississippi a few miles above New Orleans and flowing southeasterly to Lake Maurepas, whence its waters by a connecting channel flowed into Lake Pontchartrain, and thence into the Gulf. In times of high water the Iberville was a river; at low water it was a nearly dry channel; so the "island" did not always exist. Whatever other territory France thought she might claim down there on the east side of the river, she retained, if there should prove to be any; but none of them definitely understood much about their actual boundary lines.

The French colonists at New Orleans and elsewhere down there violently opposed the cession and never became reconciled to Spanish authority. For some unknown reason Spain did not assume full possession of her new territory until August 17, 1759. Why France made this secret treaty was never clearly understood, though it later appeared probable that it was because of her impending misfortunes associated with the war with England then going on, and which turned out badly enough for her.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763, which formally ended the war in America between them, France ceded to Great Britain the Canadas, and all her Mississippi possessions east of that river, from its source in the north to the Gulf of Mexico, excepting the district around New Orleans, which had been included in the secret cession to Spain. The western boundary of the territory thus ceded to England was described as follows:

> "A line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi from its source to the River Iberville (or the Ascantia), thence by said river through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea."

The title of France to the region she thus ceded to England was not a clear one; not undisputed, at any rate. The English colonies on the Atlantic claimed nearly all of it. Virginia held that all of the present State of Kentucky, and the larger portion of the territory east of the Mississippi and north and northwestward of the Ohio river, were hers by virtue of her colonial charters from the British crown. The first of these was to Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, to all the land he could find; the next to the Virginia Colony, in 1606; and the next to the London Company in 1609; the latter two covering the country "from sea to sea." Under this authority, and because of some random attempts to occupy portions of the region, she claimed all south of a line drawn from the point where the Ohio river turns into Pennsylvania, due west to the Mississippi river; but no permanent English settlements had yet been established in it.

Right above this, another belt was claimed by Connecticut, from the Pennsylvania line to the Mississippi river. Its northerly boundary was about the present northern line of the State of Illinois, if extended eastward. The district included half of Lake Erie and clipped off a strip from what is now the State of Michigan.

Next above this Connecticut district, Massachusetts located her shadowy claim. It was a belt wider than that of her next neighbor, with its eastern boundary on the lower part of Lake Huron, the St. Claire river, Lake St. Claire and the Detroit river down to near the northwest limit of Lake Erie. It extended due west across Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. Had Massachusetts held on, she would now possess the cities of Detroit and Milwaukee.

North Carolina assumed that by virtue of her charter from King Charles II, in 1663, her domain also extended west to the "South Sea," and that she certainly owned what is now the State of Tennessee.

Georgia, under her charter, claimed all that was west of her between the thirty-first and thirty-fifth degrees of latitude, which, she assumed, marked the southern and northern limits of her colonial territory.

South Carolina did not agree with Georgia, but insisted that she owned a narrow strip, some twelve or fourteen miles wide, extending from her northwest corner, along under North Carolina's district, out to the Mississippi, and probably much farther—a sort of lane or back road to the "South Sea."

All these colonial charter claims were based on the most vague conceptions of what they really meant. When they were first set up nobody knew a great deal about the "South Sea" or could tell where would be the best place to hunt for it. After the Mississippi was learned to be a great river with a general course from the north to the south, and which cut the vast western country in two, it was taken as the definite western boundary of these colonial territories, with the reservation that this western boundary would be moved on to the "South Sea," regardless of the claims of others, as soon as the whereabouts of that body of water could be more definitely ascertained. This would have made the territories of these colonies a series of narrow strips, in width equal to their north and south dimensions, stretching across the continent, with Pike's Peak ornamenting Virginia territory.

However, these matters were now family affairs between England and her colonies; and France, having terminated her interest, temporarily at least, in North American real estate, gave little heed to the contentions.

This year 1763 also brought a settlement of affairs between England and Spain. These two nations had been at war, and Great Britain had captured Havana and the Island of Cuba. Spain had held Florida, proper, by virtue of its discovery by Ponce De Leon on Easter Sunday in 1512. Its western boundary was the Perdido river—as it is today, which divided it from "West Florida," which latter extended along the Gulf coast south of the thirty-first parallel, from the Perdido river west to the Mississippi, except where the "Island of New Orleans" interrupted it. It is now included in the southern parts of the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Spain claimed "West Florida" on two grounds: one, that it was really part of her Florida; and the other, that if it were not, it certainly was a part of the Province of Louisiana which she had acquired from France by the secret treaty of the previous year.

So, in the settlement Spain ceded to England "all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America to the east or to the southeast of the River Mississippi," excepting the "Island of New Orleans" which, with her recent cession from France of the Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi, she retained. In return for this, Great Britain ceded Havana and Cuba to Spain, and England now had both of the Floridas, whatever their territory was, and all that remained of the original Louisiana, under La Salle's broad claim, that lay east of the Mississippi, excepting the "Island of New Orleans."

Soon after Great Britain acquired "West Florida," a new northern boundary was fixed for it on a line drawn eastward from the confluence of the Yazoo river with the Mississippi—about the latitude of Vicksburg—to the west boundary of the colony of Georgia; an arrangement which afterward made some trouble.

During the war of the American Revolution, "West Florida," being far removed from the strife, remained undisturbed until 1779. Spain, too, was then on bad terms with England, and Don Barnardo De Galvaez, Spanish Governor of Louisiana, aided by sympathizers with the American colonists, quietly took possession of "West Florida" in that year on behalf of the King of Spain. In 1781, he went over and captured Pensacola, in Florida, proper, having previously taken Mobile, also.

Having had enough trouble on this continent, Great Britain in 1783 made peace all around. Spain owned the Bahama Islands, and in exchange for them, England re-ceded the two Floridas to her, most of which the Spaniards were holding by capture, anyway.

By the peace treaty of that year between the United States and Great Britain, the United States came into possession of everything east of the Mississippi that was the part of Louisiana acquired by England from France in 1763, from the river's remotest northerly source, down to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude, according to the American understanding of the situation; and Spain now had all the other side, the "Island of New Orleans," the two Floridas, with the thirty-first parallel as the northern boundary of West Florida. This gave her complete possession of the Mississippi for nearly three hundred miles above its mouth, measuring by the river's windings.

But Spain now claimed more than this. She insisted that the north line of "West Florida" was now the Yazoo river line established by the British soon after they had acquired the country from her by the treaty of 1763, and that that was the north boundary she received by the very recent re-cession of the country by England to her. The United States stuck to the thirty-first parallel, and this left the district between that parallel and the latitude of the Yazoo's mouth, to be wrangled over by the two nations for nearly fifteen years. Finally, after many tedious negotiations, Spain, always slow, by treaty of October 27, 1795, relinquished her claims, and turned the disputed region over to the United States. But she still held all the west side of the Mississippi, and the east side south of the thirty-first parallel.

Congress at once formed the region lying between the thirty-first parallel and that of the Yazoo river, into the Territory of Mississippi, extending eastward from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochie river, the latter being the west boundary of the colonial State of Georgia. This State now came forward, when all the trouble was supposed to be settled and done with, and claimed that the whole of the district which had just been constituted the Territory of Mississippi, belonged to her, and that she intended to have it.

In 1802 Georgia surrendered all her claims to territory west of her present boundaries, to the general government, for a consideration, and in 1804 Congress extended the limits of Mississippi Territory northward to the thirty-fifth parallel; the south line of the State of Tennessee. North Carolina had, in 1790, ceded her interests in that Tennessee region to the government, and it had been admitted as a State of the Union in 1796. South Carolina had given up her lane to the Mississippi in 1787, and all these family matters down there were now straightened out.

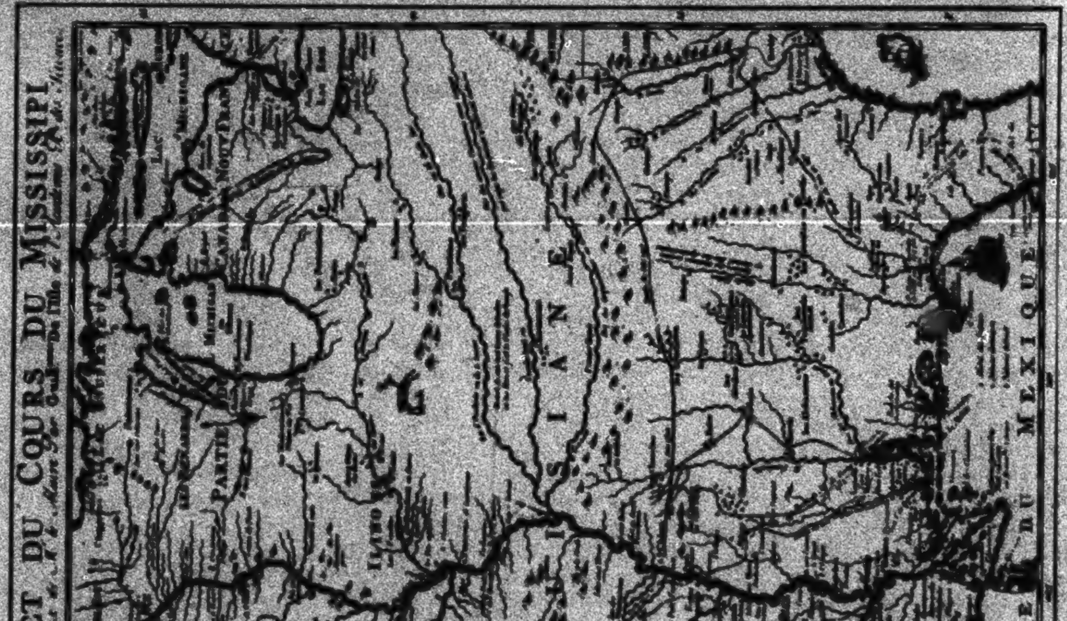
That part of the Province of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, has a history scarcely less picturesque than that of the eastern, to follow which we will now have to go back a few years.

After possessing it for more than thirty years, Spain gave it up. By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, in 1800, between France and Spain, France again came into possession of all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and with it the "Island of New Orleans" east of the river. This was the same domain she had secretly transferred to Spain in 1762. New Orleans was a thrifty town of some twelve thousand people, and the capital of the Province. Many promising settlements had been made elsewhere. Those of St. Genevieve and New Bourbon on the Mississippi below St. Louis had been established in 1763, though some authorities sustained by traditions say they date from 1735. They were the pioneer settlements in what is now the State of Missouri. St. Louis' site was decided on in 1763, and in 1764 the first houses were built. At numerous other places along the great river, beginnings were made in 1800.

Three years later, in 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte, then First Consul of the French Republic, anticipating that he might be unable to hold the Territory, and wishing to prevent it falling into England's possession, sold it to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars.

The negotiations for it were instituted, carried forward and consummated under the direction of President Thomas Jefferson. He was most vigorously denounced by his partisan opponents for the act. It was usurpation, an outrage on the people, unconstitutional, a shameful waste of public money, everything that was bad and nothing that was good. Even some of his political associates hesitated about indorsing a transaction so extraordinary. But indorsed it was, and France ceded the Territory to the United States. Mr. Jefferson probably went outside a strict construction of his official prerogatives, but if he did, it was one of those rare instances in high places, in which such an end justified the means, though much personal detraction and abuse were heaped upon him.

President Jefferson had little conception of the enormous value and possibilities of the great land he had bought. The area of the region lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean was approximately known, but the boundaries of Louisiana Territory were vaguely laid down on the maps, and nobody knew much about them very far away from New Orleans. The explorations had been few and unsatisfactory, and the region was held to be mainly a dreary, inhospitable desert. Mr. Jefferson's chief object in making the purchase was to secure control of the Mississippi river from one end to the other. France held the west side of it from its source to its mouth, and the "Island of New Orleans" on the east; while Spain's "West Florida" bordered on the east side south of the thirty-first parallel down to the "island." Thus was the majestic stream blockaded against the American territory along its eastern bank to its northern sources.


CARTE DE LA LOUISIANE ET DU COURS DU MISSISSIPI
LA LOUISIANE
PAYS DES OSAGES
PAYS DES APACHES ET DES PADOUCAS
GOLFE DU MEXIQUE

DeLisle's Map of "Louisiana," about 1740.

Included in the cession to the United States by Great Britain, under the treaty of 1783, at the close of the Revolution, was the vast domain east of the Mississippi and northward of the Ohio river. This was part of the enormous region included in La Salle's broad claim when he took possession of "Louisiana" in 1682; and so was the larger portion of that out of which the States of Kentucky and Tennessee were formed. Virginia, Connecticut and Massachusetts had laid claim to nearly the whole of it by reason of their English colonial charters, which had generously granted them all the country to the westward of their Atlantic borders. It is doubtful if any Massachusetts man, up to this time, had ever set foot on any part of the district she claimed. However, they had ceded their interests in the region to the general government; Virginia in 1784, Massachusetts in 1785, and Connecticut in 1786.

Congress, by the memorable Ordinance of 1787, had created there the Northwest Territory, in which slavery was forever prohibited; being our first national anti-slavery legislation. Out of this Territory of Freedom afterward came the five great States: Ohio, 1802-03; Indiana, 1816; Illinois, 1818; Michigan, 1837; and Wisconsin, 1848. This division left a small section in the extreme northwest which was afterward attached to Minnesota. Virginia's connection with the Kentucky region had been severed by cutting off Kentucky, and admitting it as a State in 1792; the same disposition had been made of North Carolina's claims upon Tennessee, in 1796; and Ohio had just entered the Union.

With three new States in the west and several more almost within view, Mr. Jefferson, with rare judgment and foresight, saw the imperative necessity of the United States owning and controlling the Mississippi river. Had he done nothing else to immortalize himself in the history of his country, this one act was sufficient to elevate him to an imperishable fame.

Spain opposed the purchase by what was for her an extraordinary manifestation of vigor, but to no purpose. She feared the consequence of such an expansion of American territory, and probably foresaw that it rendered her hold on the two Floridas extremely precarious. There was in France, too, much opposition to the cession, and after the terms and conditions had been agreed upon in Paris, Mr. Livingston, the American Minister to France, wrote Mr. Madison, Secretary of State, as follows:

> "I hope in God nothing will prevent your immediate ratification without altering a syllable of the terms; if you wish anything changed, ratify unconditionally, and set on foot a new negotiation. Be persuaded that France is sick of the bargain, and that Spain is much dissatisfied, and the slightest pretense will lose you the Treaty."

The treaty was concluded and executed at Paris on April 30, 1803, and immediately transmitted to the United States. Owing to the slow means of communication at that time, the documents did not reach Washington until July 14th.

The treaty was ratified on this side November 1, 1803, but it was not until February 10, 1804, that Spain, through her Minister of State, Don Pedro Cavallas, formally withdrew her opposition to the cession, in a communication from him to Mr. Pinckney, United States Minister to that country.

Before entering further into details of the Louisiana Purchase, we will now briefly digress and consider some dealings with Spain which followed. There was so much confusion and misunderstanding on this side of the ocean as to what territory France had acquired by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, that the American envoys at Paris thought the Louisiana they had bargained for included more on the east side of the Mississippi than merely the "Island of New Orleans." The non-committal, if not misleading, statements of Talleyrand, which we will quote later, were partly responsible for this. However, our people soon discovered their error, and found that Spain claimed to be the owner of all of the two Floridas, with boundaries as the Spanish-American treaty of 1795 had defined them.

Early in 1804, the United States attempted to negotiate with Spain for a settlement of all questions relating to the territory of the two nations, bordering on the Gulf; and for the purchase of "West Florida," or a re-adjustment of its boundaries that would give us more territory down there east of the Mississippi. Our people contended that the country from the Perdido river on the east, thence west and southwest along the coast, to the river Bravo del Norte, with all the intermediate rivers, and all the countries drained by them not previously acquired by the United States, were intended to be and were included in the purchase of 1803 from France. But Spain denied our rights to anything east of the Mississippi except New Orleans and the "island," and would not say, specifically, how far the Province of Louisiana had extended along the coast west of the river. She also declined to consider the American propositions as subjects for treaty.

On February 24, 1804, Congress by law provided for imposing and collecting duties in all this disputed territory, and on March 26th, the same year, an act was passed organizing the Purchase into two Territories; a part west of the river, about what is now there embraced in the State of Louisiana, the "Island of New Orleans," and the "West Florida" region, to constitute the Territory of Orleans; the remainder of the Purchase, to the north and northwest, wherever it might extend, to constitute the Territory of Louisiana. But Spain was still in possession of "West Florida" and remained so for several years longer, but was not in possession of any portion of that part of Orleans Territory west of the Mississippi.

On October 27, 1810, the inhabitants of this "West Florida" country declared their independence of Spain and notified President Madison of their action. On October 27, 1810, the President issued a proclamation asserting the claims and rights of the United States to the region, directing the Governor of the Territory of Orleans to take possession of it as far east as the Perdido river—its nominal eastern boundary, and followed the proclamation with troops which dispossessed Spain and took military possession of the district, Governor Claiborne assuming authority over it on December 7, 1810.

This was a rather dubious proceeding, to say the best of it. The proclamation virtually declared that the United States would seize and hold the country, and talk about it and treat for it with Spain afterward. The transaction has been in later times much criticised, and is regarded by many as having been discreditable to the United States, as we were not then at war with Spain, and the region, whether fairly or not, was in dispute. However, once done it was not undone, notwithstanding the vigorous protests against the act, by Mr. Morier, the British Minister at Washington.

On April 8, 1812, when the cloud of our second war with England was showing itself above the horizon, the State of Louisiana was admitted to the Union. Its limits definitely comprised all of Orleans Territory west of the Mississippi, and the "Island of New Orleans" on the east, leaving "West Florida" hanging in the air for a few days. The people of New Orleans insisted that "West Florida" had belonged to the old Province, and persisted in demanding at least a part of it. In this claim the residents of the disputed region joined, and therefore Congress directed the Legislature of Louisiana to assume control, temporarily, over the western end of it adjacent to New Orleans, which was immediately done.

On April 14, 1812, six days after its admission, Congress enlarged the area of the new State of Louisiana, so as to include more of the "West Florida" district, and which gave the State her present lines east of the Mississippi. On May 14, 1812, Congress annexed what was left of the "West Florida" district to the Territory of Mississippi, and the remnant of that Territory of Orleans with its brief but picturesque career, passed off the map and out of existence.

This Mississippi Territory, with its queer patchwork of history, afterward became the land of two States—Mississippi and Alabama. When Mississippi was admitted in 1817 with its present boundaries, what was still left of the former "West Florida" region became part of Alabama Territory; and when Alabama became a State in 1819, the last vestige of buffeted and kicked-about "West Florida" disappeared.

Spain had noisily protested against all these proceedings—and it must be admitted that they were high-handed—but to no purpose; and continued lamenting her despoilment for several years. On February 22, 1819, yielding to the demands of the United States, she concluded a treaty by which she ceded to us whatever she had left in both the Floridas for considerations aggregating about six and one-half millions of dollars. The King of Spain was slow in ratifying it, but finally did so with much reluctance. Florida became a State in 1845.

In subsequent litigation between individuals the question of national ownership of the disputed territory arose and passed to the Supreme Court of the United States for final decision. In an opinion delivered by that Court, Chief Justice John Marshal said:

> "After these acts of sovereign power over the territory in dispute, asserting the American construction of the treaty by which the Government claims it, to maintain the opposite construction in its own courts would certainly be an anomaly in the history and practice of nations. If those departments which are intrusted with the foreign intercourse of the nation which assert and maintain its interests against foreign powers have unequivocally asserted its rights of dominion over a country of which it is in possession, and which it claims under a treaty; if the legislature has acted on the construction thus asserted, it is not in its own courts that this construction is to be denied. A question like this, respecting the boundaries of nations is, as has been truly said, more a political than a legal question; and in its discussion the courts of every country must respect the pronounced will of the legislature."

The doctrine of this decision has been maintained by the United States from that day to this.

These varied processes of discovering, claiming, ceding and ceding back again, buying, selling, capturing, grabbing, seizing and dividing, finally obliterated all that part of the great Province of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, originally claimed by La Salle for the King of France, and so much of it on the west side of the river as the State of Louisiana includes in its present limits. The inhabitants, particularly those of the southeastern portions, must have had a hard time of it trying to keep track of their frequently shifting allegiance.

CHAPTER XII.

Outlines of Negotiations for Louisiana—Opposition to the Purchase—Transfer of the Province—Subsequent Divisions of Louisiana Territory—Its Extent and Boundaries—The Oregon Country—Other Territorial Accessions in the West—Wonderful Development of the Vast Western Domain.

At the outset President Jefferson and his counselors did not contemplate purchasing from France more than the "Island of New Orleans" and a portion of "West Florida" which they supposed to be, in part, at least, an attachment of Louisiana. When the Americans earnestly opened the negotiations at Paris, they found to their surprise and pleasure, that Napoleon was willing to sell the whole of the great territory.

The instructions of the American envoys, as finally decided on, had been to "procure * * * a cession to the United States of New Orleans and of West and East Florida, or as much thereof as the actual proprietor can be prevailed upon to part with." It was also proposed that "the navigation of the river Mississippi, in its whole breadth from its source to the ocean, and in all its passages to and from the same, shall be equally free and common to citizens of the United States and of the French Republic." If the Floridas could not be obtained, the envoys were next to try to buy the "Island of New Orleans;" and if all of that could not be had, they were to secure enough territory at or near the mouth of the Mississippi on which to build a large commercial city and port.

The critical condition of affairs between England and France had reached the breaking point, the vast naval power of England, a portion of which was then lying in wait in the West Indies, made it plain to the First Consul that if he did not at once sell the country he would quickly lose it to Great Britain. With these circumstances confronting him he said to his confidential ministers:

> "They [the English] shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. * * * The conquest of Louisiana would be easy if they only took the trouble to make a descent there. I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. * * * I think of ceding it to the United States. * * * They only ask of me one town in Louisiana, but I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that in the hands of this growing power it will be more useful to the policy, and even to the commerce, of France, than if I should attempt to keep it."

As the American envoys had been authorized to buy only New Orleans and the whole or part of the Floridas at a price not exceeding two million dollars, their surprise on learning this may be imagined.

Napoleon had determined to sell Louisiana and, notwithstanding the diplomatic indifference affected in 1802, when it was first suggested by the United States, was now anxious to sell, and this brought the negotiations rapidly to a close. The preliminary advances made by Mr. Livingston in that year, had been received in a manner causing him so much discouragement that he declared to Mr. Monroe upon the latter's arrival:

> "Only force can give us New Orleans! We must employ force. Let us first get possession of the country and negotiate afterwards."

That Mr. Jefferson contemplated seizing New Orleans in the event of failure to purchase it, is shown by the following extract from his later instructions to Mr. Livingston, which also shows that an Anglo-American alliance was then contemplated:

> "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the Union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. * * * This is not a state we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us as necessarily as any other cause, and by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect."

France had not yet taken possession of New Orleans and Louisiana under the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and "this measure" referred to by Mr. Jefferson, was that treaty and the occupation of the Louisiana country by France, under it. Spain was still in possession and authority at New Orleans, and remained in control, practically up to the time the United States acquired the country, as we shall presently relate.

When France had again acquired the Province by re-cession from Spain in 1800, the First Consul conceived plans for a great French colonial empire in America, but these ambitions failed of fruition. The Spanish people in the territory were very offensive and troublesome to their French neighbors, France was involved in grave difficulties with England, war between them was impending, and British vessels were threatening New Orleans.

At the outset of the active negotiations, Barbe-Marbois, with frankness uncommon at such times, said to Livingstone and Monroe:

> "We should not hesitate to make a sacrifice of that which is about slipping away from us. War with England is inevitable. Shall we be able with inferior naval forces to defend Louisiana against that Power?"

Although the First Consul's preliminary "asking price" was one hundred million francs, as he earlier stated to Barbe-Marbois, he was prepared to take an even less price than was eventually agreed upon. Marbois, in his history of the transaction, states that just prior to the arrival of James Monroe in Paris, Napoleon confidentially said:

> "I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole colony without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object its recovery. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the Envoys of the United States. Do not even await the arrival of Mr. Monroe; have an interview this very day with the Envoys of the United States. But I require a great deal of money for this war, and I would not like to commence it with new contributions. For a hundred years France and Spain have been incurring expenses for improvements in Louisiana, for which its trade has never indemnified them. Large sums which will never be returned to the Treasury, have been lent to companies and to agriculturists. The price of all these things is justly due to us. If I should regulate my terms according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limit. I will be moderate in consideration of the necessity in which I am, of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions [francs] and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have full powers."

The negotiations were conducted and concluded by statesmen of world-wide reputation; on the side of France by Napoleon, Talleyrand and Barbe-Marbois; and on the part of the United States by President Jefferson, James Madison, then Secretary of State, Robert R. Livingston of New York, who was then the United States Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and James Monroe, who was appointed by the President as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary for the special purpose of assisting in the negotiations. The negotiations at Paris were mainly carried on by Talleyrand on the part of France, and by Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe on the part of the United States. For the final negotiations and acts, Napoleon had substituted Barbe-Marbois, Minister of the Public Treasury, in the place of Talleyrand, because he was afraid the latter would be bribed by the British government to defeat the proposed treaty.

When Livingston first addressed Talleyrand on the subject, that Minister responded verbally, according to Livingston's account:

> "He told me he would answer my note, but that he must do it evasively, because Louisiana was not theirs."

Even when questioned as to the eastern boundary, after the treaty was concluded, Talleyrand gave evasive answers. "What are the eastern bounds of Louisiana?" asked Livingston. "I do not know," replied Talleyrand; "you must take it as we received it." "But what did you mean to take?" asked Livingston. "I do not know," answered Talleyrand. "Then you mean that we shall construe it our own way?" suggested Livingston; to which Talleyrand finally said: "I can give you no direction. You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it."

There appears to have been some shuffling on the part of Spain in her connection with the affair. When she made the re-cession to France in 1800, she probably included "West Florida," for the clause in the St. Ildefonso treaty subjecting the transfer to treaties she had made with "other States," presumably related to the one made between Spain and the United States in 1795, by which the boundary between "West Florida" and the United States was agreed upon. At that time our territory did not touch the Gulf of Mexico at any point. From this view of the matter, Spain's later claims to "West Florida" would seem to have been clouded.

The language of the first article of the treaty so far as it relates to the territory ceded to the United States, is as follows:

> "Article I. Whereas, by Article III of the Treaty concluded at St. Ildefonso, the 9th Vendemiaire, An.9 (1st Oct., 1800) between the First Consul of the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty, it was agreed as follows:—
>
> "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede to the French Republic six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to the Duke of Parma, the Colony of or Province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain; and that it had when France possessed it and such as it should be after the treaties entered into between Spain and other States; * * * * The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner, as they have been acquired by the French Republic, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty."

The reference to the Duke of Parma was in consequence of the agreement of France to cede certain territory that would enable that individual to elevate his rank to that of a petty king.

The price paid for Louisiana is usually, but erroneously, stated to have been twelve millions of dollars. It was eighty millions of francs, then the equivalent of fifteen millions of American dollars. Of this sum sixty millions of francs, or eleven million, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were paid France in the form of United States six per cent bonds. The other twenty millions of francs, equal to three million, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were to be paid to citizens of the United States, direct by the United States, on account of debts due them by France, but which included none of the American claims growing out of French spoliations in 1797-98.

Napoleon's first proposition was that the United States should give "one hundred millions [francs], pay their own claims, and take the whole country." Barbe-Marbois, the French Minister of Finance, who subsequently signed the treaty on behalf of France, next proposed that the payment should be eighty millions of francs, without any provision for the debts. They finally agreed on the amount stated with the provision that one fourth of it should be applied to the debts.

As early as the first of April, 1802, President Jefferson wrote to Mr. Livingston, at Paris, urging him to take steps at once for the acquisition of New Orleans, as it would give free access to the ocean by way of the Mississippi. Mr. Jefferson said:

> "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce, and contain more than half our inhabitants."

After the confirmation of the treaty on Novemvember 1, 1803, he said in a letter of that date, to Dupont De Nemours, a personal friend, and a distinguished statesman and scientist of France:

> "The treaty which has so happily sealed the friendship of our two countries has been received here with general acclamation. For myself and my country I thank you for the aid you have given it, and I congratulate you upon having lived to give those aids in a transaction replete with blessings to unborn millions of men."

It appears that President Jefferson conceded the point raised that the constitution did not warrant the acquisition of foreign territory, still less its incorporation into the Union. In a letter to Senator Breckenridge, of Kentucky, written August 12, 1803, Mr. Jefferson said:

> "But I suppose they [the two Houses of Congress] must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution, approving and confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, have done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature, in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves, like faithful servants, must ratify and pay for it and throw themselves on their country, for doing for them, unauthorized, what we know they would have done for themselves, had they been in a situation to do it."

After the treaty had been signed, Mr. Livingston said:

> "We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art or dictated by force; equally advantageous to the two contracting parties, it will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank * * * The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears to be shed; they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them succeed one another, and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and the scourges of bad government."

Thomas Jefferson at the age of 60.

Napoleon is represented to have said, when he was informed that the treaty had been concluded:

> "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Upon signing the ratification of the treaty, the

First Consul is said to have theatrically flung down the pen with the exclamation:

> "I have signed away an empire!"

Another remark, attributed to Napoleon by Barbe-Marbois, was as follows:

> "Perhaps it will also be objected to me that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears."

The home opposition to the purchase came chiefly from the northern or New England States, which generally opposed the incorporation of Louisiana into the United States. Their representatives declared that the accession of so large a territory in the south and west would be to the advantage of the south politically and commercially, at the expense of New England.

In a speech opposing the treaty, Representative Griswold, of Connecticut, said on October 25, 1803:

> "It is, in my opinion, scarcely possible for any gentleman on this floor to advance the assertion that the President and State may add to the numbers of the Union by a treaty whenever they please, or, in the words of the treaty, may incorporate in the Union of the United States a foreign nation who, from interest or ambition, may wish to become a member of our government. Such a power would be directly repugnant to the original compact between the States, and a violation of the principles on which that compact was formed."
>
> "It is not consistent with the spirit of republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large; for, as you extend your limits you increase the difficulties arising from a want of that similarity of customs, habits and manners so essential for its support."
>
> "The vast, unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give to the United States, the consequent dispersion of our population, and the distribution of the balance which it is so important to maintain between the Eastern and Western States, threatens at no very distant day, the subversion of our Union."

Senator Plumer, of New Hampshire, vehemently declared, with a threat of secession—the first in the nation's history:

> "Admit this Western world into the Union, and you destroy at once the weight and importance of the Eastern States, and compel them to establish a separate independent empire."

Senator Tracy, of Connecticut, thus expressed his protesting opinions:

> "We can hold territory; but to admit the inhabitants into the Union, to make citizens of them, and States, by treaty, we can not constitutionally do; and no subsequent act of legislation, or even ordinary amendment to our Constitution can legalize such measures. If done at all, they must be done by universal consent of all the States or partners to our political association."

Senator Pickering, of Massachusetts, in a speech on November 3, 1803, after ratification of the treaty, said:

> "It is declared in the third article of the treaty that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States." But neither the President and Senate, nor the President and Congress, are competent to such an act of incorporation. I believe the assent of each individual State to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the Union."

Representative Griffin, of Virginia, feared the effect of the vast extent of our empire; he feared the effects of the increased value of labor, the decrease in the value of lands, and the influence of climate upon our citizens who should migrate thither. He did fear (though this land was represented as flowing with milk and honey) that this Eden of the New World would prove a cemetery for the bodies of our citizens.

Senator James White, of Delaware, viewed the transaction with the gloomiest forebodings. He said:

> "But as to Louisiana—this new, immense, unbounded world—if it should ever be incorporated into the Union, of which I have no idea, and which can only be done by amending the Constitution, I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us. It may be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one that I fear to ever look upon. * * * Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capitol of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the general government—their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers—they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become distinct. * * * And I do say that under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, fifteen millions of dollars was a most enormous sum to give."

In defense of the treaty Representative Randolph, of Virginia, speaking in the House, said:

> "The treaty which we are now called upon to sanction has been hailed by the acclamation of the nation. It is not difficult to foresee, from the opinions manifested in every quarter, that it will receive the cordial approbation of a triumphant majority of this House. If such be the general opinion—if we are not barely satisfied with the terms of the treaty, but lost in astonishment at the all-important benefits which we have so cheaply acquired, to what purpose do we ask information respecting the detail of the negotiations? Has any one ventured to hint disapprobation of the conduct of the ministers which have effected the negotiation? I should rather suppose the eagerness of gentlemen would be ready to outstrip the forms of law in making themselves masters of their country, than that, now, when it is offered for our grasps, they should display an unwillingness, or at least an indifference, for that which so lately was all-important to them."

President Jefferson had convened Congress on October 17, and on October 31, 1803, the day before the treaty's ratification, a bill was enacted authorizing the President to take possession of Louisiana according to the conditions of the treaty and after its ratification. On November 1, 1803, the treaty was duly ratified.

But the anxieties and troubles were not yet at an end, nor the purchase secure. Up to this time Louisiana still remained in the possession and under the government of Spain. There had been no formal transfer to France under the treaty of St. Ildefonso, of October 1, 1800, though three years had elapsed, and France was not in the possession necessary to compliance with her American treaty, without causing some friction with Spain. Spain protested against the treaty, and the Spanish minister at Washington served notice on our government—

> "That he had orders to warn the Federal Government to suspend the ratification and execution of the treaties of cession of Louisiana, as the French Government in securing the Province had contracted an engagement with Spain not to retrocede it to any other power. * * * France not having executed that engagement, the treaty cession was void.

England was thought to be behind this Spanish movement, and the French Government had given orders that both transfers of authority should take place at New Orleans at the same time—that is, of Spain to France, and of France to the United States—so as to hasten the surrender to the United States before England could interfere.

In a letter written to Mr. Livingston by President Jefferson in December, 1803, with relation to Spain's contentions, he said that "France and Spain must settle their own difficulties in their own way themselves," and that he had, four days before, given orders to General Wilkinson, and the Governor of Mississippi Territory, to move down the troops at hand to New Orleans, and to receive possession from Laussat, then Colonial Prefect of New Orleans, and that "if he is not disposed to give possession, we shall take possession."

Regardless of Spanish protests, the French representative at Washington transmitted to the representative of his government at New Orleans instructions for the transfer, which reached there November 23, 1803. After a conference between the French and Spanish officials at New Orleans it was decided to make the change without delay, which was done.

The Spanish Commissioners, the Marquis De Caso Calvo, and Manuel De Salcado, formally notified Governor Don Carlos Dehault Delassus that on November 30, 1803, they "delivered to Pedro Clemente Laussat, Commissioner of the French Republic, the Province of Louisiana." On Tuesday, December 20, 1803, Laussat delivered, at New Orleans, the Province of Louisiana to General James Wilkinson, of the United States army, and Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne, then Governor of Mississippi Territory, who were the Commissioners of the United States.

France's second period of actual authority over Louisiana thus lasted for the brief period of twenty days. There were appropriate official formalities, military parades, and some speech-making in these ceremonies. The Spanish troops were all drawn up, and the people assembled with them. The French Commissioner presented to the Spanish Commissioners the order of the King of Spain, dated more than one year previous, for the delivery of the country to France, and with it also presented the direction of Napoleon to receive possession in the name of France. The Spanish Governor then surrendered the keys of the city, the Spanish colors were lowered, the flag of France went up in their place, and the cannon boomed. The existence of the Spanish King's old order and the later conduct of Spain was never very satisfactorily reconciled.

The formalities attending the French transfer to the United States were much the same as the foregoing. Flag lowering and raising, official demonstrations, American troops marching in, and the assembled populace. The French Prefect made a speech in which he said:

> "In conformity with the treaty, I put the United States in possession of Louisiana and its dependencies. The citizens and inhabitants who wish to remain here and obey the laws are from this moment exonerated from the oath of fidelity to the French Republic."

Governor Claiborne made a characteristic American speech, filled with patriotic fervor, in the course of which he said:

> "This cession secures to you and your descendants the inheritance of liberty, perpetual laws, and magistrates whom you will elect yourselves."

Claiborne became the first American Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, and later the first Governor of the State of Louisiana. In 1805, General Wilkinson became Governor of Louisiana Territory or District, and while in that position disclosed to President Jefferson the plot of Aaron Burr to invade Texas with an armed force, take possession of that and adjacent country, and establish a new republic in the southwest. Burr's arrest, trial on the charge of treason, his acquittal, and his whole career form a conspicuous chapter in our National history. Wilkinson was undoubtedly involved in the plot, and he soon disappeared from public view.

Circumstances of the times delayed full possession of Louisiana being assumed by the United States until the following spring, when, in March, St. Louis and upper Louisiana formally passed under the control and government of the United States. The official document of this transfer is dated "St. Louis de Illinois, 9th March, 1804," and is signed by Governor Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, and General (then Captain) Amos Stoddard of the United States army, who also acted as commissioner for the French Republic. The witnesses were Meriwether Lewis, of Lewis and Clarke exploring fame; Antonio Soulard, and Ch. Gratiot.

The originals of all these old transfer documents on the French side are now in St. Louis. In one of his letters to the editor of this History of Denver, Mr. William J. Seever, Secretary of the Missouri Historical Society, said:

"The documents are the originals and, as was the custom in olden times, are entirely written by the signers. Fortunately the greater portion of Governor Delassus' papers, both official and private, were never returned to Spain or France, and are now in St. Louis, and in possession of this Society and one of its members."

The tracts of the Missouri Historical Society, and information received directly from its Secretary, have been of the utmost usefulness to us with relation to the complicated history of Louisiana, and in connection with that of other old events we have undertaken to record.

The early American annals of the new domain were illumined by the remarkable victory of General Andrew Jackson, on January 8, 1815, near New Orleans. With six thousand Tennessee and Mississippi volunteers, he crushed the British army of twelve thousand veterans under General Sir Edward Pakenham. General Pakenham was killed and his army had a loss of two thousand five hundred killed and wounded. General Jackson had eight killed and thirteen wounded—a result to be classed with the victory of Admiral Dewey at Manila Bay, and that of Admiral Schley at Santiago. The peace treaty of Ghent had been signed December 24, 1814—more than two weeks before the battle; but news traveled slowly in those days.

When, as we have heretofore narrated in detail, Congress created the Territory of Orleans, partly from real estate of doubtful ownership, it also constituted the remainder of the great Louisiana region, the Louisiana Territory. In 1805, this name was changed to Louisiana District. On June 4, 1812, after the State of Louisiana was admitted, the old Territory was organized as the Missouri Territory. In its subsequent disintegration, every name, except that of Orleans, given any part of it by law in the various changes caused by creating new commonwealths, has been retained by some one of the existing States that were organized from its territory. But the popular name for the great domain long continued to be the "Louisiana Purchase."

From this splendid empire twelve States and one Territory have been created in whole or part, in order as follows:

Louisiana, (nearly all), 1812; Missouri, 1820; Arkansas, 1836; Iowa, first in 1845, and with enlarged limits in 1846; Minnesota, (nearly all), 1858; Kansas, (except a small section in the southwest corner), 1861; Nebraska, 1867; Colorado, (about two-fifths), 1876; South Dakota, 1889; North Dakota, 1889; Montana, (nearly all), 1889; the Indian Territory, (as at present organized, including Oklahoma, but excepting the narrow strip extending westward from the northwest corner of the main area), 1889; and Wyoming, (about three-fifths), 1890.

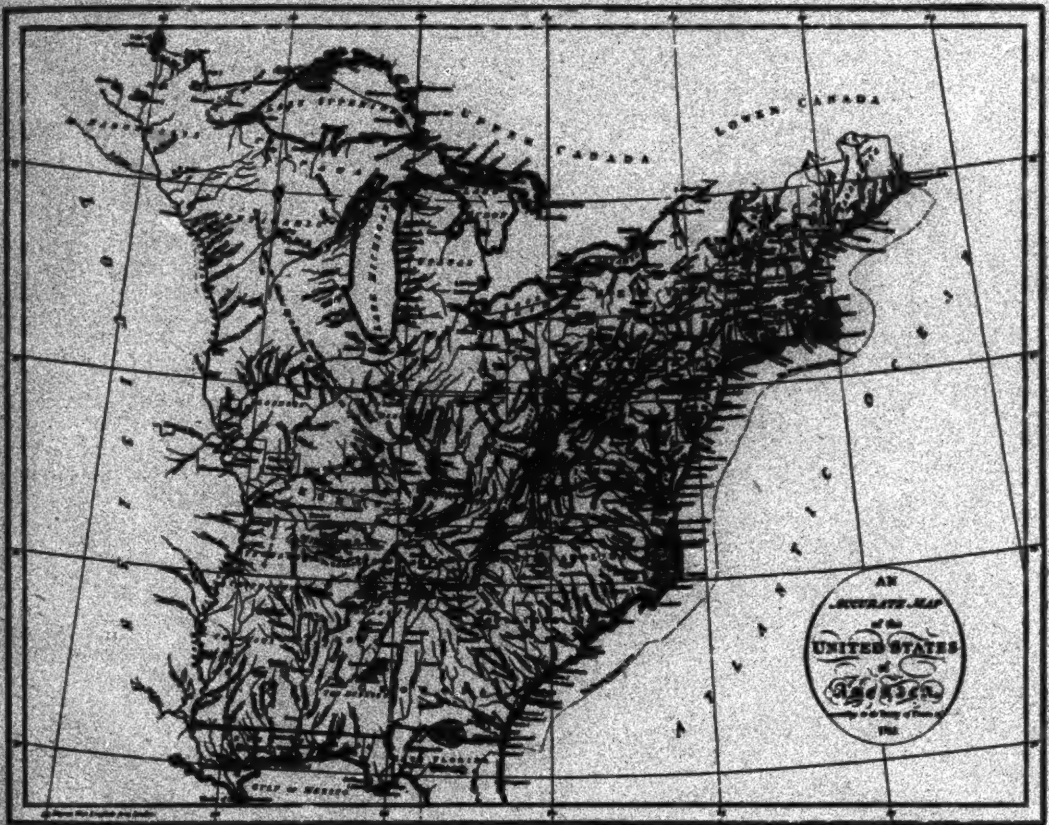
One of the questions—the great question then—which sprang out to the front soon after the purchase, was that of slavery. Should the new territory be slave or free? Slavery existed around the mouth of the Mississippi when the purchase was made. The State of Louisiana came into the Union with slavery in the first year of our second war with England, for reasons more military than civil, and little was said of its attendant human servitude. The next proposition to create a State in the new domain was that of Missouri, which applied for admission in 1818 with a constitution sanctioning slavery. Immediately the country was torn by dissensions and the disruption of the Union threatened. Two years of strife ensued when Congress adopted what was known as the "Missouri Compromise," and Missouri went in as a slave State. The "Compromise" prohibited slavery in any of the Louisiana territory north of the latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, excepting in the State of Missouri, that latitude being the State's southern boundary line. Under this arrangement Arkansas, the next new State created from the Territory, was admitted, but with many mutterings of discontent throughout the north. Texas, an independent organization, was annexed in 1845—the last slave State admitted, but none of its territory was clearly established to have been permanently included in the Province of Louisiana. Iowa followed, free, because its people wanted it that way. Then, shortly, came the act that precipitated some tremendous events. Congress in May, 1854, enacted a law creating the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and suspending—practically repealing—the "Missouri Compromise" provision so far as it applied to those Territories. This, it may be stated by the way, left no legal restrictions in the way of men bringing slaves to Denver in the pioneer days, if any had chosen to do so. In thus suspending the "Compromise," Congress declared its purpose to neither establish nor prohibit slavery, but to leave the question to the decision of the people of those Territories when they applied for admission as States. This soon set the country aflame. Minnesota next became a State, free by the unanimous choice of her people. Kansas, after sore turmoil and many struggles, was admitted as a free State; but the great civil war ensued, and after the four years of strife and blood and sorrow, the cause of all that untold misery to white and black humanity, was torn out by the roots and destroyed forever.

The boundary lines of the great Province were never clearly laid down as such things are done in our own times. Up to the year in which it passed to the United States, no survey of it had ever been attempted, nor was much in that direction accomplished for a long time after. In all the geographies, and on the maps made by the United States government, the Province was shown to extend west of the Rocky Mountains between the forty-second degree of north latitude and the British boundary line, to the Pacific ocean. This view of its limits had been accepted as correct until within a few years last past.

At this time it is not, of course, of any material importance whether "Louisiana" extended to the Pacific ocean, or not. The United States now extends there and far beyond, and the old Province long since disappeared from view. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century knowledge of this western country was thin, scattered and confused, and it took a long time to clear away the vagaries growing out of ignorance. Before that time, the beliefs bordered on the absurd—or, they seem so now.

In the early days the people who were settling on the Atlantic coast had what we can not help considering rather comical notions of the extent of this continent, and of the area now embraced within the United States. China was supposed to lie not far out in the west, and many preparations were made to get there. The commission of Virginia's Captain John Smith, of Pocahontas fame, authorized him to sail up the Chickahominy river to find a passage to China.

The French when they began to colonize Canada entertained the same views. When they got well into the St. Lawrence they felt confident that by following that magnificent river they would soon reach the Flowery Kingdom. A reminiscence of this belief lingers in the name they gave the rapids near Montreal. When the explorers reached that obstruction to navigation they firmly believed they were fairly on their way to China; so they named it "La Chine Rapids"—or "the China Rapids," since expressed as "Lachine."



An English Official Map of the United States according to the Peace Treaty in 1783; published in London in 1794.

Marquette and Joliet were first led to believe that the Mississippi flowed into the "Sea of California." They had derived some information of it from the Indians in whose stories there appears to have been a little confused knowledge of the Colorado river. When La Salle began his career as an explorer in 1669, he supposed the Ohio river went into the "South Sea," and his first enterprise was for the purpose of learning where it did go.

France's original title to "Louisiana" was founded on La Salle's exploration of the Mississippi, his discovery of its mouth, and his extravagant declaration that for the King of France he took possession of the great river "and all the rivers which enter it, and of all the country they watered." This was followed by French occupation and settlement. La Salle knew nothing about the Oregon country; nor that the region watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi terminated in the northwest on the summit of the Rocky Mountain range, which divides the rainfall into the waters that find their way to the Pacific and those which flow eastward to the Mississippi.

When France made the cession to Spain in 1762, northwestern boundaries were not mentioned, because neither party had the faintest idea where they were. France merely ceded the territory, whatever and wherever it might be, and no hint of it extending to or toward the Pacific was given. She merely transferred such rights as she had acquired and held under La Salle's discovery and declaration.

In 1800 when France received the territory back from Spain, it was, in the language of the treaty, "with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." This last reference has already been explained as probably relating to adjustment of the "West Florida" boundary with the United States, in 1795.

France, now again in possession of the region, nominally, at least, with the rights and limitations in the northwest that had attached to it from La Salle's time, without any attempt or pretense of change in them ever having been made, ceded the territory to the United States, simply as the "Province of Louisiana," specifying no definite boundary lines, and conveying only such title and rights as she originally possessed.

Barbe-Marbois, related that he directed Napoleon's attention to the great obscurity of the boundaries of the Province and mentioned the difficulties it occasioned. Napoleon, he said, replied: "If the obscurity were not there, it would perhaps be good policy to put it there;" an opinion characteristic of the great Corsican's methods.

Barbe-Marbois, in his "History of Louisiana," said "the shores of the Western Ocean were certainly not comprised in the cession, but the United States have already established themselves there."

More than to any other man, credit for correcting this long-standing geographical error, is due Colonel James O. Broadhead, of St. Louis. A few years ago he became interested in it, and determined to remove it, if that were possible. After much labor, and a most painstaking investigation which thoroughly digested the old treaties, documents and records, he embodied his conclusions in an exhaustive paper which, in 1897, was published and widely disseminated by the Missouri Historical Society. In his introductory statements, Colonel Broadhead said:

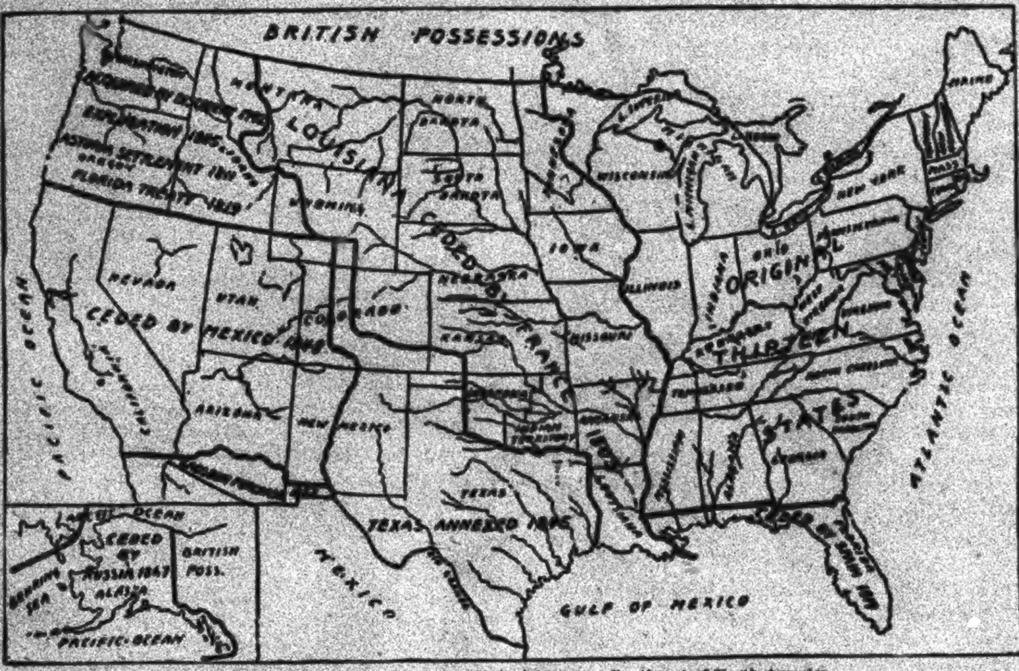
> "When at Washington a few weeks ago, I saw hanging upon the walls of a room in the Interior Department, a new map of the United States, just published, upon which was printed in large letters, with marked boundaries, the different sections of our national territory and the sources from which the title to each was derived. The territory acquired from France by the Treaty of 1803, upon that map, was made to extend to the Pacific ocean, and to include the States of Oregon and Washington."
>
> "It is with some diffidence that I shall undertake to show that the territory acquired from France never did, expressly or by intendment, extend to the Pacific ocean, or in a western direction beyond the country watered by the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and their tributaries."

One result of Colonel Broadhead's services and researches is that the Interior Department has corrected its maps, and our government in its official publications and references no longer transmits an incorrect version of an important historical fact. It is singular that this one was misunderstood, erroneously represented and taught in the schools, and officially promulgated in a form radically wrong, for so many years. Unless Napoleon's suggestion to Barbe-Marbois about the obscurity of boundaries, had something to do with it in the beginning, the only available explanation seems to lie in the prevailing ignorance, even in the first quarter of this century, of what was then a far-away, practically unknown country.

Mr. Jefferson's foremost purpose was to get full possession of the Mississippi, and everything else attached to it was of secondary consequence. Therefore the distant boundaries in the far northwest, supposed to be in inaccessible localities in a worthless region, were regarded as of little importance wherever they might be. The later complications with Great Britain over the international boundary, and some of the claims advanced to sustain the American position at the beginning of that controversy, added to the confusion. Error, notorious for her persistence, established her false theories, and they flourished for nearly a hundred years.

England, prone to claim everything in sight, had demanded the Oregon country. Sir Francis Drake had voyaged along the California coast in 1579, and other English navigators followed him, but none of them established settlements. The early maps of North America set down "New Albion" as occupying a large territory bordering on the shores of the western ocean.

The claims of the United States to the Oregon region have been based on three propositions, discovery, purchase and occupation. The purchase was held to have been included in the acquisition of the Province of Louisiana, a conclusion altogether erroneous, for that Province never included any land over which water flowed to the Pacific. Spain nor France never had any valid claims to the territory west of the continental dividing range, between latitude forty-two degrees and the line of the British possessions. It is true that Spanish explorers went much farther north along the Pacific coast, but there were never any permanent Spanish occupation or settlements worth considering, north of forty-two degrees, and Spanish "occupation" of the region was far more a shadowy theory than an actual fact. Beginning in 1543, Cabrillo, a Portuguese in Spanish service, and his successors, Ferrell, Aguilar, Perez and others extended their voyages as far north as fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, but they made no stay nor did they attempt to penetrate the interior. De Fuca, a Greek navigator, was also up there, in 1592. The real basis of the title of the United States to the Oregon country was in its discovery, occupation and settlement.


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
LOUISIANA
CEDED BY FRANCE
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES
CEDED BY MEXICO 1848
TEXAS ANNEXED 1845
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
COLORADO
NEVADA
UTAH
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
TEXAS
IOWA
ILLINOIS
MISSOURI
WISCONSIN
OHIO
NEW YORK
MAINE
GEORGIA
TENNESSEE
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
CEDED BY RUSSIA 1867
ALASKA
BRITISH POSS.
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN

Map showing Territorial Growth of United States on Continent of North America.

The first American knowledge of the Columbia river was through Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, who entered the mouth of the unknown, beautiful stream in his ship, the "Columbia Rediviva," in 1792. He named it after his vessel whose keel was the first which had ever cut its waters.

In November, 1805, the mouth of the river was reached by the United States overland exploring expedition under Captains Lewis and Clarke, of the United States army. This expedition was organized at St. Louis in 1804, to explore the new Louisiana purchase and the Columbia river country. It entered the mouth of the Missouri May 14 of that year, proceeding up that stream by boats to its headwaters; thence across the dividing ranges on foot to the headwaters of the Columbia, where they built other boats and proceeded to the river's mouth. The party returned by the same general routes, reaching St. Louis September 23, 1806, after an absence of two years, four months and ten days. This was a great, adventurous and notable undertaking for its time.

In 1810, the first American settlements were made, and in 1811 John Jacob Astor established the fur-trading post, Astoria, on the left bank of the river near its mouth. He dispatched two expeditions from the east in 1810, one by land and the other by sea. The overland party reached the destination first and began the settlement.

After the cession of the Province of Louisiana to the United States by France, Spain made some pretenses of having rights in the Oregon country, founding them, not on any extension there of the Province of Louisiana, but on what her explorers had done one hundred and fifty years before, and her alleged later occupation of the region. She did not press them very seriously, but kept grumbling and complaining about them. So, to clear away all doubts, to make assurance doubly sure, and to remove all possibility of future contention on the part of Spain, the treaty of 1819, by which she ceded the Floridas to the United States, contained a clause thus defining the boundaries between the United States and the remaining Spanish possessions (Mexico), in North America:

> "Beginning at the mouth of the Sabine river, north along the west bank of that river to the 32nd degree of latitude, where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Nachitoches or Red River; thence following the course of the Rio Roxo westward to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red river and running thence by a line due north to the river Arkansas, thence to its source in latitude 42 north, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South Sea. But, if the source of the Arkansas shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of 42, and thence along said parallel to the South Sea."

That parallel was then established as the northern boundary of California, and so remains; later, it became the northern boundary of Nevada and Utah.

There was a curious sequence to the Spanish interest in Oregon, and a most inconsistent one on the part of a great many American people. After the treaty of 1819 with Spain, came the matter of settling boundary lines out there with Great Britain. Many Americans turned on the record, and insisted that the region's northern limit was latitude fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, basing the claim on the ancient voyages of the Spanish explorers, and the alleged later Spanish occupation, which were held to have established rights transferred to the United States by Spain's treaty of 1819—rights denied to Spain while that treaty was under consideration. Spain had tentatively urged that as navigators in her service had, in the sixteenth century, explored that coast as far north as fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, she had claims on the region, which she held had been strengthened by alleged settlements some of her people had made in more recent years, and which she assumed they still maintained. But the United States waived these pretensions aside.

England persisted in her claims to the Oregon country, certainly as far down as the mouth of the Columbia river; and was prepared to claim still more if prospects for getting it seemed good. The matter now became a great political question, and a party slogan, "Fifty-four, forty, or fight," menacing England, made memorable the Polk presidential campaign of 1844. Since 1818 the general region between latitude forty-two degrees and that of fifty-four degrees, forty minutes, had been by mutual consent, jointly occupied by the United States and Great Britain, pending the adjustment of the boundary, which was done by treaty in 1846, making latitude forty-nine degrees the boundary line, and dispensing with any fighting over it.

The territory of Oregon originally included all United States territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast north of latitude forty-two degrees. When the movement to give it a territorial government was inaugurated, much opposition arose in Congress. The region was so wild, so remote, and so little understood, that the proposition seemed preposterous to many. Daniel Webster who, as we shall further see, had little knowledge of the great west, and still less faith in it, declared in one of his ponderous speeches, that Oregon was "so far off that a delegate to Congress could not reach Washington City until a year after the expiration of his term."

But Oregon got a Territorial government, and from its domain the State of Oregon was formed in 1859; Washington in 1889; Idaho in 1890; leaving smaller portions to become western sections of Montana and Wyoming.

In a speech in the Senate on January 25, 1843, Senator George McDuffie, of South Carolina, said with reference to the western country when a railway to the Pacific was under discussion:

> "As I understand it, there are seven hundred miles this side of the Rocky Mountains that are uninhabitable, where rain never falls, where there are mountains wholly impassable except through gaps. How are you going to supply steam? Have you made an estimate of the cost of a railway to the Columbia? The wealth of the Indies would be insufficient! What use would it be for agriculture? I would not give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I wish the Rocky Mountains were an impassable barrier. If there was an embankment of five feet to be removed I would not consent to expend five dollars to remove it and enable our population to go there. I thank God for his mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains at that place."

On the western boundary subject Senator Benton, of Missouri, said as early as 1825:

> "The ridge of the Rocky Mountains may be named as a convenient, natural and everlasting boundary. Along the ridge the western limits of the Republic should be drawn and the statue of the fabled god Terminus should be erected on its highest peak, never to be thrown down."

No part of the region now forming the State of Texas was included in the Province of Louisiana. In 1821, when Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke, all of Texas was Mexican territory. Texas declared its independence of Mexico in 1836, maintaining its position by arms, and remaining an independent government until 1845, when it became, by annexation, and against the vehement protests of Mexico which still claimed it, one of the United States. This brought on the Mexican war with its well-known consequences.

Chief among these was the accession by the United States under the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo, in 1848, which formally ended the war, of the large area out of which the State of California was formed, with its existing outlines, in 1850; Nevada in 1864; and Utah in 1896. In addition to these it supplied territory for the southwest part of Wyoming, nearly one-half (the western part) of Colorado, and the larger portion of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

The original area claimed by Texas was far larger than the present area of that State. It included more than half of New Mexico, a considerable corner in southwestern Kansas, and all of Colorado lying due southward from the Arkansas river. At the headwaters of the Arkansas, the claim took the form of a somewhat narrow strip extending due north some distance into what is now Wyoming. Mexico never recognized the Texan claim, but Texas persisted in asserting it even after the war with Mexico. But in 1850, for a consideration, she relinquished it to the general government and the settlement left her with her present boundaries.

By an act of Congress at this time (1850) the Territory of New Mexico was created. It embraced the region west of Texas, extending to California, and included a considerable section of what is now southern Colorado. In 1854, the area of New Mexico was materially enlarged by the United States purchasing from Mexico a strip along the southern part of the Territory, between the Rio Grande and Colorado rivers and south of the Gila river, commonly known as the "Gadsden Purchase." In 1863, Congress divided New Mexico, and made the western part the Territory of Arizona. In 1866, an angular section in the northwest corner was detached from Arizona and annexed to Nevada, leaving those divisions as now constituted.

The area of "Louisiana" as we have defined it here and as shown by the accompanying map, was eight hundred and eighty-three thousand and seventy-two square miles, containing five hundred and sixty-five million, one hundred and sixty-six thousand and eighty acres. This excludes any territory west of the "divide" of the Rocky Mountains and the disputed district east of the lower Mississippi.

This area is more than seven times that of Great Britain and Ireland; more than four times that of the German Empire, or of the Austrian Empire, or of France; more than three times that of Spain and Portugal; more than seven times the size of Italy, and twice that of Egypt; nearly ten times that of Turkey and Greece; nearly three times that of Norway and Sweden, and nearly six times that of the Japanese Empire. It is also larger than Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy combined. It is about one-fourth less than the area of the thirteen original States and the old Northwest Territory. The property values existing in it would probably aggregate, on actual valuations, twenty billions of dollars.

In no part of this magnificent empire have more wonderful developments of its unsurpassed natural resources been made, from no part have come greater or more important additions to the wealth of the Nation, than Colorado presents. In July, 1898, Honorable Binger Hermann, Commissioner of the General Land Office at Washington, made a special and carefully prepared report to the Secretary of the Interior, entitled "The Louisiana Purchase and our Title West of the Rocky Mountains." This was primarily for the purpose of demonstrating the necessity for correcting the official maps with respect to the boundaries of the "Louisiana Purchase," and was incidentally made the means of presenting much other valuable information. In connection with his observations upon the development of the domain, Mr. Hermann singled out Colorado as the most conspicuous of all the "Purchase" States in results that have been accomplished. He said:

"I illustrate not with such older States as Louisiana, Iowa, Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri, or even Minnesota with her 60,000,000 bushels of wheat, ranking her as first among the producers of our nation's wheat yield of 530,000,000 bushels in 1897, not to mention her many other resources, but prefer rather to select the more remote and most recently developed portions of the Louisiana Purchase nearer the Rocky Mountain region, as here the record will read enough like a fairy tale to interest and delight, as well as amaze any well wisher of his country. The report of the State Commissioner of Mines of Colorado furnishes the following as the production and value of four metals mined in that State, for the year named."

Mr. Hermann then annexed a statement of the gold, silver, copper and lead production and values, for 1897, to which he added the value of sheep, of cattle, and of the coal yield, making a total under only these seven classifications, of nearly seventy-one millions of dollars. Inasmuch as something of these matters, and of later date, will appear elsewhere in this volume, we have not reproduced Mr. Hermann's statement in detail.

No act of the Executive of any Nation at any period in the history of the world, was followed by results so stupendous as those which have grown out of Mr. Jefferson's purchase of the Province of Louisiana. It was, to repeat his own prophetic observation, one "replete with blessings to unborn millions of men."

CHAPTER XIII.

Pioneer Americans in the Pike's Peak Country—Lieutenant Pike's Exploring Expedition—His Attempt to Ascend the "Grand Peak"—Trying Experiences in Crossing the Mountains—Capture of the Party by Spaniards—Detention at Santa Fe—Subsequent Release and Return to the East—Pike's Impressions of the Western Country—His Soldier's Death.

Previous to the dawn of the Nineteenth Century, the history of the human race in all this Denver region, was like the dim darkened landscape which the traveler sees at night, or fails to see, from the window of a swift-moving railway car. The few glimpses he catches, as he whirls along at a speed at which he can only guess, give him but little knowledge of the country through which he is passing. He cannot tell from anything he sees how far he has gone or how fast he has moved. But when the day breaks all is different. He can then observe everything in its proper light and true perspective. He then knows and comprehends how rapidly he moves from point to point. The coming of daylight has made all distinct and clear.

With the appearance and domination of the Anglo-Saxon man here, as everywhere he goes, arise records, tracts, annals, manuscripts, documents, letters—all shedding their light upon the new scenes that have burst into view; upon the events that so swiftly follow each other. The contrast between what was obscure, unknown, unexplored, at the beginning of the just ended century, and what was well-defined, positive in outlines, startling in change and advancement, and wonderful to behold in its closing year, is even greater than the contrast between the dim landscape, with its mere fantastic hints of itself, that greets the eye of the railway traveler, his face pressed against the pane, trying to catch a glimpse of what may be there in the night's deep gloom, and the same scenes rushing by in the full glare of mid-day.

But here and there in the historical landscapes of long past years, we have had the shadows partly dispelled and have passed places where some light fell upon the scenes. We have seen the misty columns of Spanish explorers—the adventurous, romantic, gold-loving Spaniards, God-fearing in their way—moving over the plains and winding through the mountains, eager for wealth and zealous for the faith. We have seen, in later glimpses, the heralds of the industrious, enthusiastic French, pushing their way up the rivers flowing from the west, and threatening the ancient, uninspiring Spanish authority then prevailing in our southwestern region.

A former common, though mistaken, impression was one which assumed that, aside from the early visits of the Spaniards, the organized exploring expeditions of the United States government brought the first companies of white men into this Colorado country. Some writers in exploiting the "Pathfinder," and treating lightly the work of Pike and Long, have gone so far as to convey by negation an impression that Colorado was practically an unknown region previous to the Fremont exploring expeditions, and that up to that period there was no knowledge by white men, outside of Spanish circles, of the hidden treasures in its rocks and the beds of its streams. We have already seen how greatly mistaken were such impressions and beliefs, and we will find much more to further confirm their inaccuracy. The Colorado plains and mountains were familiar places to many American white men before "Pathfinder" Fremont came along, and several had traversed them before Pike "discovered" the peak that bears his name.

The distinction of having been the first American white man to reach the Rocky Mountains at the point where Denver stands, appears to swing between James Pursley and Baptiste La Lande. Pursley, a carpenter by trade, originally hailed from Bardstown, Kentucky, and some of the narratives assuming to account for his presence in this part of the country at so early a date, are conflicting. One has it that he was hunting and trapping in the Osage river country of Missouri in 1802; that in the next year (1803) he was hunting and trading along the River Platte in company with a party of Missouri Indians, and that the mixed assemblage was chased into the mountains of this locality by other Indians, and afterward went down to Santa Fe.

Another account is that Pursley on a trading venture made his way to these mountains in 1803 or 1804, without associates, by way of the Platte river, following the south branch past the site of Denver; that he was made a prisoner by Indians who captured him somewhere here on the South Platte, and proceeding across to the South Park, afterward took him down to Santa Fe, where he was released.

The first of these is partly correct, but the other has little or no historical value. Pursley is credited with having found gold while on his travels through here, the circumstances of which will be related hereafter.

Lieutenant Pike, the explorer, in that part of his report which he designates as "Geographical Observations on the Interior of New Spain," gives the following account of Pursley, whom he encountered at Santa Fe, and which is, no doubt, a strictly accurate one:

"In the historical anecdotes of New Mexico it may not be improper to record the name of James Pursley, the first American who ever penetrated the immense wilds of Louisiana, and shewed the Spaniards of New Mexico, that neither the savages who surround the deserts which divide them from the habitable world, nor the jealous tyranny of their rulers, was sufficient to prevent the enterprising spirit of the Americans from penetrating the arcanum of their rich establishments in the New World. Pursley was from near Baird's Town [Bardstown], Kentucky, which he had left in 1799. In 1802, with two companions, he left St. Louis and traveled west on the head of the Osage river, where they made a hunt; from thence they struck for the White river of the Arkansaw, and intended to descend it to Orleans but while making preparations the Kanzes stole their horses; having secured their peltries they pursued them into the village. The horses were there, but the Indians refused to give them up; Pursley saw his horse with an Indian on him going to the water at the edge of the town. He pursued him, and with his knife ripped open the horse's bowels. The Indian returned to the village, got his gun and came and snapped it at Pursley, who followed him into the village with his knife; the Indian took refuge in a lodge surrounded by women and children. This conduct struck the chiefs with astonishment and admiration of the 'mad Americans,' as they termed them, and they returned the other horses to the hunters. Pursley and his companions now returned to the place where they had buried their peltries and determined to pursue the route by land to St. Louis; but some persons stole their horses a second time, when they were no great distance from the Osage river, on which they formed a rough canoe and descended that stream, nearly to its junction with the Missouri. Here they overset their canoe and lost their whole year's hunt, but saved their arms and ammunition, which are always the primary objects in a desert. On the Missouri they met Monsieur ——— in his barge, bound to the Mandanes [on the upper Missouri]. Pursley embarked with him for the voyage; his two companions preferred to return to their homes. On the arrival of the former at the point of destination, his employer dispatched him on a hunting and trading tour, with some bands of the Paducas and Kyaways, with a small quantity of merchandise. In the ensuing spring they were driven by the Sioux from the plains into the mountains which give rise to the Plate, Arkansaw, etc., and it was their sign which we saw in such amazing abundance on the headwaters of the Plate, their party consisting of nearly two thousand souls with ten thousand beasts. The Indians knowing they were approximate to New Mexico, determined to send Pursley with his companions and two of their body into Santa Fe to know of the Spaniards if they would receive them amicably, and enter into a trade with them. This being acceded to by the Governor (Allencaster) the Indian deputies returned for their bands; but Pursley thought proper to remain with a civilized people, among whom a fortuitous event had thrown him, a circumstance which he assured me he had at one time entirely despaired of. He arrived at Santa Fe June, 1805, and had been following his trade (carpenter) ever since, at which he made a great deal of money, except when working for the officers, who paid him little or nothing. He was a man of strong natural sense, and of undaunted intrepidity; and entertained me with numerous interesting anecdotes of his adventures with the Indians, and of the jealousy of the Spanish government. He was once nearly being hanged for making a few pounds of powder, which he innocently did, as he was accustomed to do in Kentucky, but which is a capital crime in these provinces. He still retained his gun, which he had with him during his whole tour, and spoke confidently that if he had two hours' start, not all the province could take him. He was forbidden to write, but was assured he should have a passport whenever demanded; he was obliged, however, to give security that he would not leave the country without the permission of the government. I brought letters out for him."

We have copied Pike's account of Pursley at length, partly for the purpose of clearly setting forth the circumstances that brought Pursley here at that time, and partly to show the venturesome intrepidity of the man; but the statement about the number of Indians and horses that were with him in the South Park is surprising. The Mandan villages whence he started southward on the trading expedition were on the upper Missouri far toward its exit from the mountains. Pursley made a long journey and had a hard time between his departure from St. Louis and his arrival at Santa Fe.

Baptiste La Lande, an American of French extraction, was sent from Kaskaskia, Illinois, in 1804, by William Morrison, a merchant of that place, with a stock of goods for frontier trade in this then remote region. He had another white man as an assistant and companion, but who he was and what became of him, no account has been retained; he appears to have dropped completely out of sight in all subsequent parts of the story. La Lande was under instructions to go as far as Santa Fe in search of business. He came up the South Platte, and proceeding southward, finally reached Santa Fe, where he disposed of his goods at fabulous prices. There Baptiste succumbed to the charms and blandishments of certain brunette beauties, pocketed the whole proceeds of his employer's venture, and remained in the New Mexican country.

When merchant Morrison learned of the destination of Pike's western expedition he thought his derelict employee might be encountered and made to return the proceeds of the goods he had sold. Of this Pike says:

> "When I was about to sail, Morrison conceiving that it was possible that I might meet some Spanish factors on the Red river, intrusted me with the claim, in order if they were acquainted with La Lande, I might negotiate the affair with them."

But there is no record that Baptiste was ever called to account and made to disgorge. When Pike was in Santa Fe Governor Alencaster was advised of the case and in a few days, according to Pike's narrative, "informed me that he had made inquiry as to the abilities of La Lande to discharge the debt, and found that he possessed no property, but that at some future period he would secure the money for me." This, however, appears to have been the last of it.

According to Pursley's statement to Pike that he reached Santa Fe in June, 1805, that unfaithful steward, the susceptible Baptiste, would seem to have been a year ahead of the Bardstown carpenter in traversing the banks of the South Platte through this region.

In 1817, August Pierre Choteau and Jules Demun, citizens of St. Louis, with twenty other men in their party, made an expedition from St. Louis to the country around the headwaters of the South Platte, to trade with the Indians. Later they went down upon the foot-hill tributaries of the Arkansas. While in that locality they got over into Spanish territory, of which that stream was then held to be a boundary, where they were all arrested by a Spanish military force or guard, taken down to Santa Fe and kept in close confinement, some of them in chains, for forty-eight days. They had a troublesome time in recovering their property and getting out of that country.

Several years before Long's expedition other traders visited this region and a profitable trade existed, though no permanent establishments were attempted. A considerable commerce was carried on between merchants of St. Louis and the inhabitants of New Mexico which, at that time, included the larger part of what is now Colorado, the definite boundaries between the two countries not having been agreed on until 1819. The French pioneers in the fur business, as we have seen, had been operating as far west as the Missouri River borders of Kansas and Nebraska, nearly a hundred years before Pike explored this part of the country.

The first expedition sent out by the government to penetrate the then newly-acquired Louisiana Territory, was that of Lewis and Clarke to the mouth of the Columbia river and back, in 1804-05-06, of which some account has been given in the history of the Louisiana Province. It followed the Missouri river going and returning, and was at no time near this part of the country.

The next one was that of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, in 1806. He had been along the upper Mississippi the previous year on an enterprise that was partly for exploring and partly to make friendly advances to the Indians up there, and to apprise them of their changed allegiance by the transfer of "Louisiana" to the United States.

In the first decade of that century there was great and constant friction between the United States and Spain, and affairs began to wear a very serious aspect. In 1806 troops of the two governments almost came to actual hostilities on the frontiers of New Spain and our old Territory of Orleans, and war was expected to occur between the two nations. It was, indeed, regarded as inevitable. The southwest boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was one of the prominent causes of the trouble. It was in dispute and much jealousy was manifested on both sides. Each power claimed Red river, and with it Spain claimed a great deal more. She had previously asserted her dominion to the northeast of the Arkansas over the plains to an undetermined distance, and to the north of it here along the base of the mountains far beyond the site of Denver.

The United States expected to make the Red river part of the southwestern boundary, as it did become when the quarrel was settled by the treaty of 1819; and in May, 1806, had dispatched the "exploring expedition of Red river," a small force under the command of Captain Sparks, instructed to ascend the river "to the country of the Pawnee Indians." There he was to buy horses from the Pawnees, to be used in transporting his men and effects "to the top of the mountains," considered to be distant about three hundred miles. The party was met while on the Red river by one of the Spanish commands then guarding their frontier, which largely outnumbered the Americans, which fact and the probability of a collision, induced the latter to turn back.

Because of these strained relations and in consequence of the desire to avoid imperilling Pike's expedition, and to prevent Spanish protests against it, there was some diplomacy employed in organizing and dispatching it, and the publicly announced purpose of the enterprise was made to appear somewhat different from the alleged ultimate purpose had in view—that of learning something definite of the geography of the southwestern part of "Louisiana." However, the Spanish authorities were apprised of the objects of the undertaking before Pike left St. Louis. Of this he says in a foot-note in his "Account:"

"I was fitting out my expedition from St. Louis, when some of the Spanish emissaries in that country transmitted the information to Major Merior, and the Spanish consul at that place, who immediately forwarded the information to Captain Sebastian Roderiques, the then commandant at Nacogdoches, who forwarded it to Colonel Cordero, by whom it was transmitted to the seat of government. This information was personally communicated to me, as an instance of the rapid means they possessed of conveying intelligence relative to the occurrences transacting on our frontier."

At this time there was at St. Louis a considerable party of Osage Indians of both sexes and all ages, who had been taken prisoners by their hereditary enemies, the Pottawatomies from east of the Mississippi. They had been rescued from their captors by some United States troops, and to convoy them to their people in the Osage country, was one of the nominal purposes of Pike's expedition—"the primary object," as General Wilkinson puts it. They were the "passengers" mentioned in Wilkinson's order which appears herein a little further along. In addition to these captives, there were several Osage chieftains who had been to Washington on a visit to their new Great Father, and who were also to go to their tribes with Pike's company.

Zebulon M. Pike.
(From the steel engraving in his "Account," etc.)

After the conspiracy of Aaron Burr was exposed, many of the American people associated Pike's expedition with it and asserted that it was a part and parcel of it. To this day the reasons for that belief have not been wholly dispelled; that is to say, certain peculiar circumstances connected with it, which need not be considered here, have not been relieved from suspicion. The expedition was not undertaken by order of the President, nor of the Secretary of War, but by that of General James Wilkinson, the commander of the army. Wilkinson's relations with Burr, as later revealed, made his every act at that time a suspicious one in the minds of the people; and his order to Pike to proceed to the far southwest part of Louisiana Territory, in connection with collateral circumstances, appeared to make the enterprise a movement in the interest of the conspiracy.

Pike, upon his return vehemently denounced, as absolutely untrue, these calumnies upon himself; and it is certain, that no matter what assumed grounds there were for them, he was personally ignorant of their cause and innocent of any wrong intent. One of the accusations was that Pike's expedition was intended to precipitate a conflict with New Spain in Burr's interest, but the smallness of Pike's force makes such a purpose highly improbable. He was a deeply and sincerely patriotic man, and his integrity and fidelity were of the loftiest character. He did no more than obey the orders he received from his commander.

The following is General Wilkinson's order to Pike, in full, and the reader will observe that it enjoins upon the explorer a wide range of duties:

"To Lieutenant Z. M. Pike.

"St. Louis, June 24th, 1806."

"Sir,"

"YOU are to proceed without delay to the cantonment on the Missouri, where you are to embark the late Osage captives, and the deputation recently returned from Washington, with their presents and baggage, and are to transport the whole up the Missouri and Osage rivers to the town of the Grand Osage. The safe delivery of this charge at the point of destination constitutes the primary object of your expedition, and therefore you are to move with such caution as may prevent surprise from any hostile band, and are to repel with your utmost force any outrage which may be attempted. Having safely deposited your passengers and their property, you are to turn your attention to the accomplishment of a perfect peace between the Kansas and Osage nations, for which purpose you must effect a meeting between the head chiefs of those nations, and are to employ such arguments, deduced from their own obvious interests, as well as the inclinations, desires, and commands of the President of the United States, as may facilitate your purpose and accomplish the end. A third object of considerable magnitude will then claim your attention; it is to effect an interview, and establish a good understanding with the Ietons or Camanches. For this purpose you must interest White Hair of the Grand Osage, with whom and a suitable delegation, you will visit the Pawnee Republic, where you may find interpreters and inform yourself of the most feasible plan by which to bring the Camanches to a conference. Should you succeed in this attempt, and no pains must be spared to effect it, you will endeavor to make peace between that distant and powerful nation and the nations which inhabit the country between us and them, particularly the Osage; and finally you will endeavor to induce eight or ten of their distinguished chiefs to make a visit to the seat of government next September, and you may attach to this delegation four or five Pawnees, and the same number of Kansas chiefs. As your interview with the Camanches will probably lead you to the head branches of the Arkansaw and Red rivers, you may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and therefore it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection, to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitering parties from that province, and to prevent alarm or offense, because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment; and, moreover, it is the desire of the President to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, and particularly our nearest neighbors, the Spaniards."

"In the course of your tour you are to remark particularly upon the geographical structure, the natural history, and population of the country through which you may pass, taking particular care to collect and preserve specimens of everything curious in the mineral and botanical worlds, which can be preserved and are portable. Let your courses be regulated by your compass, and your distances by your watch, to be noted in a field book; and I would advise you, when circumstances permit, to protract and lay down in a separate book the march of a day at every evening's halt."

"The instruments which I have furnished will enable you to ascertain the variations of the magnetic needle, and the latitude, with exactness; and at every remarkable point I wish you to employ your telescope in observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, having previously regulated and adjusted your watch by your quadrant, taking care to note with great nicety the periods of immersion and emersion of the eclipsed satellite. These observations may enable us after your return, by application to the appropriate tables, which I cannot now furnish you, to ascertain the longitude. It is an object of much interest with the executive to ascertain the direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red rivers; as far, therefore, as may be compatible with these instructions, and practicable to the means you may command, I wish you to carry your views to those subjects, and should circumstances conspire to favor the enterprise, you may detach a party with a few Osages to descend the Arkansaw, under the orders of Lieutenant Wilkinson or Sergeant Ballinger, properly instructed and equipped to take the courses and distances, to remark on the soil, timber, etc., and to note the tributary streams. The party will, after reaching our post on the Arkansaw, descend to Fort Adams, and there wait further orders. And you yourself may descend the Red river, accompanied by a party of the most respectable Camanches, to the post of Natchitoches, and there receive further orders. To disburse your necessary expenses, and to aid your negotiations, you are herewith furnished six hundred dollars' worth of goods, for the appropriations of which you are to render a short account, vouched by documents to be attested by one of your party. Wishing you a safe and successful expedition,"

"I am, Sir, with much respect and esteem,
Your very obedient servant,"
(Signed) "JAMES WILKINSON."

Besides obtaining "such geographical knowledge of the southwestern boundary of Louisiana, as to enable the government to enter into a definite arrangement for a line of demarkation between that territory and North Mexico," Pike recorded in his diary that his further object was to "obtain information founded on scientific pursuits, and with a view of entering into a chain of philanthropic arrangements for ameliorating the condition of the Indians who inhabit those vast plains and deserts."

In an official report, made by Pike immediately after his return in 1807, he gives the names of all the members of his party when it started on the journey. In other official records of the expedition Pike figures as a Lieutenant, but in his roster he attaches the rank of Captain to his name. In his language his company "consisted of the following persons, to wit:"

Captain Z. M. Pike,
*Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson,
Doctor John H. Robinson,
Sergeants* Joseph Ballenger
and† William E. Meek;
Corporal† Jeremiah Jackson,
Privates
*John Boley,
Henry Kennerman.
*Samuel Bradley,
John Brown,
†Jacob Carter,
†Thomas Dougherty,
William Gordon,
*Solomon Huddleston,
Theodore Miller,
Hugh Menaugh,
†John Mountjoy,
Alexander Roy,
†John Sparks,
†Patrick Smith,
Freegift Stout,
*John Wilson,
Interpreter, Baroney Vasquez.

"*Those marked thus descended the Arkansas river, and arrived at New Orleans about the —— of February, 1807. †Those marked thus are still detained in New Spain. The remainder arrived at Nachitoches on or about the 1st of July 1807; but it may probably be better to leave the whole time undefined, to be regulated by the honorable secretary of war."

"Z. M. PIKE, Major."

Pike left St. Louis on July 11, 1806, and went to Belle Fontaine, a small cantonment or military post on the Missouri river near its mouth. From this point, in the afternoon of July 15, he and his command, accompanied by fifty-one Indians, started up the Missouri river in boats—the beginning of the long and memorable journey.

The assemblage proceeded up the Missouri to the Osage and thence by that stream to the point nearest the Osage town, where the company left the river and went by land west the short distance to the town, having been six weeks on this part of the journey. The captives were received by their people with many demonstrations of rejoicing over the chagrin the Pottawatomies must have felt for having been deprived of the pleasure of burning them at the stake.

Here at the "Grand Osage" Pike procured horses which he loaded with his equipment, provisions and presents, and started across the country. The incidents of his journey there and his dealings with the Indian tribes he encountered, are not essential to the purposes of this narrative, and will be passed over. He met with no resistance nor hostility from the Indians, nor with any adventures of great importance. He describes the plains he traversed as having been "black with buffalo."

Pike reached the Arkansas river at a point near the Pawnee fork on October 27, 1806. Here he detached from his small command Lieutenant Wilkinson and five privates to make a reconnoissance to the mouth of the Arkansas, which was successfully accomplished, as suggested in the foregoing extract from his report.

Pike now crossed the Arkansas with the remainder of his party and proceeded westward along the southern bank of the stream. He was on territory which the Spaniards vehemently claimed as their own. At this time, in consequence of advices from St. Louis, the Spanish authorities had a detachment of troops scouring the country down there in search of the party of Americans. Pike had not gone far along the river until he came upon one of their camping places, and he kept coming upon them in every day's march, the command apparently being but a few days ahead of him. But the Spaniards did not find him in that part of his journey, and we may dismiss them for the present. Pike went forward with much caution toward the great mountains of the west, still on the south side of the river, notwithstanding an agreement made that same year between the United States and Spain that pending a final definition of boundary lines down there, parties from either side should keep away from the debatable territory of the other.

In the afternoon of November 15th Pike noticed in the distant horizon what he first thought was a small cloud. In his "Account" he says of this:

"At two o'clock in the afternoon I thought I could distinguish a mountain to our right, which appeared like a small, blue cloud. Viewed it with the spy-glass, and was still more confirmed in my conjecture, yet only communicated it to Dr. Robinson, who was in front with me; but in half an hour, they appeared in full view in front of us. When our small party arrived on the hill, they with one accord gave three cheers for the Mexican mountains."

The party eagerly moved forward, but the mountains appeared to be as far away as ever. Under date of November 17th Pike thus records, an experience which has puzzled many a traveler since his time:

"Marched at our usual hour, pushed with an idea of arriving at the mountains; but found at night no visible difference in their appearance from what we did yesterday."

On November 23rd, Pike arrived at the mouth of a small tributary of the Arkansas—the St. Charles, or San Carlos—and went into camp, still on the south side of the larger stream. The next day he built a rude fortification or log breastwork which he says was "five feet high on three sides, and the other was thrown upon the river." This was undoubtedly the first structure reared by Americans in what is now Colorado. Pike had named the cloud-like eminence which first attracted his attention the "Grand Peak," though it now bears his own familiar name.

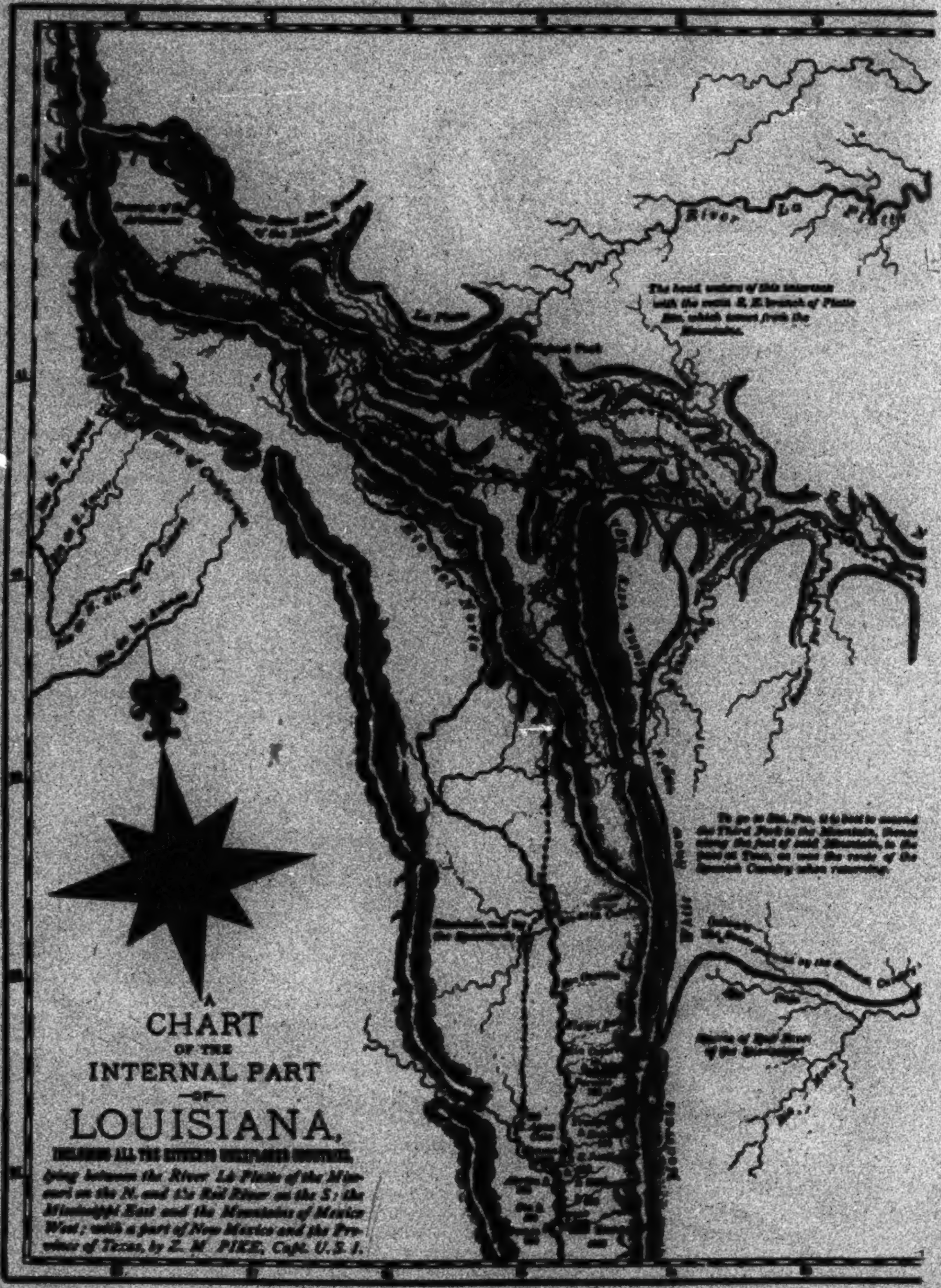
On November 24, after completing the "fort" and leaving a portion of his company to guard it and the supplies, Pike crossed the Arkansas and proceeded in a northwesterly direction toward the peak, expecting to reach it that day, but got only one-third of the way to it. Under date of November 25, he recorded:

"Marched early with expectation of ascending the mountain, but was only able to camp at its base, after passing over many small hills, covered with cedars and pitch pines."

They had reached the eastern ridge of the Colorado ranges, and the cold and snows of winter were now upon them. But, instead of having camped at the base of the great peak, they were at the base of Cheyenne mountain in front of it, and that mountain's base was about thirty-five miles from their "fort." The next day, the 26th, they commenced climbing the Cheyenne, supposing they were on the way to the top of the "Grand Peak." Of this day's experience Pike says:

"Expecting to return to our camp that evening we left all our blankets and provisions at the foot of the mountain. We commenced climbing up rocks, sometimes almost perpendicular; and after marching all day we encamped in a cave without blankets, victuals, or water."

The following day they reached the summit of Cheyenne and Pike was astonished when he found that he was not on the "Grand Peak," and that that lofty elevation was still some distance away. Of the prospect and conditions surrounding them he made the following record on November 27th:


River La Platte
A CHART
OF THE
INTERNAL PART
OF
LOUISIANA,
INCLUDING ALL THE HITHERTO UNEXPLORED COUNTRIES,
lying between the River La Platte of the Missouri on the N. and the Red River on the S.; the Mississippi East and the Mountains of Mexico West; with a part of New Mexico and the Province of Texas, by Z. M PIKE, Capt. U.S.I.

Western Part of Pike's Map.
(Dotted line indicates his wanderings in the Colorado Mountains; crosses marking his camping places. Small circles along Arkansas River mark camping places of Spanish cavalry.)

"Arose hungry and dry, and extremely sore from the inequality of the rocks on which we had lain all night, but were amply compensated for the toil by the sublimity of the prospect below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds, which appeared like the ocean in a storm—wave piled on wave, and foaming, while the sky was perfectly clear where we were. Commenced our march up the mountain, and in about one hour arrived at the summit of this chain. Here we found snow

> middle deep; no sign of beast or bird inhabiting the region. The thermometer, which stood at nine degrees above zero at the foot of the mountains, here fell to four below. The summit of the Grand Peak, which was entirely bare of vegetation, and covered with snow, now appeared at the distance of fifteen or sixteen miles from us, and as high again as what we had ascended, and would have taken a whole day's march to arrive at its base, where, I believe, no human being could have ascended to its pinnacle."

Abandoning his intention to ascend the "Grand Peak" Pike and his companions started back to their "fort" on the San Carlos which they reached on the 29th, after two days' march.

The party left their "fort" at the mouth of the San Carlos on November 30th, and proceeded up the Arkansas, crossing to the north side of the river on December 2d. The weather turned very cold, and the men suffered severely. Pike says, under dates of December 1st and 3d, respectively:

> "The storm still continuing with violence we remained encamped; the snow was one foot deep. Our horses were obliged to scrape away the snow to obtain their miserable pittance, and to increase their misfortunes, the poor animals were attacked by magpies, who, attracted by the scent of their sore backs, alighted on them, and in defiance of their wincing and kicking, pecked many places quite raw. The difficulty of procuring food rendered these birds so bold as to light on our men's arms, and eat out of their hands."
>
> "The hardships of my last voyage now began to be again experienced, and had the climate been as severe as that to which I was then exposed, some of the men must have perished, for they had no winter clothing. I wore myself cotton overalls, for I had not calculated on being out at this inclement season of the year."

Nevertheless he went on that cold and stormy 3d of December and measured the "Grand Peak's" altitude. Of this he says:

> "Dr. Robinson and myself went out and took the altitude of the north mountain, on the base of a mile. * * * * The perpendicular height of the mountain, from the level of the prairie, was 10,581 feet, and admitting the prairie was 8,000 feet from the level of the sea, it would make the altitude of this peak 18,581 feet."

Both these elevations, as later ascertained, were much exaggerated, but wholly without intention. The error was more than three thousand feet. Pike was really not the discoverer of the peak. It had long been known by the Spaniards and, of course, by the Indians. Of this he says:

> "The mountain was so remarkable as to be known to all the savage nations for hundreds of miles around, and to be spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards of New Mexico, and was the bounds of their travels to the N. W. In our wanderings in the mountains from the 14th November to the 27th January, it was never out of our sight, except when we were in a valley."

While in that region Pike does not appear to have discovered the soda springs, as he does not mention them. He notes some springs which he says were "very strongly sulphurated," but says nothing of the "fontaines-qui-bouille."

From early in December, until the 5th of January, 1807, the party was almost aimlessly wandering around in the mountains, part of the time looking for traces of the Spanish force which was looking for them, and occasionally encountering their trail. The party became scattered, provisions gave out and, owing to the adverse chances of hunting, was, upon several occasions, without food for as long as two days. They were looking, also, for the Red river—which none of them found—down which they expected to return to the east. One of the small parties, coming unexpectedly upon the Arkansas again, took it to be the Red and cut the name of that stream in the rocks on the bank.

Pike had been charged with the discovery of the sources of the Red river, and during these four weeks, with the few of his now scattered command that were in his fraction of the party, he moved northward into the South Park region along or near the present traveled route until he came to a stream some forty yards in width, flowing northeast. This was the south fork of the South Platte, though Pike does not appear to have known what it was. He crossed it on December 13th and went ahead northwestward until he came to another stream, about seventy-five feet wide which "ran with great rapidity, and was filled with rocks." This stream, which he reached December 18th, he at first thought to be the Red river, but later concluded it was what we now know as the Yellowstone, and mapped and named it the "Pierre Juannor." It was one of the several mountain branches of the South Platte river.

Pike had only the exceedingly limited geographical knowledge of his time concerning the great west, none of which with relation to the Rocky Mountains region amounted to anything, and floundering around in the snow covered mountains and snow-drifted canons did not add rapidly to his store, nor was his failure to find the Red any discredit to him. In most of the localities he traversed that December he and his men were the first Americans who had set foot. While in the South Park he discovered that both white men and Indians with large numbers of horses, had very recently been there. Later, while at Santa Fe he learned something about who they were, but at that time this circumstance caused him some uneasiness. He appears to have anticipated that he would not be the gainer by falling in with the Spanish force with which he was playing a kind of hide-and-seek game.

However, on the 9th of January the party was re-united and back at the site of the camp of December 10th, from which it had separated into small groups on that day. Of this the leader says:

"The whole party was once more joined together, when we felt comparatively happy, notwithstanding the great mortifications I felt at being so egregiously deceived as to the Red river."

Pike now decided to build there "a small place for defense and deposit, and leave part of the baggage, horses, my interpreter and one man; and with the remainder, with our packs of Indian presents, ammunition, tools, etc., on our backs, to cross the mountains on foot, find the Red river, and then send back a detachment to conduct the horses and baggage after us." Accordingly "some were put to constructing block-houses, some to hunting," and otherwise preparing to carry out the new plan. This post was built on the north bank of the Arkansas river, a short distance below the mouth of Grape creek, and not far from the present site of Canon City.

On the 14th of January Pike started across the mountains, "our party, consisting of eleven soldiers, the Doctor, and myself, each of us carrying forty-five pounds, and as much provisions as he thought proper; which, with arms, etc., made on an average seventy pounds, leaving Baroney and one man, Patrick Smith, behind." They proceeded up the Wet Mountain valley or canon, and there in mid-winter, with neither clothing nor provisions sufficient to the conditions they encountered, had a hard time of it. Some of the men disabled by badly frosted feet, gave out, and Pike was compelled to leave them along the way in improvised shelters and with such provisions as could be spared, while he and the others pressed forward. He kept on up to the summit of the Sangre De Christo range where the San Luis Park and the Rio Grande lay before him down below; and Pike firmly believed he had found the Red river.

He descended to the valley and proceeded along the base of the mountains until he struck the Rio Grande where it sweeps inward toward them, and not far from the present site of Alamosa. Crossing that river he proceeded southward to the Conejos which he also crossed and went into camp on its southward bank at a point about five miles from its confluence with the Rio Grande, where Pike expected to remain until his scattered men could be re-united, and where he built another of his "forts"; its site having been on the present ranch of former Governor McIntire. The party reached this place on January 31st, most of the men in bad condition from frost-bites, exposure, fatigue from their long, rough journey with heavy burdens, and from hunger; for, while the place was alive with game, but few had been physically able to go hunting, and those who were, had a remarkable run of "bad luck."

Nevertheless, Lieutenant Pike was a firm believer in the maintenance of discipline. On one of the closing stages of this part of the journey where "the snow became so deep as to render it impossible to proceed," one of the men gave vent to his feelings. "It was," says Pike, "the first time I heard a man express himself in a seditious manner. One had exclaimed, 'that it was more than human nature could bear to march three days without sustenance, through snows three feet deep, and carry burdens fit only for horses.' As I knew very well the fidelity and attachment of the majority of the men, and even of this poor fellow, only he could not endure fasting, and that it was in my power to chastise him when I thought proper, I passed it over for the moment, determined to notice it at a more auspicious time."

The Doctor and Pike managed to kill a buffalo that evening before they made camp, "to the joy of our brave lads, who immediately feasted sumptuously." After the feast Private Brown received the attention of his commander for his previous expression of dissatisfaction with some features of the excursion. We quote from Pike:

> "After our repast I sent for the man who had presumed to speak discontentedly during the day, and addressed him as follows:
>
> 'Brown, you this day presumed to make use of language which was seditious and mutinous; I then passed it over, pitying your situation and attributing your conduct to your distress, rather than your inclination to sow discontent amongst the party. Had I reserved provisions for ourselves, whilst you were starving; had we been marching along light and at our ease, whilst you were weighed down with your burden, then you would have had some pretext for your observations; but when we were equally hungry, weary, emaciated and charged with burdens which I believe my natural strength is less able to bear than any man's in the party; when we are always foremost in breaking the road, reconnoitering and enduring the fatigues of the chase, it was the height of ingratitude in you to let an expression escape which was indicative of discontent. Your ready compliance and firm perseverance I had reason to expect, as the leader of men who are my companions in misery and danger. But your duty as a soldier called on your obedience to your officer, and prohibition of such language, which for this time I will pardon; but I assure you, should it ever be repeated, by instant death will I revenge your ingratitude and punish your disobedience. I take this opportunity likewise to express to you, soldiers, generally, my thanks for your obedience, perseverance, and ready contempt of every danger, which you have in common evinced; and assure you nothing shall be wanting on my part to procure you the rewards of our government and the gratitude of your countrymen.'
>
> "They all appeared very much affected, and retired with assurances of perseverance in their duty."

We quote this to show the determined character of Pike rather than for any importance the incident possesses. However, and perhaps in defiance of the need for discipline in military affairs, the sympathies of the commiserating reader will probably go out to poor Private Brown, and find some justification for his discontent.

Pike built his "fort" there on the north bank of the Conejos—which he enters on his map as the "Rio de la Culebra." The structure was to serve him until he was prepared to begin his descent to the Mississippi by way of the Red river which he supposed the Rio Grande to be. He describes it thus:

> "The stockade from the center of the angles of the bastions was thirty-six feet square. There were heavy cottonwood logs about two feet in diameter, laid up all around about six feet, after which lighter ones until we made it twelve feet in height. * * Lastly, we had dug a ditch around the whole four feet wide, and let the water into it; the earth taken out being thrown against the work, formed an excellent rampart against small arms, three or four feet high. * * Thus fortified, I should not have had the least hesitation in putting the hundred Spanish horse at defiance until the first and second night, and then to have made our escape under cover of darkness; or made a sally and dispersed them, when resting under the full confidence of our being panic struck by their numbers and force."

Pike ran up his flag over his "fort," and his account is the first record of it having floated over any of the soil now included in the limits of Colorado.

On February 7th Dr. Robinson left the party and set out alone for Santa Fe; "having," as Pike puts it, "some pecuniary demands on the Province of New Mexico, conceived this to be the most eligible point for him to set out from, in order to return previously to all my party having joined me from the Arkansaw, and before I could be prepared to descend to Natchotoches." The "pecuniary demands" were the claims against La Lande, which Pike also endeavored afterward to collect while a semi-prisoner at Santa Fe. On this same day Pike "dispatched Corporal Jackson with four men to recross the mountains, in order to bring in the baggage left with the frozen men, and to see if they were yet able to proceed."

Pike now had but four men with him on the Conejos "thinking we were on the Red river, and of course in the territory claimed by the United States."

On the 16th of February two Spanish cavalrymen who were scouting around looking for the party, came to the "fort," and after being kept over night went away again without having caused their host any trouble. On the 17th the Corporal and three of the men arrived, and two more came in the next day. Two of those left on the trail were unable to travel. Pike says:

> "They sent on to me some of the bones taken out of their feet, and conjured me by all that was sacred, not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world. Oh! little did they know my heart if they could suspect me of conduct so ungenerous! No, before they should have been left I would for months have carried the end of a litter."

Pike immediately sent two men back over the long journey to the old camp on the Arkansas where two men, the horses and supplies had been left, with orders to bring everything across to the Conejos and to pick up the disabled men as they came along.

On the 26th of February a troop of one hundred Spanish cavalry made its appearance at the "fort" and took charge of the expedition. There was no conflict over the change of jurisdiction. We quote again:

> "The commanding officer addressed me as follows: 'Sir, the Governor of New Mexico, being informed that you had missed your route, ordered me to offer you in his name, horses, mules, money, or whatever you may stand in need of, to conduct you to the head of Red river; as from Santa Fe, to where it is sometimes navigable, is eight days' journey, and we have guides and the routes of the traders to conduct us.'"
>
> "'What,' interrupted I, 'is not this the Red river?' 'No, sir, it is the Rio del Norte.' I immediately ordered my flag to be taken down and rolled up, feeling how sensibly I had committed myself in entering their territory, and was conscious that they must have positive orders to take me in."

So ended the notable expedition of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike. Leaving two of his men and a squad of the Spanish cavalry to await the arrival of those who were still behind on the trail, Pike and the rest set out for Santa Fe that day, escorted by their polite captors. Pike was courteously received and hospitably entertained by Governor Alencaster, the Spanish Executive for New Mexico, but felt that he was a prisoner. We shall not undertake a narrative in detail of his subsequent experiences down there. From Santa Fe he and part of his men were sent to El Paso, and from there to Chihuahua. Then they were taken northeastward through Mexico—with assurances all the time that they would be escorted safely to the American frontier—up through what is now Texas to the Spanish post Nacogdoches, whence they passed across to Natchitoches on the Red river, and in what was then Orleans Territory, which they reached on July 1, 1807.

Pike was well treated, and his detention was marked more by courtesies due a guest than harshness often shown a prisoner. But many of his valuable papers were lost, or retained by the Spaniards, and whatever were the motives of his superior in ordering him to the undertaking, it would seem to have resulted in nothing of great consequence. For some time afterward it was the subject for acrimonious discussion, and some circumstances associated with it were never cleared from the taint of suspicion. However, these things became reminiscences when the second war with England engaged the attention of the Nation.

The exact route Pike followed from his block house on the Arkansas across the Sangre De Christo Mountains is difficult to certainly identify. His original geographical notes having been lost after he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, his map was drawn partly from the entries in his diary, and partly from rough Spanish maps which he adapted to the purpose. His maps shows his route to have been up the Wet Mountain valley. Whether the pass by which he crossed the summit was the Mosca or the Modena—the latter also known as the "Sandhill," or whether it was one still farther north, is not certainly known. The Mosca was frequently followed by the Southern Utes before and after Pike's time on their visits to the plains, and their "hieroglyphics," of which Pike speaks, were to be seen cut in the trees. But as Pike, after reaching the San Luis valley, went for some distance between the mountains and the sand dunes on his march southward, it would seem that he went through the Modena pass. But, according to old Spanish and Mexican accounts, the capturing party understood that Pike crossed by what is now known as the Sangre-de-Christo pass.

Pike's report on the physical character of the country was generally favorable. Of the beautiful San Luis Park he said:

> "From a high hill south of our camp we had a view of all the prairie and rivers to the north of us. It was, at the same time, one of the most sublime and beautiful inland prospects ever presented to the eyes of man. The prairie, lying nearly north and south, was probably sixty miles by forty-five. The main river, bursting out of the western mountain, and meeting from the northeast a large branch which divides the chain of mountains, proceeds down the prairie, making many large and beautiful islands, one of which I judge contains 10,000 acres of land, all meadow ground, covered with innumerable herds of deer. In short, this view combined the sublime and beautiful. The great and lofty mountains, covered with eternal snows, seemed to surround the luxuriant vale, crowned with perennial flowers, like a terrestrial paradise shut out from the view of man."

Of the country east of the Rocky Mountains down to the Mississippi, he recorded these opinions:

> "In the western traverse of Louisiana the following general observations may be made, viz: That from the Missouri to the head of the Osage River, a distance in a straight line of probably three hundred miles, the country will admit of a numerous, extensive and compact population. From thence, on the Rivers Kanzes, La Platte, Arkansaw, and their various branches, it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population on their banks."

He then recounts most intelligently the value of the great plains for stock-raising, mentions the disadvantages to result from the lack of timber, and goes on to say:

> "But from these immense prairies may rise one great advantage to the United States, viz: The restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the Union; our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers, will through necessity be constrained to limit their extent in the West to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country."

Notwithstanding the instructions from General Wilkinson that he should "collect and preserve everything curious in the mineral and botanical worlds," the possibility of the "Grand Peak" region containing gold or silver does not appear to have suggested itself to Pike while he was in it, and he gave none of his time and attention to such matters; nor does he seem to have regarded Pursley's story afterward told him as of any great significance or consequence. He mentions it more as an incident of his journey than as a discovery that it might be well to investigate; and when his report was published the incident occasioned little public comment.

For its time Pike's expedition was a great undertaking, and called for intrepidity and endurance. While in United States territory he encountered no white men, the hunters and trappers not yet having established themselves in the region. The Indians do not appear to have given the party any trouble.

Pike was the son of Zebulon Pike, of New Jersey, a Revolutionary officer, and was born at Lamberton, near Trenton, New Jersey, January 5, 1779. His father continued in military service, and the son at the age of twenty became an Ensign in his father's company. He was afterward, at the age of twenty-six, made a Lieutenant, and when he started on his noted expedition was serving under General Wilkinson, with headquarters at St. Louis.

In recognition of his services, Pike was promoted to be a Major in the United States army, after his return. In later years when the facts of his expedition became generally known the great mountain which he called the "Grand Peak" became by common consent and popular approval "Pike's Peak." When Fremont came to the mountains he found the frontier people calling it "Pike's Peak," notwithstanding that it had in the meantime been designated as "James' Peak."

Major Pike served capably in the first and second years of the war of 1812 with England, and by promotions through various gradations became a Brigadier General, March 12, 1813. He was with General Henry Dearborn who was in command of the American forces which invested and captured York (now Toronto,) Upper Canada, in that year; and at that place, in action, lost his life by the explosion of a powder magazine.

His narrative of his expedition to the sources of the Mississippi, and of this more trying one to the Rocky Mountains, bears, after the quaint fashion of his time, the long title: "An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and through the Western part of Louisiana [etc.] in the years 1805, 1806 and 1807." It is one of the notable narratives of explorations made in the early years of that century.

CHAPTER XIV.

Long's Exploring Expedition—Its Arrival at the Mountains—Passing the Site of Denver—At the "Grand Peak"—Return Homeward—Adverse Impressions Arising from Reports of the Expedition—Bonneville's Expedition—Fremont's Celebrated Expeditions—Disasters that Befell the Fourth—Subsequent Military and Other Expeditions Into the Rocky Mountains—Frontier Military Posts.

After the Spanish treaty of 1819 ceding Florida to the United States and defining the Spanish boundaries here in the west-southwest had been agreed upon at Washington, the third exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountain country, under official auspices, was organized by John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War. It was more complete in its preparations and equipment than either of the preceding ones, and in the company were several army officers, a contingent of naturalists, botanists, topographers and geologists, pieced out with one corporal, and six privates of the United States army, a couple of French Canadian frontiersmen, and several other civilian employees.

It was commanded by Major Stephen H. Long, of the United States army, and with him were Major Biddle, Lieutenant J. D. Graham, and Cadet W. H. Swift. Among the professional contingent were Dr. Baldwin, Dr. Thomas Day, and Dr. E. James who became the historian of the enterprise and was also a botanist. The purposes of the expedition were to explore the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri, then the Missouri and its main tributaries, and finally the country of the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red rivers so as to learn something definite about the region on our side of the newly-established Spanish boundary line.

The expedition left Pittsburgh on a steamboat, May 30, 1819, voyaging down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. The operations of the party during the summer months are not of consequence in this account, and may be omitted here. In the autumn the expedition had reached a point on the Missouri about twenty-five miles north of the mouth of the Platte river, which was called Council Bluffs, but it was not at the later site of the Iowa city of that name, being some fifteen miles farther up, and on the Nebraska side. The place was later occupied by old Fort Calhoun. There the company made quarters for the winter and stayed until the following spring, in the meantime making friendly acquaintance with the Indians and learning what could be learned of the western country from them, as it had been deemed inexpedient to attempt even the preliminary stages of the journey across the plains with winter coming on. The Indians near their encampment regarded the proposed enterprise as a most hazardous one and predicted every kind of misfortune for it.

The spring of 1820 was what is called a "late" one, and it was not until the 6th of June that Major Long left his winter encampment and started across the plains. He proceeded to the Platte river which he followed westward by easy stages to its great forks and then turned off this way along the South Platte; and by midsummer was nearing the site of Denver. The first view these people had of the magnificent mountain ranges was on June 30th, in the morning of a most beautiful day. Long's Peak, or the one that was soon named for the commander, was ahead of them, and far to the southward the snowy summit of Pike's "Grand Peak" glistened in the rays of the morning sun.

On the 3d of July the company went into camp on the bank of the South Platte, opposite the mouth of the Cache-a-la-Poudre river. The great peak to the west of them and which was the first they had observed from the plains, holding its whitened head in the clouds, was then named in honor of Major Long. In his report Long says the South Platte's tributary opposite the mouth of which he made camp, was then called the "Pateros" in remembrance "of a Frenchman of that name who is said to have been bewildered upon it, wandering about for twenty days, almost without food. He was found by a band of Kiowas who frequent this part of the country, and restored to his companions, a party of hunters at that time camping on the Arkansas." The identity of that Frenchman was never ascertained.

From the "Pateros" the company moved up the South Platte, and on the 5th of July went into camp at the place which subsequently became the site of Fort Lupton—a trading post. Up to this time no attempt had been made to approach nearer to Long's Peak, but now Dr. James and several others of the party started toward it. They were as much surprised as Pike had been by his similar experience, for, after tramping a half day, they seemed but little nearer its base than when they started; so they went back to camp, and the peak was left unexplored.

They left the Lupton camp on the 6th of July, continuing up the South Platte, over the ground on which the east side of Denver is built, and on to the mouth of Platte canon where the river breaks away from the mountains. Here they made a brief stop, and then followed Plum creek to the summit of the divide and thence along Monument creek to the Fontaine-qui-Bouille which Long at once named the "Boiling Spring creek," which is simply the English for its present and preferable French name. Passing over to the site of Manitou the company went into camp again.

From this Manitou camp Dr. James and two other members of the party started to ascend the "Grand Peak." They failed to reach its summit, as they encountered a mass of "slide rock" when almost at the top, and could not find a way to get over the obstruction. Upon the return of Dr. James from this adventure Major Long named the peak in his honor. The Doctor then measured its altitude, and assuming a point on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, twenty-five miles below the springs, to be three thousand feet above the sea level, made the peak's height eleven thousand, five hundred and seven feet. He, as will be seen, was in serious error in so greatly underestimating the elevation of his base.

Leaving the Manitou camp the party went on down to the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille where "the Pueblo" was built about twenty years later. Turning up the Arkansas its course was followed to the mineral springs above the site of Canon City where camp was again made. While on the Fontaine and the Arkansas up to their camp, search was made for traces of Pike's visit to the region, but all evidence of his former camping places had disappeared.

On the 19th of July Major Long and his company left the mountains on their homeward journey. They proceeded down along the northward side of the Arkansas river until they came to longitude one hundred degrees, west, which, intersecting the Arkansas, became part of the Spanish boundary. Turning southward and keeping on the American side of the line they passed over to the Red river, down which they made their way to the end of their long and most interesting expedition, without having had any misfortunes, and avoiding all trouble with the Indians through whose countries they had passed.

The Long expedition acquired much valuable geographical and scientific knowledge of the western country, but the official reports growing out of it and the subsequent distorted and exaggerated versions of them given to the public, delayed for years the settlement and development of the great domain between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains. The reports stated that practically everything east of the mountains and nearly to the river in the broad belt between the thirty-ninth and forty-ninth parallels of latitude, was a desert of sand and stones, worthless for agricultural purposes, and having no other value to compensate for that deficiency. The beauty and grandeur of the mountains were extolled, but they were not represented as having any desirable qualities other than those of being grand and beautiful in the pleasant days of summer.

Stephen H. Long. (Photographed in 1862.)

Then followed the distortions and exaggerations. The "Great American Desert," blanking about all the country from the Missouri to the Rockies, appeared on the maps and in the schoolbooks. Imaginative writers wrote weird stories of its desolate aspects, on the basis of the Long reports; and the same documents inspired picture-makers to some most extraordinary performances. The whole country drained by the Missouri, the Platte, the Arkansas, and their tributaries was represented as a hopeless waste, uninhabitable and worthless. The few people who were still sanguine that some good might be found in it, were overwhelmed and silenced by the vast majority which believed that Major Long's scientific expedition, and its scientific observations and conclusions had settled its fate forever.

The unscientific men who came into it later, thought they saw things differently, and bravely went to work on that theory. To this day there are people living along the Atlantic sea-board who inherited the adverse impressions, and are not yet convinced that western folks are not concealing that "desert" for some bad purpose.

Although Major Long named the "Grand Peak" in honor of Dr. James, and that it was so referred to in the official reports, the name did not withstand the popular preference for that of General Pike, by which, after the traders came to the country, it soon became generally known. Dr. James wrote and published an interesting account of the expedition but copies of the four small volumes in which it appeared are now very rare. His memory is still further preserved in another fine peak of the Rockies which was bestowed upon it in later years; and that of Lieutenant Graham, of the Long party, in the name of another lofty eminence in the Colorado ranges. To Major Long a magnificent mountain monument looks down in grandeur over the region of which he formed such mistaken conceptions, and to which he gave, in his official accounts, an undeserved evil reputation that afflicted it for many years. He died in Washington in September, 1864.

In 1832 an expedition fitted out by the American Fur Company was sent to the Rocky Mountains under command of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the United States army, who was granted leave of absence for that purpose. This was more of a commercial prospecting enterprise than of exploration for exploration's sake, though its commander was an enthusiast on the great natural resources he believed the western country possessed. He crossed the plains of Kansas and went to the Platte river which he struck at Grand Island. He followed the Platte by way of the north fork into the mountains and then continued westward. His leave was for eighteen months, but as he was gone three years, he and his party were supposed to have been extinguished by the Indians, and his name was dropped from the army rolls. Captain Bonneville claimed to have been the first man to prove that the great rivers flowing east and west from the Rocky Mountains, had their sources very near together. From Bonneville's account of his expedition Washington Irving derived inspiration and information for one of his interesting volumes.

In 1830 Irving visited the Arkansas river country in company with a large party of hunters which went to Fort Gibson, then a remote frontier army post on the Neosho river, and from there to the Canadian river. But the enterprise was without significance or importance.

After Long's, the United States government sent no more exploring expeditions to the Rocky Mountains until 1842, when the first of the series made by John C. Fremont entered this western country. Fremont's brilliant career covers many pages of National history. At this time he was a Lieutenant of Engineers in the United States army, having been appointed from civil life by President Jackson.

The ostensible purpose of his first expedition was to discover a shorter and better route, than any then known, to the Oregon country; to select locations for a chain of military posts along it, for the protection of the American fur companies from the persistent encroachments of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to encourage American emigration to the Columbia river country, the beginnings of which had already been made, by affording proper military protection along the route.

As an exploring expedition there was, in one sense, not much for it to do, for the whole region had previously been tramped over by the trappers, traders, and adventurers. But Fremont was afterward tremendously exploited throughout the east, and a halo of romantic and perilous adventures was thrown around this and his subsequent achievements. He was called the "Pathfinder," but Kit Carson, who was the chief guide of this and another of Fremont's undertakings, had, as had the other scouts and guides, found the paths years before, and therefore there was little trouble in showing the leader where they were.

But Fremont and his people braved many dangers, and endured great hardships on one of his expeditions, all of which, however, grew out of climatic conditions that should have been avoided. Each of his expeditions was thoroughly organized and as well-equipped as foresight and a liberal appropriation could make it. This first one comprised twenty-two men, most of them experienced frontiersmen. It made no discoveries of importance in Colorado, because it did not go where any had been left to be made.

Fremont departed from St. Louis, going up the Missouri river by boat, to Choteau's Landing, near the mouth of the Kansas river. From that place he started westward on June 10, 1842, proceeding along the south bank of the Kansas several days march, when he crossed to the Blue river, from which he soon diverged northwestward to the Platte, which he reached near Grand Island, and where he halted for several days. From this point he went westward along the Platte until he came to the great forks of the river, where he arrived about the 1st of July.

Here Fremont divided his command, sending the larger portion of it onward to Fort Laramie, then a trading post of the American Fur Company, which had been built in 1834 by William Sublette and Robert Campbell, and which they first called Fort St. John. With the remainder of his command Fremont proceeded up the South Platte, coming within sight of Long's Peak on July 8th, when he was about sixty miles distant from the mountains' base. He continued up the South Platte to St. Vrain's trading post, which was as near as he came to the site of Denver on that expedition, and where he remained three days.

On July 12th he started northward to Fort Laramie, having barely touched what is now Colorado. On the way to Laramie he met "Jim" Bridger, a famous frontiersman, who warned him of the probability of serious trouble with the Indians, and alarmed most of the company; but there was no trouble.

On Fremont's operations in the Laramie region that summer, Bancroft in his "History of Wyoming," makes the following biting comments:

> "He was to connect his explorations with those of Wilkes on the Pacific coast, but did nothing further this year [1842] than to make a summer jaunt to the South Pass, which, being a military officer and not a private citizen, trader, trapper, missionary, immigrant, or what not, he "discovered," naming its altitude and ascending the highest peak in the Wind River range, 13,570 feet, planting thereon the United States flag. This mountain he named Fremont's Peak; and considering that the government paid all the costs, and that he had an experienced mountain-man, Kit Carson, for a guide, it must be admitted that the eternal mountains might be put to nobler use than to perpetuate such achievements."

Old Senator John W. Nesmith, one of Oregon's first pair of United States Senators, in speaking of Fremont's "discovery" of the South Pass to some friends in Washington soon afterward, said the old Oregon and Utah trail through the Pass at the time of the "Pathfinder's" first visit was a roadway as plain and well-defined as Pennsylvania Avenue; that he encountered Fremont in the Pass, and saw the "explorer-discoverer" lolling in a covered ambulance drinking lemonade which his colored attendant prepared for him, and being fanned by the same considerate person.

Fremont returned by way of the North Platte to the Platte, down which he went to the Missouri, and thence to St. Louis, and on to Washington, where he made his report. Not without criticism and objections, he received authority for a second expedition.

This one was organized at Westport Landing, now included in Kansas City, in the spring of 1843, and comprised thirty-nine persons. It was lavishly equipped, and provided with a small piece of artillery. Soon after he had left Westport, an order was issued at St. Louis, recalling him; but his wife, a daughter of Senator Benton, of Missouri, into whose hands it fell, suspecting its purport, prevented it being forwarded to her husband. Fremont proceeded across the plains by way of the Kansas river valley and that of the Republican fork, and thence almost directly west to Fort St. Vrain, along the well-worn trails of the fur companies, arriving at St. Vrain on July 4, 1843.

Soon after he had left Westport Landing Fremont was joined by William Gilpin, our later Territorial Governor of Colorado, who as Fremont states, "intending this year to visit the settlements in Oregon, had been invited to accompany us, and proved a useful and agreeable addition to the party."

On the 6th of July Fremont and his party left St. Vrain and started up the South Platte, observing Pike's Peak, covered with new-fallen snow, on the morning of the 10th. When they came to the mouth of Cherry creek they halted and made camp, several hundred Arapahoe Indians being encamped here at the same time, and receiving the visitors with every mark of friendly Indian hospitality. From here Fremont proceeded up Cherry creek, and crossed over to the Bijou, whence he went to the Fontaine-qui-Bouille and followed that stream to its mouth, where he camped near the old Pueblo, the dwellers in which received him and his company with most hospitable welcome. At the Pueblo, he found Kit Carson who again became his guide and counsellor.

John C. Fremont. (From a civil-war-time photograph.)

From the Pueblo he returned northward along the Fontaine and followed it to the present site of Manitou where he found the famous springs, the waters of which delighted him and all his company. From there Fremont passed into the South Park and on into the North Park, from which he went down to St. Vrain. Leaving St. Vrain he proceeded northward to the North Platte, thence across the mountains, on to Salt Lake and from there to the Columbia river country.

While Fremont and his party were at the "Pueblo" and in the mountains, they, also, searched for some traces of Pike's expedition but saw nothing that could be identified.

In 1844, on his return journey, his course brought him into what is now the northwestern corner of Colorado, through the North Park, which he called "New Park," through the South Park, which he found "alive with buffalo and other game," and down to the Arkansas river, along which he proceeded eastward, reaching St. Louis in the autumn of that year. In recognition of his services in so successfully conducting this expedition, President Tyler advanced him to the rank of Captain of Engineers.

Fremont measured the elevation of the Ute Pass when he passed through it and found it, according to his calculations, to be eleven thousand, two hundred feet. He also measured the height of Pike's Peak, making its altitude fourteen thousand, three hundred feet, which agreed very well with the measurement made by Dr. Parry in 1862, and was but one hundred and twenty-eight feet in excess of the present accepted altitude of fourteen thousand, one hundred and seventy-two feet.

About the only white people Fremont encountered in the Colorado mountains on this expedition were the few remaining traders and trappers and their former employees, some of whom were then trying to be settlers and were living with their Mexican or Indian "wives" and mongrel children, in a most primitive mode of life, usually in rude structures which they proudly called "forts."

In this undertaking, and in those which he afterward set on foot, Fremont was never seriously troubled by the Indians, although several of the tribes were disposed to be hostile in all of those years.

Though much was made of this mountain-crossing achievement of Fremont's well-found expedition, other men had done the same thing before his time, some without special preparations and under the hard conditions of winter. In the first decade of the century two Americans made the passage a little to the south of Fremont's route, the circumstances of their journey appearing in the succeeding chapter. In the dead of the previous winter, that of 1843-44, Rufus B. Sage, an old mountain-man, with a small party of other trappers, crossed from the west on about the same route as this one followed by Fremont. On the Arkansas about thirty miles above the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, and somewhere near the site of Canon City, these men came across a settlement of fifteen or twenty families of white men, Indian squaw mothers, and numerous half-breed children. These expatriated men were not disposed to be friendly with semi-occasional visitors of their own kind and color, and most of them were of the same class as those Fremont encountered in several places along his route.

In the spring of 1845 Fremont set out on his third expedition. This one, like the others, was finely equipped and provided for by the government. The object was to explore the great interior basin west of the Rocky Mountains, and it did not involve any very important work in what is now Colorado. The ulterior purposes back of this and the enterprise of 1843-44 were to learn if a railroad possibly could be built through the Rocky Mountains, an undertaking which was in those years, beginning to be seriously considered. Fremont crossed the plains to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, thence up that stream to its headwaters and across into Utah.

After his return from this third expedition Fremont resigned his position in the army. At that time the people of St. Louis were intensely interested in the probability of a railroad being built across the continent, and were ambitious to have it constructed on a general line due west from that city. Therefore they determined to make a practical survey through these mountains, on their own account. Fremont's services as leader were enlisted and he organized the expedition, the expense of supplying and equipping it being paid by contributions from St. Louis merchants and business men, with a liberal donation from his own private resources.

This fated expedition left St. Louis about the first of October, 1848, crossing the plains on a route farther to the south than those followed by Fremont's previous enterprises, and which brought it to Bent's Fort on the 17th of November. Fremont at once prepared to push forward into the mountains, notwithstanding the warnings of the severe conditions existing even that early in the wintry season, that he received from mountain-men and Indians then at Fort William—"Bent's Fort." But Fremont determined to go on, and after obtaining fresh supplies and additional pack animals there, he left that post with thirty-three men in his company, and one hundred and twenty pack-mules carrying supplies and equipage. He moved up the Arkansas river into the mountains, but instead of Kit Carson, he this time had for a guide, the old trapper, Bill Williams, who joined him at Fort William. Perhaps if he had had Carson the consequences would have been less disastrous, but Williams claimed afterward that his advice and judgment were disregarded by Fremont.

Into the mountains Fremont and his party plunged and were soon floundering in deep snows, with the weather bitterly cold. They crossed the divide and headed to the southwest. On the 19th of December they were, as Fremont afterward stated, "at the north of the Del Norte canon where that river [the Rio Grande] issues from the St. Johns [San Juan] mountains, one of the highest, most rugged and impracticable of all the Rocky Mountain ranges, inaccessible to trappers and hunters, even in the summer time." This in the dead of an unusually cold and stormy winter, with the snow waist-deep almost everywhere.

Losing their way, they had wandered aimlessly around whenever they could do so, trying to find it. Many of the men were badly frozen, pack animals died, and despair settled down on the devoted company storm-bound there in the mountain elevations twelve thousand feet above the sea.

Finally they broke their way out and down to or near to the Rio Grande, with the remnant of their supplies and outfit borne by the few pack-mules that had survived the ordeal, and went into camp at a point believed by many Colorado pioneers to have been well up on what is now known as Embargo creek, an affluent of the Rio Grande a few miles above Wagon Wheel Gap. While it is not certainly known that Fremont's "Camp Starvation" was situated on that creek, it is more than probable that it was. Supplies had run very low by reason of so much of the outfit having been abandoned along the route. Four men volunteered to go to the nearest Mexican settlement for assistance, and started down the valley of the Rio Grande. After waiting for sixteen days and not hearing from them, Fremont and his party started southeastward to search for them. Six days later he came up with three of them, emaciated and almost dead from hunger and exposure. It appeared that the four men had lost their way, consumed the small stock of provisions with which they started, and the leader, named King, had subsequently perished from cold and starvation. His surviving companions were most pitiable looking objects when Fremont found them.

Fremont then determined to push on southeastward to the Mexican settlements, and finally reached Taos, where Kit Carson and his family were then living, and who gave him a warm welcome. The survivors came straggling into Taos for several days after their leader's arrival there, hungry, frost-bitten, and tattered. Eleven of the company of thirty-three that had marched away from Fort William about three months before, had been left dead in the storm-swept mountains; and the trail was littered with the wreckage of abandoned property and frozen carcasses of pack-mules.

Ceran St. Vrain, the frontier trader, was then at Taos on his way from Santa Fe to the Missouri river, and bore away Fremont's famous letter to his wife in which was so eloquently and thrillingly told the story of the party's frightful experience and suffering in the Rocky Mountains in that memorably severe winter of 1848-49.

Fremont went from Taos, accompanied by some of the survivors of his party, through New Mexico and on to California by a route farther to the south than the one on which he had with the utmost difficulty escaped with his life. After his arrival there he became identified with political affairs, with consequences that made him a conspicuous figure in that new land of gold, and which were historic events in the annals of that State and of those of the Nation. He died in Washington July 13, 1890.

Fremont's route after crossing the divide has never been satisfactorily determined. His records made on those stages of his journey were lost in the mountains, and with them went his instruments and other paraphernalia. The party became bewildered so far as definite knowledge of localities was concerned, except that it was known by Fremont to be near the headwaters of the Rio Grande.

The report of a brief interview with a citizen of Monte Vista, in which this obscurity of Fremont's trail was mentioned by him, being printed in the Denver Times in its issue of March 1, 1899, brought the following interesting communication from a gentleman residing at Ouray, and which he thought might throw some light on the obscurity to which we have alluded. This is from the Denver Times, of date March 10, 1899:

"POSSIBLY FREMONT'S CAMP."

"Ouray, Colo., March 3.—To the Editor of The Times:—The statement of H. W. Green, quartermaster at Monte Vista, published in your issue of March 1, that Fremont's route, or camping place that winter would likely never be known, induces me to write you this description of a camp we found seven miles below Ouray on the west side of the Uncompahgre river, and at the mouth of what is now Coal creek, early in the spring of 1876. Built around a circle fifty feet in diameter were six stone fireplaces, the arches of some of them still standing at that time. The spaces between were filled in with logs set on end, the burnt stumps of which were still there, while scattered round were water troughs, feed troughs, camp stools, bowls, etc., hewn out of logs, and many other rough utensils; also quite a number of pieces of iron and woodwork belonging to wagons, such as tires, broken wheels, in fact everything that would belong to a large, well equipped party such as Fremont's. In the mouth of Coal creek we also found a rough rocker, where the party had done some prospecting for gold. If you think this would help throw any light on the matter, use it as you please. Respectfully yours.

JOHN BUCKLEY."

But the fact that Fremont had no wagons with him on that expedition across the mountains, indicates that the camp wreckage observed by Mr. Buckley had been left by some other party, though the wagon relics might have been added by some later visitors to that locality, which is some distance to the west of Wagon Wheel Gap. Captain Gunnison was in that general region on his surveying expedition a few years after Fremont, and this camp may have been one of his. Fremont carried his supplies and equipage into the mountains on pack-mules.

Furthermore, it is possible that this old camp may have been one occupied by Lieutenant J. H. Simpson's expedition. In the years 1846-47-48, at the close of the Mexican war, Simpson made a military reconnoissance out into the west which led him into southwestern Colorado. In his report of this expedition we have the first record of the ruined habitations in that region having been visited by Americans. Simpson moved leisurely on his way, making topographical and geological observations as he proceeded, as collateral additions to the military character of his enterprise. Aside from his observations of some of the less important remains of the Cliff Dwellers' structures, his expedition was without results of much historical value or importance.

Buffalo Hunt by Fremont's Party. (Fremont's Memoirs.)

In 1851-52 the Comanche Indians were troublesome, and in the spring of the last named year a regiment of mounted United States troops under command of Colonel Sanborn was sent to their country to curb their depredations, which were, to a great extent, upon other tribes. Colonel Sanborn proceeded from Fort Leavenworth across to the Santa Fe trail, thence to its Arkansas river crossing. He then followed the river up to the Pueblo, thence up the Fountaine-qui-Bouille to the springs, where he made camp. He had had no encounters with the Comanches, and after a rest in camp started northward, crossing the Platte-Arkansas divide to Cherry creek, and came down here to its mouth where he again made camp for several days. From this point he proceeded northward to Fort Laramie which he reached without noteworthy adventures.

In 1853 Fremont conducted a government survey for a Pacific railroad along the upper Arkansas and practically over the same mountain route on which he had encountered the hardships of that winter 1848-49. He returned from Europe to take charge of this work, and found a practicable line for a railway between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels. The details of this undertaking are not of special interest as a part of this volume.

Under the same Congressional enactment authorizing and directing trans-continental railroad surveys to be made, from the Missouri to the Pacific ocean, another one between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels was entrusted to Captain J. W. Gunnison, of the Topographical Engineers. Captain Gunnison began his work at the mouth of the Kansas river, proceeding westward to Bent's Fort, thence up the Arkansas to the Apishapa and Huerfano affluents, through the Sangre De Christo pass into the San Luis park, through the Saguache valley and Cochetopa pass, down the Gunnison river to its junction with the Grand, and thence westward across Utah to the valley of Sevier lake and river, where he, with several of his party, was murdered, October 26, 1853, by Pah Ute Indians. His survey rendered it obvious that the great depression about the forty-second parallel, traversed by the bulk of the California and Oregon emigration, afforded the better route for a railway.

In 1854, Colonel Steptoe, of the United States army, with three hundred troops passed through the southwestern part of what is now Colorado on his way from New Mexico to Salt Lake, and surveyed portions of the country. He made some efforts at road-building, and some overland mail was afterward carried over his route until the civil war compelled the adoption of the central route for its transmission.

After the founding of Denver the region of the Rocky Mountains was quickly over-run by the gold-hunters, and instead of official exploring expeditions, many official surveys, and scientific researches in detail soon followed. When the professional surveyor put in an appearance with his sections, towns, and ranges, the romance of the former days of exploring and adventure disappeared. Soon after him came the railroad builder; and the topographical engineer and his dependent, the locomotive, are exceedingly practical propositions.

In 1827 the United States government established Fort Leavenworth, an important frontier post, on the west bank of the Missouri river, twenty miles above the mouth of the Kansas river, near where the flourishing city of Leavenworth, Kansas, now stands. For many years Fort Leavenworth was the objective point of much of the plains travel and enterprises, as the city became of similar importance in later years when the rush to Denver was inaugurated. The Fort is still a military post.

In those early days the United States had neither military posts nor forces of any kind in this Colorado country, nor for long afterward. The fearless and adventurous traders, trappers and frontiersmen went ahead on their own account, built their own forts, and depended on themselves for protection from the Indians when the latter took a notion to be hostile, which happened often enough. The fur trade was pursued with such persistence and by so many that in a comparatively few years the valuable fur-bearing animals were almost exterminated. By 1840 the business had dwindled until it had lost most of its former great importance.

In the summer of 1852, the United States established Fort Massachusetts—the first Federal military post in what is now Colorado—on Ute creek at the western base of the Sangre De Christo mountains and in what is now Costilla county; that site having been chosen that raiding bands of Utes might more readily be intercepted. It was occupied until June 24, 1858, when it was dismantled and abandoned; Fort Garland, seven miles farther south, and near the confluence of Ute creek with Trinchera creek, having been built to serve the former purposes of Fort Massachusetts. After the Mexican war Fort Union, to the eastward from Santa Fe, was built and became a permanent military post of the United States. The American Fur Company's old Fort Laramie, far to the north, was bought by the United States in 1849, and troops were immediately stationed there. In the summer of 1858 a detachment of United States troops built in Cheyenne Pass in what is now southeastern Wyoming, a small military post which was called Fort Walbrach. It was of little importance to any one in the Pike's Peak country. To the east there were Forts Riley and Kearney, respectively in what are now eastern Kansas and Nebraska. This was the extent of the military protection in this region for hundreds of miles around the site of Denver, when our pioneers came to the mouth of Cherry creek in 1858.

CHAPTER XV.

Development of the Fur Trade—Early Traders and Trading Posts—Establishments Near the Site of Denver—Santa Fe Trail—Extinction of the Fur Trade—"The Lost Trappers," a Remarkable Story of Western Adventure—Noted Frontiers-Men and Traders—Improvidence of the Trappers—Death of Espinoza.

While it is true that white men, other than the Spaniards who came from the southward, reached the Rocky Mountain country in the region of Denver more than one hundred and sixty years ago, and that others approached it on several occasions within a few years, both before and after that time, it was not until the Nineteenth century was advanced to near its first quarter that occupation of the country, by more or less transitory pioneers, may be said to have begun.

Immediately after the United States acquired the Province of Louisiana, St. Louis became the center of a large trade in the west and southwest. Dealing in furs was the dominant portion of the business, and was the foundation of many large fortunes in that city. In 1805 the Missouri Fur Company was organized there, and in a few years its motley collection of French, American, and Canadian trappers, agents and couriers, two or three hundred in number, spread out over the western country, following the Missouri and its tributaries. Some of the old accounts state that employees of this company went as far as the Rocky mountains before 1810, but whether they came to the locality of Denver, is not known.

Three years after the organization of the Missouri Company, a branch of Astor's Northwest Fur Company was established at St. Louis, but its operations were upon the headwaters of the Missouri, and not in the direction of Denver.

The American Fur Company was another organization that began business about the same time that the Northwest Company did, and its traffic grew to enormous proportions. In later years it had its men in nearly all the territory drained by the Missouri river and its tributaries, including the North Platte and the South Platte country. Most of the trading posts ostensibly owned and operated by individuals, were practically agencies of these fur companies.

Following these enterprises, William H. Ashley, a prominent early citizen of St. Louis, engaged in the fur business in 1822 and continued in it several years. He sent out a force of about three hundred men, and most of his operations were in the Rocky Mountains country, chiefly in the region north of Colorado. It was with this company that "Jim" Bridger and William Sublette, two frontiersmen afterward noted in this region, came to the mountains. In later years, after Ashley's retirement, the business was carried on by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company under the direction of Sublette, and its transactions extended down this way and to the Arkansas river.

Beside Pursley and the few other traders who passed through here in earlier years, mention of whom we have already made, the survivors of a considerable party which first met disaster at the hands of the Indians on the headwaters of the Missouri, came southward past the site of Denver, in 1807. To these men and their adventures we will again briefly refer.

In the year 1812 Robert Stewart, who was identified with the fur trade on the Pacific coast, with two trapper companions named McLellan and Crook, made the long overland journey from the coast to St. Louis. When they were in the Utah basin they met a man named Joseph Miller who was going alone to the mouth of the Columbia river. Miller stated to them that before he entered the mountains from the great plains he encountered some Arapahoe Indians who stole his horses and everything else he had, but considerately spared his life. Stewart and his associates crossed the Rockies by way of the South Pass, but before they got over, a band of Crow Indians came up with them and treated them to the same experience Miller had received at the hands of the Arapahoes. Stewart and his companions escaped from the Crows without bodily harm, made their way down the Platte to the Missouri, and thence to St. Louis.

It was not until after 1820 that the trappers and traders entered what is now Colorado in any considerable numbers and with the view of remaining in the country with some degree of permanence. Aside from those to whom we have referred in a preceding chapter, some wandering Frenchmen and French half-breeds had strayed through this locality, but no definite trading posts or habitations were located until a few years after Long's expedition.

The first traders who established themselves in the region now within the limits of Colorado, were the Bent brothers, of St. Louis; and Ceran St. Vrain, a young French Canadian. There were six of the Bent brothers—John, Charles, William, Robert, George, and Silas, of French Canadian descent. They had been employed almost from boyhood by the American Fur Company, and until they entered the business for themselves. John and Silas were not engaged in it personally here in the west, but remained at St. Louis most of the time. The other four were conspicuous and active men in this part of the country for many years.

In 1826 the Bents and St. Vrain built a primitive trading post on the northward bank of the Arkansas river, about half-way between the present cities of Pueblo and Canon City. It was a rude kind of stockade made by setting heavy stakes or small logs upright in the ground, and within the structure were the business and living quarters.

In 1828 this place was abandoned, and its owners moved farther down the Arkansas valley where, at a point about twelve miles from the modern town of Las Animas, a new and more imposing station was built of adobe, and named Fort William, after William Bent. It was four years in building, and after completion became a busy place as the headquarters for a large territory roundabout. Ordinarily the baptismal name of the post was neglected, and it was commonly called "Bents' Fort." Here the owners carried on a large trade with the Mexicans, the Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Pawnee, and Ute Indians, and the hunters and trappers of the region. Their operations made them men of note and of great influence.

Charles Bent.

This Fort William was a most pretentious establishment. Its dimensions were one hundred by one hundred and fifty feet, and its walls were about six feet thick at the base, and eighteen feet high. Some sixty persons were employed there, and in the busy seasons it was a place of great activity. In Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies" (1839), the following mention is made of some of the conditions at Fort William:

"In the months of June, August and September there are in the neighborhood of those traders from 15,000 to 20,000 savages, ready and panting for plunder and blood. If they engage in battling out old causes of contention among themselves, the Messrs. Bent feel comparatively safe in their solitary fortress. But if they spare each other's property and lives, there are great anxieties at Fort William; every hour of day and night is pregnant with danger."

In 1852, exasperated by the tedious, red-tape negotiations of the War Department which contemplated buying it, its owners blew up Fort William, completely wrecking it. William Bent then determined to erect another and still more important structure. The site selected was at the Big Timbers, on the Arkansas, about forty miles to the westward of the destroyed station. This was a favorite locality with the three mutually friendly tribes of plains Indians—the Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Kiowas—and they usually established their winter villages there because of the supply of wood and other necessities the place afforded. This new and historic structure was quite a military establishment. It was one hundred by one hundred and thirty-five feet, walls four feet thick and fifteen feet high, built of stone and adobe. On the northeast and southwest corners were bastions in each of which were placed two brass cannon, and the walls were pierced in proper places for musketry. It was finished and occupied in 1854, and used as a trading post until the autumn of 1859, when the government leased it, added barracks and officers' quarters, and named it Fort Wise, after the Governor of Virginia. In 1861 the name was changed to Fort Lyon, after General Nathaniel Lyon, who was killed at the battle of Wilson Creek, Missouri. In the spring of 1866 a freshet in the Arkansas flooded it, undermined its walls, and made it useless for military purposes. A new Fort Lyon was built by the government about nine miles east of the present town of Las Animas; and later, part of the old one was repaired and used as a stage station on the line between Kansas City and Santa Fe.

But the old business had long since vanished, the trappers and traders of the early, picturesque, and often perilous days, were nearly all gone, and the old life and old scenes had ended forever. Nothing is left of the two Forts William but some heaps and ridges, the remains of their once massive but now crumbled adobe walls.

Robert and George Bent died in 1841. Immediately after the United States took possession of New Mexico as one of the consequences of the war with Mexico, Charles was appointed its first American Governor. He perished in the massacre at Taos on January 19, 1847, which followed an uprising of the Pueblo Indians, who were instigated to revolt and led on by Mexican conspirators. William, who had married a Cheyenne squaw, had continued as a trader, and later became a government freighter. He survived, the last of the noted old firm, until May 19, 1869.

In 1830, a French trader named Maurice, all the way from Detroit, established a small trading post on Adobe creek in what is now Fremont county, and in a few years several Mexicans located near it and engaged in farming in a small way. There was some trouble with the Arapahoe Indians over a Ute squaw living at this post in 1838, and the Arapahoes went on the war-path to get her. Maurice, with French tact, held them off in parley, in the meantime sending a messenger to a strong party of Utes who were encamped over in the Wet Mountain valley. The Utes came whirling across to the post, fell on the Arapahoes, and after killing a lot of them, put the survivors to flight. The cause of the trouble remained at the post unharmed, and not afterward molested. Maurice maintained his little establishment there for several years.

At this time there were small numbers of Mexican settlers located on the Greenhorn and Huerfano rivers, in what are now Pueblo and Huerfano counties and the hunters and trappers for the fur-trading people frequented that section of the country. In 1840, St. Vrain, the Bents, Maxwell and others started a settlement on Adobe creek, in what is now Fremont county, intending it to be permanent, but it proved a failure, and was abandoned in 1846.

Another important early trading post to the southward of Denver was "the Pueblo," of which the flourishing modern city of that name is, in one sense, the successor. The exact date of the beginning of "the Pueblo" can not be stated with certainty. A collection of Mexicans, and traders and trappers appears to have been located there as early as 1840. The old Pueblo structure, itself, was claimed to have been built in 1842, by George Simpson, who will further figure in our story, and two other frontiersmen named Doyle and Barclay. James P. Beckwourth also claimed to have built it, in 1842, and is on record as having said while he sojourned in Denver in 1860:

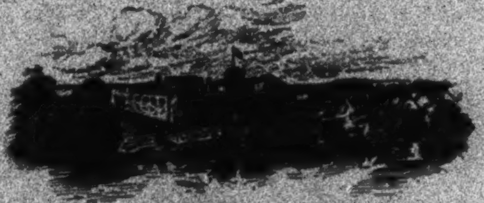
> "On the first of October, 1842, on the upper Arkansas, I erected a trading-post and opened a successful business. In a very short time I was joined by from fifteen to twenty free trappers, with their families. We all united our labor and constructed an adobe fort sixty yards square. By the following spring it had grown into quite a little settlement, and we gave it the name of Pueblo."

Beckwourth's reputation for telling the truth was very bad, and his statement is open to many doubts. In 1843 there were about a dozen American men located there, married to or living with Mexican or Indian women, and otherwise engaged in hunting, trapping and trading.

Ruxton, in his "Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains," and who was at "the Pueblo" in 1847, on his return from Mexico, describes the place and people as—

> "A small square fort of adobe with circular bastions at the corners, no part of the walls being more than eight feet high, and around the inside of the yard or corrall are built some half-dozen little rooms inhabited by as many Indian traders and mountain men. They live entirely upon game, and the greater part of the year without even bread, since but little maize is cultivated. As soon as their supply of meat is exhausted, they start to the mountains with two or three pack animals and bring them back in two or three days loaded with buffalo or venison. In the immediate vicinity of the fort game is very scarce, and the buffalo have within a few years deserted the neighboring prairies, but they are always found in the mountain valleys, particularly in one called Bayou Salado in the South Park, which abounds in every species of game, including elk, bears, deer, big horns or Rocky Mountain sheep, buffalo, antelope, etc."

"The Pueblo" would seem to have been a fated establishment, and with its other misfortunes, fell into great disrepute; and that meant a very bad state of affairs, for this then remote region was not a great stickler for conventionalities. Major Thomas Fitzpatrick, an old and experienced frontiersman, who was one of William H. Ashley's men in the fur trading enterprise of 1822, and who at this time was an Indian Agent, writing from Fort Bent in 1847, says of it:


Fort Bent.

> "About seventy-five miles above this place, and immediately on the Arkansas river, there is a small settlement, the principal part of which is composed of old trappers and hunters; the male part of it are mostly Americans, Missouri French, Canadians and Mexicans. They have a tolerable supply of cattle, horses, mules, etc., and I am informed that this year they have raised a good crop of wheat, corn, beans, pumpkins and other vegetables. They number about one hundred and fifty souls, and of this number, about sixty men, nearly all have wives and some have two. These wives are of various Indian tribes as follows, viz: Blackfeet, Assiniboines, Arickarees, Sioux, Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Snake, Simpitch (from west of the Great Lake), Chinook (from the mouth of the Columbia), Mexicans and Americans. The American women are Mormons, a party of Mormons having wintered there, and on their departure for California [?] left behind them two families. These people are living in two separate establishments, near each other, one called "Punble" and the other "Hardscrabble." Both villages are fortified by a wall twelve feet high, composed of adobe. These villages are becoming the resort of all idlers and loafers. They are also becoming depots for the smuggling of liquors from New Mexico into this country."

This writer was in error in locating the two villages "near each other." "Hardscrabble" was in what is now the southeastern part of Fremont county, at the mouth of the creek now bearing the same name, and about thirty miles west of "the Pueblo."

These old-time settlers at "the Pueblo" appear to have had a varied assortment of Indian wives, if Major Fitzpatrick were correct in his report, and the place would seem to have been one of a general bad odor. But a great misfortune later befell the people who were then its inmates. On Christmas day of 1854, there were seventeen trappers and mountain-men congregated there, celebrating, with the aid of a good supply of Mexican whiskey, that holiday. Of course they soon were drunk on "Taos lightning," and while in that condition a band of Ute Indians came along. The Utes were invited to join in the celebration, and joyfully accepted the hospitable invitation of their tipsy hosts. The "Taos lightning" affected the Indians as it did the whites, and soon all hands were "fighting drunk." In the free fight between white and red, which at once ensued, every white man was killed. A teamster who had left the place in the morning, came back in the evening and discovered the dead bodies of his former comrades. A Mexican girl and two children were carried off, and were afterward rescued by some trappers and Mexicans.

The particulars of the affair were subsequently learned from some of the Utes who were engaged in it. For several years after this tragedy a report that "the Pueblo" was haunted by the spirits of the victims of the affray, was current among whites and Indians, and both races avoided the place. The old structure was not again occupied, and fast went to ruin. Hardscrabble had disappeared several years before, and with such a name and fame as it had, it was well that it did so.

It was not until 1832 that a trading establishment was located up here on the South Platte in Denver's vicinity. In that year Louis Vasquez, a French-Canadian, built one of cottonwood logs, opposite the mouth of Clear creek, which, at that time, was given the name of Vasquez Fork. By way of the Platte Vasquez's post was about six miles from the mouth of Cherry creek, and its site is near the present northern limits of the city. Beckwourth, already mentioned in connection with "the Pueblo," was a nephew of Vasquez, and was employed at the post which remained there many years. Later in his life Beckwourth became a conspicuous character in and around Denver in the pioneer days, though he did not long flourish in the town. Some further account of him appears in the next chapter.

Soon after Vasquez established his post at the mouth of Clear creek, Peter A. Sarpey erected another on the Platte river, about five miles farther down-stream. Sarpey was a French trader from St. Louis, who spent most of his life among the Indians and accumulated a considerable fortune. His post was not so important as that of Vasquez's. He was an irascible man, but got along much better with the red men than he did with the white ones.

Following Sarpey's establishment, "Fort Lancaster," another trading post, was built on the right bank of the Platte, about ten miles farther north, and was maintained a few years. Then, as the tradition has it—for there is no definite record—"Fort Lupton," farther north and just within the southern part of what is now Weld county, succeeded Lancaster; its name still attaching to the place. It is of tradition that these posts were built by a trader named Lancaster Lupton, who divided his name between them; but of this we found no certain record. Both were comparatively temporary and unimportant, and exact dates of the beginning and end of their careers are lacking.

In 1838 the Bent brothers and Colonel Ceran St. Vrain built the famous old station, Fort St. Vrain, on the eastward side of the Platte nearly a mile below (north) of the mouth of St. Vrain creek, and about forty miles north of the site of Denver. In most historical accounts its location is erroneously given as having been at the mouth of the Cache-a-la-Poudre. The historic old structure was maintained as long as the fur business and Indian trade afforded profit to its owners. It was built principally of adobe, but little or nothing of it now remains. The Cache-a-la-Poudre tributary of the Platte received its name from the circumstance of a party of French trappers "caching," or concealing by burial, in the bank of the stream, a quantity of powder in the early days.

St. Vrain was French Canadian, a large, powerful man, who was a frontier trader nearly all his life. He was a prominent figure in southwestern affairs in pioneer times, and was much of a leader of men. He came up from New Mexico to build his station on the South Platte, and for many years operated between it and the country down that way, being associated with the Bents in many other enterprises. After the exhaustion of the fur business he returned to New Mexico, where he died at his home in Mora, in October, 1870.

In 1842 a weekly express was established between Fort St. Vrain and Fort Bent, the route being along the South Platte, then by way of Cherry creek southward. R. L. Wooton, who later became a pioneer in Denver, was a courier on this express line for several years. At the same time, a line was maintained from Fort Bent to Taos, and these enterprises were really the originals of the pony express business in the Rocky Mountain country.

Thus it will be seen that for nearly twenty years, prior to Fremont's first expedition, this country around Denver had been tramped over by many white men. Each of these trading posts was the resort of hunters, trappers and peripatetic traders who roamed the plains and mountains, and in the aggregate probably constituted a regiment or two.

Ceran St. Vrain

In the winter of 1858-59, Captain (afterward General) R. B. Marcy, of the United States army, while crossing the mountains with a detachment of troops on the way from Fort Bridger, Utah, to Taos, New Mexico, came across the remains of one of these early trading posts, in the distant recesses of the Rockies. He says:

> "On the 8th of December we struck Grand River near the confluence of its two principal branches, the Uncompadre and the Bunkara. We forded them, but with much difficulty, as the water was deep and rapid, and filled with floating ice, and encamped at the base of 'Elk Mountain,' near the remains of an old Indian trading establishment which had formerly been occupied by a man named Robedeau, of St. Louis, who wandered out into this remote wilderness many years ago, but was subsequently driven away and his buildings burned by the Indians."

So, even in so remote a region as that, a trading post had existed "many years ago." Roubideau, the man to whom General Marcy referred, was one of the early comers to the Colorado mountain country.

Choteau, who came out in 1817, and got into entanglement with the Spanish authorities of New Mexico, as we have mentioned in a preceding chapter, later established a trading station on the island in the Arkansas river, which still bears his name. It was the center of much activity in fur-trading times.

During those years the old Santa Fe Trail became a great highway of travel and commerce between the Missouri and New Mexico. As an established route for travel it dates from 1822. Pack animals were used at first, but in 1824 wagons were brought into service, and from that time until the railways supplanted it, it was continuously traveled by wagon trains, stage coaches, and mounted companies of people.

The traffic over the Santa Fe trail in the beginning started from the old and forgotten town of Franklin, Missouri, on the Missouri river, about one hundred and sixty miles west of St. Louis, to and from which city the way was by steamboat navigation. In a few years later the old town of Independence near Kansas City, and a few miles back from the river, became the headquarters for the trade.

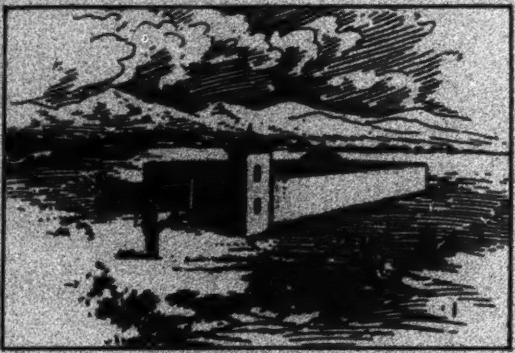
Before Denver was founded there was some of this plains caravan travel, bound for Utah, which came up this way and went to its destination, by way of Bridger Pass, across the mountains.

Referring to the halt of his command at the mouth of Cherry creek, during the first week of May, 1858, Captain Marcy says:

> "There was at that time but one white man living within one hundred and fifty miles of the place, and he was an Indian trader named 'Jack' Audeby, upon the Arkansas."

Although this statement would seem to be inaccurate, as there were still some of the old hunters and trappers in the country who were "living" hereabout so far as such rovers could live anywhere, it shows how near complete extinction the old fur business of the region had been reduced. The "Audeby" mentioned by Marcy was one of two noted trapper brothers of French extraction, named Autobees.

On a preceding page of this chapter we mentioned some men who made their way through this part of the country in 1807. They were the survivors of a party, the experiences of which so well present the dangers and hardships of life here in the early years of the Nineteenth Century, and reflect so much of the character of the pioneers of this region, the chances they were willing to take, and the risks they would assume, that some account of the adventures of these men, thoroughly characteristic of those which later befell hundreds of others, is fitting here. The narrative is condensed from a little book, "The Lost Trappers," published in 1847.



Fort St. Vrain.

When Lewis and Clarke returned from their expedition to the mouth of the Columbia river they took with them to St. Louis, as guests, a small party of Mandan Indians including one of their chieftains, with the understanding that they would be safely returned to their homes after their visit.

In 1807 these Indians left St. Louis on their return, escorted by a company of twenty white men under Captain Ezekiel Williams. Williams and his men intended engaging in trapping and expected to make their way across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia river. It was the first private intentional overland enterprise to the Pacific, north of the Spanish country, anyway.

The mixed assemblage reached the Mandan villages without noteworthy incident and after a brief stay there Williams and his men started off up the Yellowstone river. They stopped at a place where beaver and game were plenty, and ten of the party went out to kill some buffalo. A band of Blackfeet Indians got after these men and killed five, the other five escaping to camp. The remaining fifteen now put off in haste to the southward until they fell in with the Crows, who happened to treat them so well that one of their number, named Rose, who had turned out to be an outlaw of a fellow, decided to remain with his dusky hosts.

Now, Williams had fourteen men left, including himself, and they made way toward the South Pass. When they reached the vicinity of the North Platte they encountered another party of Crows, who, less hospitable than their brethren, killed another five of Williams' men, but lost about twenty of their own number in doing it. The Williams party had started from the Mandan country on horses but these Crows captured all the horses, and Williams with his eight survivors hastened away on foot, after caching their furs and other belongings they could not carry. Winter was now upon them, and they had to get through it the best way they could.

In the spring of 1808 they found themselves on the South Platte, close to the mountains and probably somewhere near where Denver now stands. As they proceeded southward one after another was cut off by the Indians until but three were left—Williams, the leader, and James Workman and Samuel Spencer. These survivors determined to get back to St. Louis if they could, and from Pike's Peak started across the plains. But, after all their troubles, in the face of the gravest peril, they soon quarreled and divided. Williams found his way to the Arkansas, which he thought was the Red river, and by voyaging down it by night in an improvised boat, reached the friendly Kansas Indians who directed him to Fort Cooper, on the Missouri, whence he safely reached St. Louis.

Workman and Spencer also went to the Arkansas, and they, likewise, mistook it for the Red river. Following it up stream they found the trail of Lieutenant Pike's expedition of the previous year. Pike, or some one of his party, had taken the Arkansas for the Red and had, as we have told, cut the name of the latter in the rocks near by, which confirmed the error of the two wanderers. Hoping to find the river's headwaters in a range which, once crossed, would put them near Santa Fe, they followed on up stream until they were again in sight of Pike's Peak, which they afterwards said seemed so high "that a cloud could not pass between its top and the sky." They boldly entered the mountains and for weeks were trying to find the sources of the Rio Grande, but finally came upon those of the Colorado, which they followed in the hope that it would lead them to Santa Fe; being the first Americans to float on the waters of that stream.

They went on down the river until they came to a trail, which they decided to follow. After two days on the trail they encountered a Spanish caravan going to Los Angeles, California, which they joined and proceeded with it to its destination. It returned the following year and Workman and Spencer came with it to Santa Fe where they remained as successful traders fifteen years.

They were probably the first Americans to cross the Continental Divide south of Lewis and Clarke's pass. Williams, nothing daunted by his extraordinary experience, in 1809 organized another party for the mountains, came out, and recovered the furs and other property he and his first party had cached two years before.

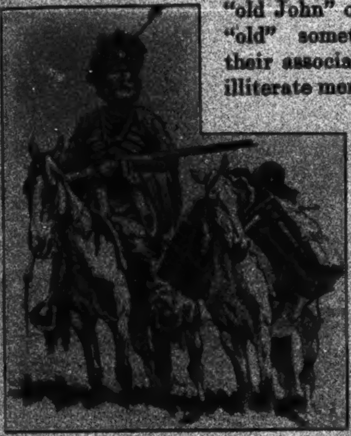
Among the more prominent frontiersmen—hunters, trappers, scouts, guides, and Indian fighters in this region during the early occupation period, and for many years thereafter, were Carson, Bridger, Wooton, Baker, Williams, John Smith, Claymore, Poisel, Beckwourth, Wiggins, Pfeiffer, Pattie, Nugent and the Autobeas brothers, Charles and Thomas. All these men were noted figures from the Black Hills to the Rio Grande.

St. Vrain, the Bents, Chambonard, Sarpey, Vasquez, Chouteau and Roubideau were traders rather than Indian-fighting frontiersmen, although their business required them to be both upon many occasions.

The men whom we have mentioned here are only a few of those who figure in the early annals of the Far West, but they were the more conspicuous pioneers in this part of the country. Of the aggregate numbers of such men, there is now no basis for even an approximation. They dropped out one by one in the vicissitudes of their life, and when the fur business was worn out, and the Indian fighting later came to an end, they were well along toward extinction, too. In the first half of the century there were many of them; the party with which Pattie came to the Colorado mountains in 1824 numbered one hundred and twenty men, and thereafter, other companies of varying sizes crossed the plains and scattered over the region of fur-bearing animals.

Many of the trappers were either directly employed by the fur companies, or were working under contracts with them which made them something like peons. Obtaining all their supplies from the companies, their reckless improvidence kept them continually in debt to the corporations and in such relation toward them in consequence thereof, that they were hardly to be considered as free men. Others, who operated independently, on their own account, selling their peltries wherever they chose and buying their supplies in the same way, were known as "free trappers."

Most of these mountain men as they advanced in years came to be called "old John" or "old Jim," or "old" something else, by their associates. They were illiterate men, rough in their manners and habits, reckless and improvident, and with a few exceptions, they died in poverty. Their occupation in the early days was a very profitable one, beaver skins alone bringing them from six to eight dollars a pound. But it was not unusual for them to squander in a few days at a trading post the proceeds of an entire season's peril, hardships and labor.



Trapper Ready for Business.

But they were devoted to each other in these periods of hardship and times of peril. The rude but rigid ethics of their class demanded of every man that he should share his store with an unfortunate on the plains or in the mountains, and that he should imperil his own life in the defense or rescue of a beleagured or endangered fellow-being not an enemy. It would be difficult to find records of many violations of this unwritten law.

By some queer process the name of the Autobees brothers became twisted around to "Tobin," and they were finally commonly known as Charley and Tom Tobin. It was Tom Tobin who at a later time shot the younger and worse of the two notorious Mexican bandits "the Espinozas," who were long the terrors of the region around the headwaters of the Arkansas and Rio Grande rivers. One of them was killed by a party of avengers, but the younger escaped at that time. This one had murdered twenty-three men, and a bounty of one thousand dollars was offered for his head. Tom Tobin hunted him down, killed him and cut off his head as evidence of right to the reward, which Tobin afterward claimed was never paid in full. He was in Denver in January, 1884, and the Denver Times of the 23d of that month, after referring to his visit, says:

> "Regarding the relics of the Espinoza affair, he said he had seen since he came to Denver the knife which he took out of the bandit's belt after he shot him. But as for the knife with which he cut off the robber's head that could not be found. He has commissioned State Treasurer Fred Walsen to find the knife in question and also the skull of the bandit which he asserts positively is still in the 'State House.'"

It may be worth while to state that Espinoza's skull is still in Denver, but it is not in the Capitol. Tobin, the bandit's slayer, who is now eighty-eight years old and the last of his intrepid class in Colorado, lives in an adobe house about four miles southwest of the town of Fort Garland, in Costilla county.

CHAPTER XVI.

HUNTERS, TRAPPERS, AND TRADERS—"KIT" CARSON—"DICK" WOOTON—"JIM" BRIDGER—"JIM" BAKER—"BILL" WILLIAMS—JOHN S. SMITH—AUGUSTE CLAYMORE—JAMES P. BECKWOURTH—AVERSION TO CIVILIZED CONDITIONS—CHARACTER AND HABITS—METHODS OF TRADERS—EQUIPMENT OF TRAPPERS—REMARKABLE RECUPERATIVE POWERS.

First and foremost among all the rude but heroic figures in the Rocky Mountain pioneer history, was Christopher—"Kit"—Carson, the hero of countless juvenile stories of adventure, and the ideal hunter and Indian fighter, of unnumbered boyish imaginations. He well-deserved the lofty position accorded him in the youthful fancies of every American now browsing through the middle ages of his life. He stood at the head of a long line of celebrated frontiersmen, Indian slayers, trappers, scouts, and guides, and distinguished himself in every capacity in which he served.

Carson was born in Madison county, Kentucky, on December 24, 1809. His father removed to Missouri when Kit was a small boy, and settled in Howard county. In 1826, when about seventeen years of age, Kit, already an expert with the rifle, joined a west-bound caravan which passed near his father's home, and entered upon his remarkable career of adventure on the great plains and in the Rocky Mountains. For eight years he was the hunter for Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, keeping it supplied with buffalo beef; after which he followed the occupation of trapper, trader, woolgrower, scout, and guide, all of which incidentally involved conflict with predatory Indians. Later he became an officer in the Union army.

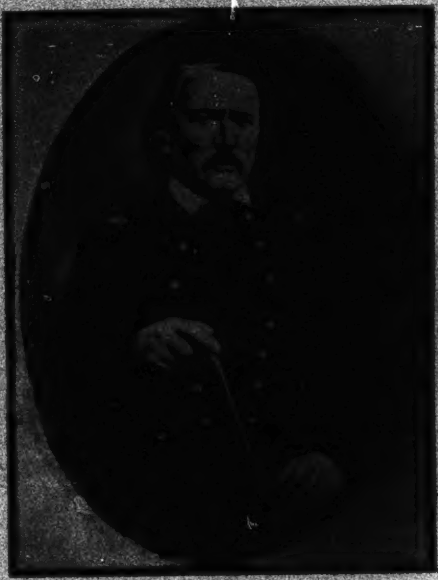
We shall not undertake to recount here his many adventures. This volume would no more than contain the briefest outlines of them if every page were devoted to only their more conspicuous incidents. The story of his life is a history of the exploration and of much of the development of all this region.

The service which first brought him prominently before the country was that which he rendered General Fremont as a guide to two of the exploring expeditions of the government under that officer. This gave him fame second only to that of his commander, and thereafter he was a conspicuous figure in the annals of the frontier, and in many important civic and military undertakings. While with Fremont the second time, he held a commission as Lieutenant in the United States army. Upon the outbreak of the civil war he warmly espoused the Union cause, rising to the rank of Brigadier General, and rendering valuable and highly important services in the southwest, which was then much isolated, and practically left to take care of itself. He also served as Indian Agent from 1854 to 1859, the Utes having been under his particular charge, and he won additional renown as having been one of the comparatively few men in such positions who were strictly and unswervingly honest in all their dealings with the government and the Indians, between which they stood.

Carson was a man of fine natural abilities, but of little education. He read with difficulty, and beyond signing his name, was unable to do much writing. His accounts and reports betray the handiwork of several penmen more skillful in such craft than the noted frontiersman. He fluently spoke the somewhat erratic English used on the frontier in his times, and with it, French, Spanish, and several Indian tongues, all acquired orally. Notwithstanding his defective education, he was quick, shrewd and accurate in his business transactions. Personally he was the incarnation of fearlessness, though of singularly retiring, modest manners. He participated in scores of rescues, defenses, and other bloody encounters with the Indians, in which he was always the leader in counsel and in fighting. His almost reckless bravery, his indifference to the gravest peril, and his many remarkable escapes from what appeared to be impending death, led his associates to believe he bore what they called a charmed life; an opinion in which many of the Indian tribes also joined. Ruxton's "Life in the West," published fifty years ago, thus refers to Carson:

"Kit Carson, paragon of mountaineers! small in stature, and slenderly limbed, but with muscles of wire, with a fair complexion, and quiet, intelligent features. To look at Kit none would suppose that the mild looking being before him was an incarnate devil in the Indian fight, and had raised more hair [scalped] from the heads of red-skins than any two men in the western country; and yet thirty winters had scarcely planted a line or furrow on his clean-shaven face. No name, however, was better known in the mountains, from Yellow Stone to Spanish Peaks, from Missouri to Columbia river; than that of Kit Carson, 'raised' in Boonlick county of Missouri state, and a credit to the diggins that gave him birth."

Before the civil war, the old conditions of far western life having even then almost wholly passed away, Carson established his home at Taos, New Mexico. His wife was a comely Mexican woman of many accomplishments, and by her he had several children. In 1867 he had established his home at Boggsville, near Las Animas, in Bent county, this State, his health having become impaired by the strain and hardships of his remarkable career. In the winter of 1867-68 he went to Washington in charge of a delegation of Ute Indians. His health broke down while thus engaged, and upon his return he lay ill here in Denver several days at the Planters' House which then stood at the corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets. He rallied sufficiently to be taken to his home, where he continued to improve. But soon afterward while at Fort Lyon on business connected with his long service as an officer in the army, (which had terminated at the close of 1867) he suddenly became fatally ill, and died at the Fort on May 24, 1868. His death was ascribed to a complication of physical disorders among which was an affection of the heart. The death of his wife a short time before had greatly depressed him. Both were buried at Boggsville, but subsequently their remains were taken to Taos where an appropriate monument now marks their resting place. In the Plaza at Santa Fe his name appears among others on a cenotaph raised to commemorate the services of the Union soldiers of that Territory. Of one of the circumstances associated with his death, Senator Casimero Barela, of Trinidad, wrote us:



Kit Carson. (From a civil-war-time portrait.)

"Kit Carson's death was hastened, it was generally believed at the time, by grief over the death of his wife, Doña Chepita Jaramillo of Carson; one month after the death of his wife he died."

Of others of these intrepid men, we can further refer to only a few, who were in some degree identified with this locality. One of these, well known in his time all along the front range of the Colorado mountains, was Richens L. Wooton, or "Uncle Dick," as he was more familiarly called. He was a man far above the average frontiersman, was fairly educated, and of some ability and force of character. As one of the pioneer business men of Denver, we will have occasion to frequently allude to him hereafter. He was born in Mecklenburg county, Virginia, in May, 1816, his father later removing to Kentucky, whence young Wooton made his way to the west at the time he was about twenty years old. He reached Independence, Missouri, in 1836, where he found a wagon train of Bents' and St. Vrain's about to start across the plains. Joining it he entered upon a long and adventurous career as a hunter, trapper, trader, merchant and ranchman, his wanderings making him familiar with New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and much of the region beyond the Rocky Mountains.

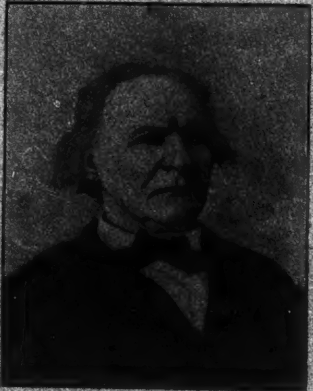
He was a contemporary of Carson, and a comrade of that noted pioneer in many encounters with the hostile Indians. Contrary to the usual manifestations of Indian character, the Arapahoes were always his friends, and upon several occasions refuge with them saved him from the scalping for which his red enemies had made careful and overwhelming preparations. An Arapahoe squaw who had been made a prisoner by the Utes, escaped and attempted to make her way over the mountains to her own people. She had almost perished from cold and exposure when Wooton encountered her. He provided her with food and accompanied her to her people who, in consequence of his humanity, became his firm and lasting friends. From the scar of a bad knife-wound on one of his hands he was known among the Indians as "Cut-Hand."

After more than twenty years of hunting, trapping, trading, and fighting with the Indians, he came to Denver in December, 1858, with one of the pioneer stocks of merchandise brought to the settlement that year. He established himself in what was then Auraria, and became a citizen of considerable importance in the young community. In 1862 he discontinued his business here and engaged in ranching at "the Pueblo," the city of Pueblo now including his ranche land within its limits. Here he unsuccessfully attempted to breed and rear buffalo, a venture which he had long held to be practical as a business enterprise. Disposing of his Pueblo ranche he acquired another near Trinidad where he spent the remainder of his life, which ended August 21, 1893.

In many of his earlier trading enterprises he was an associate of the Bents and St. Vrain, and unlike the majority of the frontiersmen, was prudent in caring for his earnings and profits, with the result that he acquired and retained a competency.

He was one of the bravest of men, and his unflinching courage was proved in many desperate encounters with the Indians. As a volunteer leader in suppressing the Indian uprising at Taos, in 1847, he was one of the most conspicuous of the daring men who prevented further massacre of Americans in New Mexico.

In 1890 Wooton's recollections of his long and adventurous career, edited by Howard Louis Conard, were published in a most entertaining volume, in which life on the frontier is depicted in a manner that commands the reader's interest.


"Uncle Dick" Wooton.
(Photographed 1889.)

James Bridger, "Old Jim Bridger," was a compeer and comrade of Kit Carson, and as a mountain man one of the leaders of his kind. Learning and traversing the plains and mountains was the business of his life. He was born in Washington, D. C., in 1807, and came to this part of the country when a mere boy with Ashley's company of trappers. He spent his whole life as a frontiersman, and an account of his adventures would make another large volume. He discovered the way through the mountains, known as Bridger's Pass, and later established in that region a trading post which, still later, was occupied by General Albert Sidney Johnson's army during the "Mormon War," and became Fort Bridger now in southwestern Wyoming. Later in his life he acted as guide for the engineers making preliminary surveys for a railroad to the Pacific. He served the government for years as a scout and is said to have been the first American white man who saw the Great Salt Lake. He was frequently in Denver in the pioneer times. It is related of him that he decided on the route for the Union Pacific railroad across the mountains in a few minutes, disposing of a problem that had bothered the engineers for a whole season. The circumstances are mentioned by Inman as follows:

"At one time early in the 60's, while the engineers of the proposed Union Pacific railway were temporarily in Denver, then an insignificant mushroom hamlet, they became somewhat confused as to the most practicable point in the range over which to run their line. After debating the question, they determined, upon a suggestion of some of the old settlers, to send for Jim Bridger, who was then visiting in St. Louis. A pass, via the overland stage, was enclosed in a letter to him, and he was urged to start to Denver at once, though nothing of the business for which his presence was required was told him in the text."

"In about two weeks the old man arrived, and the next morning, after he had rested, asked why he had been sent for from such a distance."

"The engineers then began to explain their dilemma. The old mountaineer waited patiently until they had finished, when, with a look of disgust on his withered countenance, he demanded a large sheet of paper, remarking at the same time,—"

" 'I could a told you fellers all that in St. Louis, and saved you the expense of bringing me out here.' "

"He was handed a sheet of manilla paper, used for drawing the details of bridge plans. The veteran pathfinder spread it on the ground before him, took a dead coal from the ashes of the fire, drew a rough outline map, and pointing to a certain peak just visible on the serrated horizon, said,—"

" 'There's where you fellers can cross with your road, and nowhere else, without more diggin' an' cuttin' than you think of.' "

"That crude map has been preserved, I am told, in the archives of the great corporation, and its line crosses the main spurs of the Rocky Mountains just where Bridger said it could with the least work."

To make sure of a refuge in his old age, Bridger in 1857 purchased a farm near Westport (Kansas City), Missouri, to which he withdrew about 1870 after his long and adventurous career on the plains and in the mountains, and on which he died and was buried in 1881.

James Baker, another "Old Jim," was a contemporary of these men in the old mountaineering days. He was, also, familiar to many Denver people of the present time, for he was frequently here through the closing years of his adventurous life which ended in 1898. He was a native of Illinois and came to the mountain country when he was eighteen years old, entering the service of the American Fur Company. From that time his career was that of hunter, trapper, trader, scout, guide and Indian fighter, until between the advance of civilization and the infirmities of hardships and age, he and his occupation fell into disuse together.

Baker had as many adventures, as many hairbreadth escapes, as many thrilling encounters with wild men and wild beasts, as any of his calling. His earnings as a trapper and guide amounted to a fortune; but, like most of the others, he was liberal to a fault, dissipated at times, and recklessly improvident. He would throw away a season's proceeds in the carousal of a day or two. At one time, after a profitable period of trapping and trading, he had nine thousand dollars in cash.

He announced his determination to abandon his rough life, return to his birth-place, buy a farm and settle down for the remainder of his days. Accordingly he started out to bid his friends good-bye in the customary fashion of his kind, got to drinking, and then into a gambling den, and within twenty-four hours every dollar of his little fortune was gone. His return to his birth-place was a dream that never came true.

Next to Kit Carson, Baker was General Fremont's most trusted scout and guide, and served him faithfully in most of his exploring expeditions through the Rocky Mountains. He was in the service of the government in many other undertakings, and was noted for his trustworthiness in everything he was appointed to do. In common with all his class, and notwithstanding his weaknesses, which were also common to his type when in contact with the crude elements of civilization the region early afforded, he was as true as steel to the duties of his calling and to his associates. Devoid of fear, devoid of selfishness, he would not for an instant hesitate to risk his life to defend or save that of a companion; and he did so time and time again.

"Jim" Baker.
(Photographed 1890.)

Early in his frontier career, following the custom of the trappers and traders, Baker married an Indian squaw. She was of the Shoshones and he lived among her people a long time, cultivating many of their habits, customs and superstitions. Nevertheless, he had an ill opinion of Indians as a people. He is quoted as having said to General Marcy:

> "They ar' the most onsartainist varmints in all creation, an' I reckon thar not more'n half human; for you never seed a human, arter you'd fed and treated him to the best fixin's in your lodge, jes turn 'round and steal all your horses, or any other thing he could lay his hands on. No, not adzactly. He would feel kind o' grateful, and ask you to spread a blanket in his lodge, ef you ever come his way. But the Injun don't care shucks for you and is ready to do you a lot of mischief as soon as he quits your feed."

Notwithstanding his rough exterior, his rough life, and his frequently rougher manners, Baker was a most generous, noble-hearted man; an excellent example of a brave, hardy, extinct type of men who performed inestimable services for their contemporary fellow-beings. He was almost the last of his day and generation, having survived until May 17, 1898, when death, to which he had so often been near, finally laid its hand upon him. He died at his ranche on Little Snake river, in Routt county, northwestern Colorado, in his eighty-eighth year. After Denver was founded he built a cabin, which he long occupied, on Clear creek, beyond the present Jesuit College, where the road to Boulder crosses that stream, the bridge there still being known as "Baker's bridge." It was a toll-bridge in the "Sixties," and an enterprise of Baker's.

William Williams, commonly known in the later years of his career, as "old Bill" Williams, was a famous mountain man—scout, trapper, hunter, and fighter. He knew all the passes and every part of the mountains thoroughly. He was a guide for Fremont in his expedition of disaster and, had the old man's advice been followed, the explorer would probably have kept out of a trap he fell into and which then cost the lives of eleven men and the loss of much valuable property; and, indirectly, eventually of six more, including that of Williams, himself. The "Pathfinder" finally, as we have stated, got out of the impassable and storm-swept region into which he had plunged, and made his way, after much suffering and hardship, to Taos. After Fremont left Taos for California by a more southerly route, five of his men who had declined to accompany him, concluded to see if they could not recover some of the previously lost property; Williams accompanying them. They went to the mountains where disaster had befallen Fremont and were attacked by Ute Indians in ambush. All were killed except Williams who made his escape from the trap. He was followed by the Indians, who did not recognize him, and killed while cooking some food over a camp-fire. He had been a friend of the Utes and well-known by many of them. When they discovered who it was they had killed, they were grief-stricken. Old Shavanau, a Ute chief to whom Williams had previously given a fine Hawkins rifle was one of the attacking party. The Indians placed Williams' body in a sitting position against a tree and Shavanau stood the gift-rifle at his side in token of penitence; and so they left him. The body was afterward found in that position with the rifle at its side by a party of white men who buried the old man under the tree there in the mountain fastnesses.

John S. Smith, "Uncle John" as his frontier acquaintances later called him, was a famous character all along the Rocky Mountain ranges in the early times. He came to the far west in 1826, leaving his home in St. Louis when a boy, in the American Fur Company's service, and falling in with the Indians soon after he reached the plains. He finally attached himself to the Cheyenne tribe which roamed around here, married one of their squaws and became a chief of great authority among them. He subsequently abandoned his Indian chieftainship, and was a trader, trapper and guide.

During his chieftainship with the Cheyennes he was almost an autocrat in this region, and many of the traders paid him tribute for the privilege of doing business undisturbed by his braves. After his return to white associations he became a quiet, inoffensive old man. He was noted for his remarkable resemblance to President Andrew Johnson. Of the conspicuous part he bore in the founding of Denver we will later give a full account.

Auguste Claymore was another of the old-time scouts and trappers well-known at Denver and all over this region. In one of his many adventures with the Indians, his skull was so badly broken by clubs that portions of his brain exuded. His companions who came up and drove off the Indians before Claymore was scalped, made preparations for his burial, an event which seemed but an hour or two distant. To their astonishment Claymore revived, and in a few weeks recovered. He lived to see the country populated, and towns and cities built where once he placed his beaver-traps, and watched the hostile red man.

We have heretofore mentioned James P. Beckwourth. He was a familiar figure in and around Denver in its beginning and along until the early Sixties. His career was a strange one even for one of the class to which, by turns, he belonged. Probably no man ever met with more personal adventures, even among the mountaineers and trappers who early faced the perils of this region. He was at times a trader and trapper; at other times a chieftain among the Crow Indians, one of the most troublesome of the plains tribes.

He was born in Virginia of a slave mother, his father having been the Irish overseer of his native plantation. Following his mother's condition Beckwourth was a slave during his boyhood, but as soon as he was old enough to do so he ran off and made his way to St. Louis, and from there to the west with a party of trappers, finally reaching New Mexico. There he fell in with Vasquez, and with that trader came as an employe to Vasquez's post here on the South Platte, near the site of Denver. Subsequently he left his white associates and joined the Crows among whom he speedily became a leader, and engaged in many of their predatory enterprises. Growing tired of this occupation, he left them and became guide and interpreter for some of the government expeditions, which occupation took him to California. While there he fell afoul of a vigilance committee and left precipitately for Missouri. Early in 1859 he came to Denver with the tide of immigration, and built a cabin up the Platte at the "Mexican," or "Spanish," "diggings." Early in 1860 he married the daughter of a colored woman who was the first laundress, of her race, in the pioneer towns. Beckwourth then engaged in merchandising on the west side of Cherry creek, and remained here several years.

Richardson, who saw Beckwourth here in the summer of 1860, thus refers to him:

> "Here is a well-formed elderly man, with a devil-may-care expression, but a face full of character and of wonderful perceptive faculties; long black hair, complexion like a Mexican, and eyes like an Indian. It is James P. Beckwourth the half-breed, so long a chief among the Crow tribe, and the most famous Indian fighter of this generation. His body is scarred with wounds received
> 'In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
> Of battle, when it raged.'
> But he is the very pink of courtesy, and specially devoted to a comely young wife whom he invariably dignifies with the title of 'Lady Beckwourth.'"

But "Lady Beckwourth" did not permanently remain in favor. Beckwourth finally left her and civilization, and returned to a roving life on the plains. His end was a somewhat extraordinary one. About 1867, he made a visit to his old friends and associates, the Crow Indians, in what is now Wyoming, intending it to be a farewell to them, as he had decided to resume civilized life. The Indians insisted that he remain with them, but when they learned he would not, they prepared a feast for him on the eve of his contemplated departure. They poisoned his food and he died in a few hours from the effects. In explanation of this gross breach of even Indian hospitality, the Crows afterward stated that Beckwourth had always been "good medicine" to their tribe, and that they were determined that if he would not stay with them alive, they would secure his body and keep it among them.

Beckwourth was an uncommon type of man, even for the far west during the first half of the Nineteenth Century. Parkman gave considerable attention to him, and also an evil reputation, as the following attests:

> "He is a ruffian of the worst class; bloody and treacherous, without honor or honesty. Such, at least, is the character he bears on the great plains. Yet in his case the standard rules of character fail; for though he will stab a man in his slumber, he will also do the most desperate and daring acts."

His contemporaries, Carson, the Bents, and others spoke differently of him, and still other accounts say that while he was ready for any desperate undertaking, and had many life and death encounters with other frontiersmen, he was honest and straightforward, and noted for the uprightness of his dealings with the Indians.

We are obliged to limit ourselves to the foregoing brief outline of this singular and noted frontier character, who was familiarly known either personally or by his fame, all over the plains and along the Rocky Mountains. Whatever sort of man he may have been—and he certainly was not what we would consider a good man—he appears to have had sound views on one question, at least. He is represented to have said while sojourning in Denver:

"The traffic in whiskey for Indian property was one of the most infernal practices ever entered into by man. Let the most casual thinker sit down and figure up the profits on a forty-gallon cask of alcohol, and he will be thunder-struck, or rather whiskey-struck. When it was to be disposed of, four gallons of water were added to each gallon of alcohol. In two hundred gallons there are sixteen hundred pints, for each one of which the trader got a buffalo-robe worth five dollars. The Indian woman toiled many long weeks to dress those sixteen hundred robes. The white traders got them for worse than nothing, for the poor Indian mother hid herself and her children until the effect of the poison passed away from the husband and father, who loved them when he had no whiskey, and abused and killed them when he had. Six thousand dollars for sixty gallons of alcohol! Is it a wonder with such profits that men got rich who were engaged in the fur trade? Or was it a miracle that the buffalo were gradually exterminated?—killed with so little remorse that the hides, among the Indians themselves were known by the appellation of 'A pint of whiskey.'"

While these frontiersmen knew they were instrumental in preparing the way for civilization, with its towns and cities, and knew that it would follow their footsteps, they were not comfortable amid the scenes and surroundings brought with it. The feelings of "Uncle Dick" Wooton were characteristic of his class, and serve well as an example to record here. In his book he thus mentions some of his reasons for leaving Denver, which was not at that time a very great city:

"I left Denver in 1862. Looking at it from a business standpoint, I can see now that this was a mistake. If I had remained there and grown up with the capital city, I might have become a rich man, and had a big hotel or an opera house, or something of that sort named after me. I reckon I shouldn't have felt right, though, after the buildings got too thick. There would have been a lack of room and breathing space, and I might have been expected to wear fine clothes. Anyhow I should have been jostled about on the streets instead of having the road all to myself, as I do now when I go out for a walk, and should have had the noise and dust of the city, instead of the singing of the birds, and the pure air of the mountains, that I have here."

During Bridger's first visit back to St. Louis, then a comparatively small city, an acquaintance saw him sitting on a box in one of the narrow streets, seeming disgusted with his situation. To the inquiry as to what he was doing there all alone, he replied:

"I've been settin' in this infernal canyon ever sence mornin', waitin' for some one to come along and invite me to take a drink. Hundreds of fellers has passed both ways, but none of 'em has opened his head. I never seen sech an onsociable crowd!"

It can not be truthfully said that many of such men were of saintly character, or that they led lives above reproach. With their good qualities many vices kept company, and with a result presenting most singular incongruities in the individuals. At the trading posts most of them would get drunk and carouse for days at a stretch, squandering their earnings, and then going forth, penniless and often in debt, to another season's work. Frequently upon these occasions they would fight among themselves; and encounters between such men especially when inflamed with liquor, were no mere bar-room brawls, ending in a bloody nose for one and a bruised shin for the other. Yet, either combatant, if both survived, would risk his life to save that of the other, when subsequently on the plains or in the mountains.

"Jim" Bridger.
(Photographed about 1870.)

Nearly all of them had Indian wives, or squaws whom they called their wives. Formal ceremonies, other than some deference to the flimsy customs of the Indians, were waived, and the union was always subject to the probability of the roving husband going away some day and forgetting to return to his dusky spouse. As a rule the male offspring of these marriages turned out badly, and many of the most diabolical wretches that ever cursed the frontier were the fruit of such unions. A half-breed son of Governor Charles Bent, though sent to St. Louis and educated, became the crafty leader of one of the most murderous and fiendish bands of Indians on the plains, which was not broken up until its merciless captain was systematically hunted down and shot as the most ferocious wild beast would have been.

To the uninitiated there would seem to be almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of white men, who knew nothing, or next to nothing, of Indian language, carrying on trade with the red people. An old trader thus told how the business was usually conducted:

"They knew nothing about money, and when they occasionally got hold of a silver dollar they used it to make some kind of an ornament. They knew, however, that a pony was worth more than a buckskin, and that a rifle was more valuable than a butcher knife. The trader always fixed the prices and the first thing to do was to arrange the schedule, if such a term can be used in connection with anything so primitive in style as Indian trading. I got together a parcel of sticks, each representing one of the articles I had to dispose of. The Indian laid down a buffalo robe, for instance, and then I commenced laying down the sticks, representing different things, that he wanted to trade for. When I put down sticks enough to represent, in my line of goods, what I thought was the value of the robe, I waited to see if the Indian was satisfied. As a rule, he wasn't. I don't know whether or not the Indian has descended from the Jew, but I know he has some of the same instincts in trade. He would insist on having sticks representing other articles added to the pile, and sometimes it would take a good while to reach an agreement. When the agreement was reached, however, it fixed the price on buffalo robes, and as fast as they were transferred to my side of the lodge in which the trading was carried on, I dealt out the articles traded for. In the same manner the prices were fixed on all the other Indian commodities, and we got through with our business very rapidly. In this way I have traded to the amount of a thousand dollars or two in a half-day, after we once got started."

Of the life of the trappers and mountain men generally, Kit Carson, while living at Taos in 1859, said:

"Our ordinary fare consisted of fresh beaver and buffalo-meat, without any salt, bread or vegetables. Once or twice a year, when supplies arrived from the States, we had flour and coffee for one or two meals, though they cost one dollar a pint. During the winter, visiting our traps twice a day, we were often compelled to break the ice, and wade in the water up to our waists. Notwithstanding these hardships, sickness was absolutely unknown among us. I lived ten years in the mountains, with from one to three hundred trappers, and I cannot remember that a single one of them died from disease."

The pure air of the plains and mountains gives to the human system remarkable power of resistance to wounds and disease. An authenticated example of this is the case of Mark Ralfe, a young Frenchman attached to Bent's Fort in the early days. Ralfe was overtaken on the Arkansas river by a band of hostile Kiowas who fell upon him, shooting him in three places and stabbing him in four. Believing him to be dead, as he certainly ought to have been, they scalped him with a dull knife, leaving no hair whatever except a little lock above each ear. After the Indians left, Ralfe recovered consciousness, revived sufficiently to regain his feet, and then with no nourishment except water, walked to the fort some forty miles distant. In a few months he was well again, and he lived many years after.

A young man—a mere boy, really—named Robert McGee, was captured by the Indians down on the Arkansas river in southeastern Colorado. The savages concluded to kill their captive. The chief struck him down with a blow from a tomahawk and then shot him, others drove three or four arrows deep into the back of the prostrate body, still others slashed the victim with knives, and then he was scalped and left for dead. He was afterward discovered by white men and, notwithstanding his frightful injuries, recovered, and through the years of his long life on the frontier took bloody revenge upon the people who had so cruelly mutilated him.

Baptiste Brown while fleeing on horse-back from pursuing Blackfeet Indians, in the mountains, attempted to make his animal leap a deep cleft or narrow gorge that confronted him. The poor beast failed to reach the other side, and horse and rider fell to the bottom. The horse was killed and Brown sustained compound fractures of both legs. When the Indians came up and peered into the gorge, Brown simulated death. The savages saw no way of getting down to scalp him, so they departed, leaving him with apparently poor prospects for living, or getting out of the chasm if he did. Fearing to discharge his rifle as a signal to his companions who were in the vicinity, lest the report might be heard by his red foes, he lay there twenty-four hours in agony. Finally he concluded to take his chances, and his rifle shots guided his associates to the cleft in which he lay. They got him out and set his broken limbs as best they could, for there was not a surgeon within five hundred miles. Brown got well, and physically was little the worse for his injuries.

Accounts of such examples of endurance, and recovery from apparently fatal injuries, might be added in numbers sufficient to cover many of these pages. Gun-shot and knife wounds, and other injuries regarded by these men as trifling, healed quickly and usually caused them little inconvenience. Their powers of endurance and recovery were remarkable. Most of the wounds and mutilations they survived, and seemingly without permanent disability would, in our own times and modes of life, be considered necessarily fatal, and in the majority of cases would be.

The history of no other country in the world affords any parallel to the American frontiersman; the rough, daring, fearless hero, who blazed the way westward from the Atlantic ocean, for the steadily advancing civilization that was more than two hundred years in reaching the Rocky Mountains. Nowhere in the world were such primeval conditions encountered as those which existed in this country; and nowhere in this country were adverse circumstances met and overcome by braver, more determined men, than these pioneers of the great plains and mountains of Colorado. When our State shall properly commemorate, in monuments and in statues, the deeds of men who laid the foundations and outlined the superstructure of our great commonwealth, the work will be poorly done if it makes not conspicuous the sturdy figure of the frontiersman, clad in buckskin garments, and leaning on the old, long-barrelled, deadly rifle.

CHAPTER XVII.

"Great American Desert"—Early Exaggerations and Misconceptions—Awful Tales of Travelers—Effect of Reports of Long's Expedition—Webster's Views—Public Opinion of Pacific Railroad Surveys—Persistence of the Delusions—Greeley's Impressions—Slow Death of the "Desert" Fiction—Lingering Misconceptions of the Western Country—Meteorological—Present Aspects of the "Desert" Region.

Few misbeliefs ever exceeded in their persistency and, we may say, in the enormity of their error, the one that for so many years attached to the great domain lying west of the Missouri river. Throughout the eastern portion of the United States, say east of the Mississippi, there was until a comparatively recent period, a deep-seated conviction, originally based on official but mistaken reports, that here in the west lay one of the two great desert regions of the world. Africa's Sahara was the other, and opinions were divided as to which presented horrors that entitled it to precedence. Each was believed to have distinctly frightful features peculiar to itself, but which were the more appalling was not determined, because nobody was willing to give up his life in trying to find out all about this one; and that such a sacrifice would be involved in such an undertaking, only a few people, who were pityingly held to be irresponsible, any way, had the boldness to doubt, after reading the many distorted versions of Long's accounts.

When the report of Long's expedition obtained general circulation through what there then was of the United States, it became fashionable to attribute every horrid aspect supposed to belong to great deserts, to the really unknown western country. That report was the foundation of all the mass of misconceptions, some of them of the most grotesque character, that a half century of years hardly served to dispel from the public mind. Incited to competitive efforts by Long's report, and possibly to win renown for having braved such dangers and come out alive, many of the early travelers into the west exhausted their vocabularies of shiver-producing adjectives in describing—or, as they frequently said, "in attempting to describe," the desolate, barren land of horrors constituting the "Great American Desert." Ensuing editions of school geographies took up the thrilling stories, incorporating them in text and pictures and maps, to the disturbance of many a youthful dream of the present population's older members.

This waterless, storm-swept land of sand; this howling, hopeless, worthless, cactus-ridden area, infested by savages of the most dreadful fierceness and cruelty, and haunted by prowling beasts of unexampled ferocity, ended in a mountain region of equal extent, where the peaks tore all the clouds to tatters, where snow that fell before Columbus landed still lay under all that had fallen since; where the naked granite sides of the mountains went straight aloft until lost to view; where shrieking gales forever blew over the frozen desolation that reigned supreme; and as they drove along wailed out the warning to rash mankind: "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here."

It is not strange that boys, especially bad ones, who read or heard these stories, failed of restful slumber in their attic beds when the wind and storm and snow were asweep through the winter nights.

This view had not always prevailed. In the first years of the century the great west was absolutely unknown to the English-speaking people of the United States. After the Louisiana Territory was acquired, the expeditions of Lewis and Clarke through the northwest, and that of Pike to this region, set out to see what sort of country it was. Their reports, while they were tinged with exaggerative color, perhaps natural to men visiting a new and so remarkable an empire, were neither distorted nor discouraging. But they were made at a time when news traveled very slowly, and means of disseminating information among the people exceedingly deficient. Only a very small proportion of the people ever learned the details of Lewis and Clarke's and of Pike's reports. Of those who did, many were disposed to take a hopeful view of the new territory and of its possibilities.

In 1807, there was published in Philadelphia by Mathew Cary a volume containing a most interesting account in diary form, of Lewis and Clarke's journeyings. It was written by one Patrick Gass, "one of the persons employed in the expedition." The publisher, in his preface, along with other things, said:

> "For if we take a view of the different discoveries and settlements previously made, we will find that those tracts through which the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and their branches flow, common-

> ly called unknown regions, were the only parts remaining unexplored, which could be considered valuable. * * * It will not be forgotten that an immense sum of treasure have been expended in the purchase of this country, and that it is now considered as belonging to the United States. Here, at no distant period settlements may be formed; and in a much shorter term than has elapsed since the first were made in America, from which hath arisen a great, powerful and independent nation, the posterity of the present inhabitants of the Union may unfurl the standard of independence on the plains of the Missouri and Columbia."

By the time the report of Long's expedition was made and published, circumstances and conditions had greatly changed. The animosities and strife engendered by the protracted struggle over the admission of Missouri as a slave State, were followed by a feeling of aversion toward the new domain in the west, that was rather general throughout the "north" of that day. If the new region were to be cut up into new slave States, anti-slavery men were ready and willing to believe anything and everything about it that was bad. At this juncture the Long report began circulating among the people, the newspapers quoted from it and commented on it, and everybody talked about it, with not a few saying "I told you so!" Long practically settled the character of the country in the minds of the people of his day and generation. He started the desert stories, and others revised them to suit their exaggerated fancies or ulterior purposes, and in a few years no fact of National interest was more firmly established in the minds of the people than that the greater portion of President Jefferson's purchase was probably the most extraordinary combination of mountain and plain desert anywhere in the world.

In 1838 an appropriation bill for the Post Office Department contained an item providing for a mail route from Independence, Missouri, to the mouth of the Columbia river. This was a wild, impossible proposition for those days. When the bill came before the United States Senate, Daniel Webster thought the recklessness involved in such use of public money called for his vehement disapproval. He made it the subject of a speech on the floor of the Senate, closing his remarks with these words:

> "What do we want with this vast, worthless area? This region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs? To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts, or those endless mountain ranges, impregnable and covered to their very base with eternal snow? What can we ever hope to do with the western coast, a coast of three thousand miles, rock-bound, cheerless, uninviting, and not a harbor on it! What use have we for such a country? Mr. President, I will never vote one cent from the public treasury to place the Pacific coast one inch nearer to Boston than it now is."

In this tirade Mr. Webster did no more than voice the common beliefs of his time. He, along with the overwhelming majority, accepted the statements growing out of Long's well-organized, well-equipped scientific expedition, as literal, unqualified, all-embracing facts. They said the western plains were vast stretches of rocky, sandy surfaces, unwatered and worthless, and affording sustenance for but little vegetation except cactus and its allied plants. The mountains were practically impassable, excepting that they might be clambered over by hardy men during a few weeks in midsummer. In winter the entire country in and out of the mountains, was swept by fierce, devastating storms in the rigors of which the preservation of human life would be a grave problem, even to those who had made special preparation for the ordeal. Mr. Webster in his speech said little about this Colorado portion of the west that was not warranted and sustained by the then current versions of the report of Long's expedition.

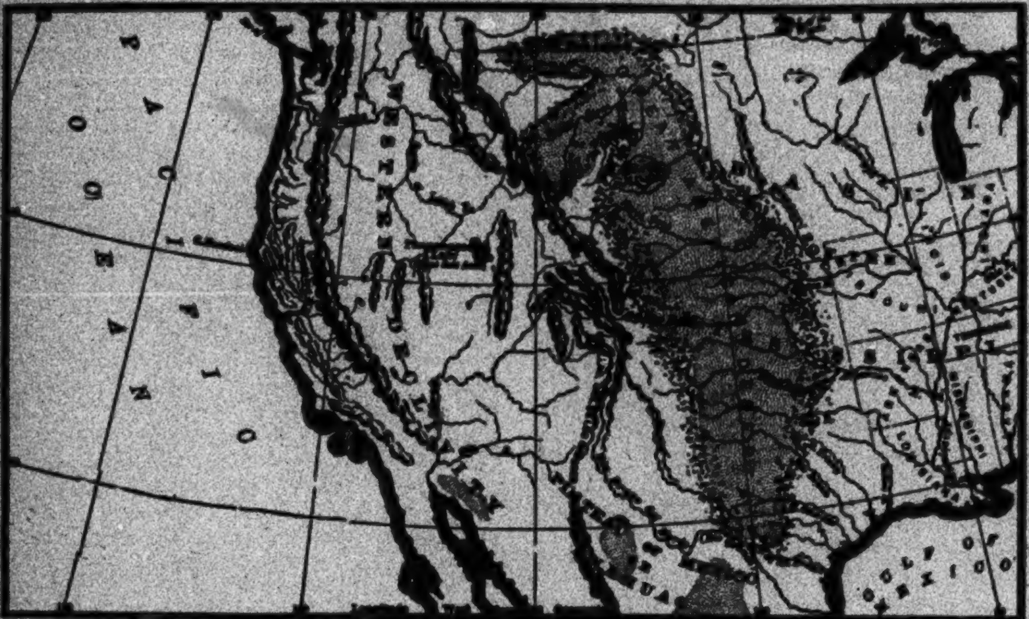
When Fremont's first expedition was organized and dispatched to the west in 1842, it was commonly looked upon as an undertaking beset by many dangers. Before that time, however, the western region had been invaded by the fur companies, and the lower Missouri had a considerable number of settlements along both banks. Modified descriptions of the country in the west were coming into circulation, and some people were revising their earlier conceptions; though insisting that while the whole of it might not be desert, most of it was and of a very bad kind. Nevertheless, the great majority adhered to the old opinions. The several expeditions under Fremont through the supposed utterly inhospitable country, made him a popular hero, around whom a halo of romance and perilous adventures was visible to the public fancy as long as he lived.

It was to this peculiar and pleasant position in the popular esteem, to which he had been elevated by his western enterprises, more than to any other single element of popularity or fitness, that he owed his subsequent nomination as candidate for President of the United States. It should be remembered, however, that the reports of Fremont's expeditions did much toward dispelling the prevailing false impressions of his time, of the character and resources of the Far West, as the country was then called.

Still, the public mind was slow in changing its beliefs, and hard to convince that most of them were founded on error. The spirit of exaggeration that had so long dealt with western affairs, and so nearly monopolized all the accounts and reports, had sown the seeds of a weedy growth that was harder to uproot than any thistle crop ever seen on the western plains. When the public surveys for a railroad across to the Pacific were first authorized and directed to be made, by Congress, thousands of honest, well-meaning people concluded that the Nation's legislation had passed under the control of imbeciles, and so began to despair of the Republic. The expenditure of public funds for a purpose so preposterous as that of even finding out whether a railroad could be built through such a country, to say nothing of the absurdity of building one, was considered by many citizens a piece of reckless, extravagant tomfoolery too outrageous to put up with. Had not Senator Webster shown the supreme folly of spending one cent of the public's money to bring the Pacific coast one inch nearer Boston than it was! Alas! We have fallen upon evil days when the affairs, even the fate of the Nation, are confided to the care of such vacuous minds as those now in control at Washington. So reasoned, with rising wrath, hosts of really sincere, patriotic voters in the east.

Even when the tide of emigration set out to the "Pike's Peak gold region," hundreds of the multitude believed that a long, waterless, nearly barren, dangerous stretch of country lay before them. As they proceeded along the way they were in daily anticipation of reaching before nightfall the region that the school-book pictures of their youthful days would make as familiar to them as the faces of their oldest friends. While the journey was tiresome, trying, and attended by hardships for many, and disastrous to some, the desert devotees could hardly believe their eyes when they saw the whitened peaks of the great mountains shining in the distant horizon, before they had yet traversed the stony, lonely, sandy, cactus-grown waste they had been taught to believe was one of the imperishable institutions of their country.

They had crossed the desert without knowing it or seeing it; the rolling plains swarmed with wild animals flourishing on the herbage there; their own cattle had subsisted on the wayside grasses through the length of their journey; they had not personally suffered anything much more serious than they would have endured in a similar trip—if there were room enough to make it—across the prairies of Illinois or Iowa, nor had they encountered any grave peril; and here they were, this soft, balmy June day, at the base of the mountains in a region of surpassing grandeur, beauty and fertility. Yet, when they started, in common with the friends they left behind them, many of this host believed they had entered upon an undertaking about as dangerous, as uncertain in its outcome, as we of these days are taught to regard an expedition to the North Pole, and requiring quite as much fortitude and determination.



Old Map showing "Great American Desert."

No eastern visitor to this part of the west in Denver's early days, rendered greater service to this immediate section of the country, than Mr. Horace Greeley, the justly-famous editor of the New York Tribune, who came to Denver in the summer of 1859. To many incidents of his visit we will give attention in a succeeding chapter of this volume, pausing here to say that he grasped with greater clearness and firmness, the mineral and other natural resources of Colorado, than were exhibited by any of his passing contemporaries. With respect to the gold discoveries, then just assuringly made, he gave in letters to his great newspaper, unbiased, unembellished, truthful information that was of inestimable benefit to the young settlements, and which should have served to disillusionize the excited, enthusiastic, thoughtless multitude which, with a hurrah, came streaming into the new country. But this really belongs to another part of our story.

Mr. Greeley had not, however, entirely freed his mind of the ancient yarns concerning the desert-like character of the west. His impressions of some districts were perceptibly influenced by the still lingering, common old prejudices which, with the discomforts of the long journey that were increased by a painful accident, combined to induce some conclusions reversed by him in later years. In his letter from Denver, dated June 15th, he dwelt at length on climatic and other conditions hereabouts, as he had observed them and had been told about them. His guileless, confiding character is well shown by some of the statements he transmitted to the readers of his great newspaper as facts. We quote a pair of examples:

> "High winds are of frequent, all but daily occurrence here, within a dozen miles of the great protecting bulwark of the Rocky Mountains; while, from a point fifty miles eastward from this, they sweep over the Plains almost constantly, and at times with resistless fury. A driver stated on our way up, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had known instances of tires being blown off from wagon-wheels by the tornadoes of the Plains; and, hard to swallow as that may seem, I have other and reliable assurance that, when the Missourians' camp, on the express-road, was swept by a hurricane, five or six weeks ago, so that, after the wreck, but three decent wagons could be patched up out of their six, as I have already narrated, one of the wheel-tires was found not only blown off but nearly straightened out!"

In a previous letter written June 2d, while on the stage journey to Denver from the east, Mr. Greeley thus gave his impressions of the country through which he was then passing:

> "For more than a hundred miles back, the soil has been steadily degenerating, until here where we strike the Republican, which has been far to the north of us since we left Ft. Riley, three hundred miles back, we seem to have reached the acme of barrenness and desolation. We left this morning, Station 17, on a little creek entitled Gouler, at least thirty miles back, and did not see a tree and but one bunch of low shrubs in a dry water-course throughout our dreary morning ride, till we came in sight of the Republican, which had a little—a very little—scrubby cotton-wood nested in and along its bluffs just here; but there is none beside for miles, save a little lurking in a ravine which makes down to the river from the north. Of grass there is a little of miserable quality—either a scanty furze or coarse alkaline sort of rush, less fit for food than for physic. Soil there is none but an inch or so of intermittent grass-root tangle, based on what usually seems to be a thin structure of clay, often washed off so as to leave nothing but a slightly argillaceous sand. Along the larger water-courses—this one especially—this sand seems to be as pure as Sahara can boast."

While considerable areas of that country still remain waterless in summer, the soil of nearly all of it possesses great inherent fertility, and none of it is at any season comparable with what has been told of the Sahara. It is true that emigrants crossing in midsummer by new and untried deviations from the established routes, for a few days suffered great hardships from the scarcity of water, but that district was not then nor is it now the dreary waste of endless sand the earlier writers were so fond of describing it to be.

At the time Mr. Greeley was making this account of that so-called desolate, foodless region, he was also commenting, with many expressions of wonder, upon the countless numbers of buffalo and antelope which were grazing, flourishing and growing fat on his Sahara land. He states that in one day's journeying he believed that he saw one million buffalo between sunrise and sunset. But he makes no attempt at reconciling his description of the country with the presence of such a host of huge animals sustaining themselves upon its vegetation. Mr. Greeley was then nearing Denver and almost within sight of a section of his Sahara which, with irrigation in later years, has been made a vast garden of greenery and bloom. The region through which he made his journey is now traversed by many railroads, and the traveler gliding along at high speed in a luxurious railway car, sees no such landscapes as those presented to the weary, dust-laden, creeping pilgrims of 1859.

Many readers of Mr. Greeley's letters, and they were read by many thousands, interpreted these accounts as applying to the whole central plains region, and there was in consequence, a revival of the waning confidence in the "Great American Desert." A considerable number of eastern folks decided that much of the old stories was true, after all was said and done. The great civil war came on, the thoughts and energies of the people on both sides were absorbed in the mighty struggle, and deserts, whether or no, were subjects of little importance in the presence of that tremendous conflict.

It is not difficult to see how even the travelers of the stage coach days were impressed by the long monotonous journey over the plains, and were led to conclusions that the country had little or no agricultural value. The mode of travel was trying and wearisome, cramped in a none too roomy vehicle day and night, with little chance for restful sleep; the comparative slowness of progress, with its dust and grime through the heat of a cloudless summer day; the radical difference between the plains country and that left behind to the eastward of the great rivers, and the apparently unwatered character of large sections; all these, with the well-known disposition of travelers to magnify the aspects of new, and to them, strange scenes, and the novel incidents of an unusual journey, tended toward judgments and convictions that would not be held under different circumstances. The occupants of the wheeled palaces that roll along on the rails of the many railroads westward of the Missouri, receive impressions of the country as different from those acquired in the pioneer times, as day is from night; and the railroads marked the end of the pioneer times.

In the spring and early summer the plains were in the main beautiful in the far-spreading greenery of the young grass and herbage, and brightened by myriads of wild flowers of many hues. Occasionally, though, there were stretches less inviting, in which there was no soil worthy the name and where from the tiresome, poverty-stricken sandy ground, the cactus, Spanish nettles, the prickly pear and kindred growths, of amazing persistence, flourished surprisingly in their uninviting surroundings, and with an abundance that seemed quite unnecessary. The prairie verdure matured early, and by midsummer over the long reaches of country, it was turned to brown and gray by the heat of the summer sun. But the hosts of buffalo and antelope fed and kept fat on this great store of naturally-cured hay standing where it had grown. Over considerable areas of the Colorado plains, the appearance of the country through the seasons remains, of course, practically unchanged. In winter it is necessarily bleak, as treeless, nearly flat landscapes are everywhere when the snow is driving and the winds are cold.

Of the mountain region the pioneers early learned that its character, while indescribable in the magnificent grandeur and beauty of its aspects, had been as grossly misrepresented as were the great plains spreading eastward from its base for so many miles. The mountains did not present a forbidding, impassable barrier to westward progress and occupation; they were not covered to their bases with a winding sheet of eternal snow; they did not constitute a vast, impenetrable region, towering in shattered masses of barren rocks to and above the clouds, where the unbroken, despotic rule of the Ice King forbade the presence of any living creature. Aside from the mineral treasures buried in their depths, the mountains were soon learned, furthermore, to be the glory of the country, and that nestled between the great chains were fertile valleys and parks of exquisite loveliness, with a fruitfulness of exceeding bounty.

Mr. Greeley appreciated their mighty magnificence, and their boundless value to mankind; and in evidence of this we quote from one of his letters written from Denver in June, 1859:

"And the Rocky Mountains, with their grand, aromatic forests, their grassy glades, their frequent springs, and dancing streams of the brightest, sweetest water, their pure, elastic atmosphere, and their unequalled game and fish, are destined to be a favorite resort and home of civilized man. I never visited a region where physical life could be more surely prolonged or fully enjoyed."

The desert fiction had a slow death, if its lingering end may even yet be said to have come. There are people where the rainfall flows into the Atlantic who still cherish this delusion of their youth and prefer not to have it disturbed.

Through the "Sixties" many known and unknown writing men came to the Pike's Peak region. The impressions of some of them survive in sundry books and in compilations of newspaper letters into book form, constituting in the main a collection of more or less valuable and interesting views and conclusions. Several of these writers—all of them had to get here by stage-coach over a large portion of their route—saw, or thought they saw, the old desert as they came out. One of these gentlemen was Colonel A. K. McClure, who later became more prominent as the owner and editor of the Philadelphia Times newspaper. He came to Denver in the spring of 1867 on a visit to the Rocky Mountains country. At that time the Union Pacific railroad was finished to North Platte, and the flood of immigration was pouring into Kansas, Nebraska and Dakota, and settling on the rich homestead lands to be had of the government for the asking.

Early Representation of a Prairie Fire on the "Great American Desert." (From an old print.)

Colonel McClure came by way of Omaha to North Platte by rail, whence he proceeded to Denver by stage. Like many of his journalistic predecessors, he wrote letters to various eastern newspapers while on his travels. These, in 1869, were published in book-form under the title, "Three Thousand Miles in the Rocky Mountains." In his letter from North Platte, dated May 8th, he thus described the country through which he had passed after leaving Omaha:

"After passing through Nebraska for a few miles, the evidence of progress is not marked. There are but few settlers on the line of the road, and after we enter what is called the Platte plains, about Fort Kearney, there seems to be little that can ever invite the husbandman. The valley, or

> vast plain, is bounded on every side by great bluffs, ranging from twenty or thirty miles apart, and the bluffs seem to be terribly sterile and repulsive. * * * * The valley is a miserable waste and I fear ever must be. * * * There is not a habitation on the route for nearly two hundred miles but such as are necessary to accommodate the railroad and the travel. Here and there are miserable adobe shanties, with signs out, offering whiskey and other luxuries to the weary sojourner."

Nearly all this region that contained "little to invite the husbandman," and which this writer feared must ever remain a "miserable waste," is now one vast cornfield of wonderful fertility, dotted over by thousands of well-kept homes. Colonel McClure came on to Denver from North Platte by stage, and under date of May 11th, recorded his further impressions of the country through which he had passed, as follows:

> "About Fort Kearney and thence westward there is but one continued plain, parched, whitened with alkali, without shrubbery or trees, almost entirely without small streams, and altogether inhospitable, bleak and desolate. * * * * The river Platte rolls its turbid waters through the Platte Valley, and makes no sign of life along its borders. It is wide, shallow, muddy, broken by innumerable islands, treacherous and apparently useless. It does not even skirt its own banks with shrubs or timber. Along its banks is the same weary waste that the plains present for miles on either side of it."

In a letter written at Denver a few days later, Colonel McClure said:

> "The "ranch" is the home of the western settler. Whether of the farmer, station-keeper, or retailer of the scant necessaries which command a sale to the emigrants and travelers, are called ranches. For six hundred miles east—from Denver to the Missouri river—there are scarcely any buildings but sod hovels, a single low story in height, and covered with sod or prairie grass. In these miserable holes they live, without a shrub or tree to shield them from the bleak storms of winter or the scorching suns of summer. Around them are no signs of vegetable life but what is presented by the vast prairie that reaches from bluff to bluff, north and south and east and west, until the vision is lost in the hazy distance. Not a plant is cultivated; not a single growth is known that affords sustenance for man. If they should plow and sow, they would be denied their harvest time. The dry summers, usually without rain from May until fall, parch everything that is green, and only the tough grasses of the prairie preserve a sickly shriveled life. These settlers produce nothing. They brave the perils of the scalping knife for a time, to gather enough money to enable them to remove east or still farther west and get a fruitful home. None of them, except those at important points like Julesburg, dream of spending a lifetime where they are."

It is hard to understand how or why an intelligent observer could or would, so late as 1867, describe such a country in terms so utterly misleading as these. "For six hundred miles east—from Denver to the Missouri river" there was nothing to inspire hope for the future! There was no promise for any growth that would afford sustenance for man! "If they should plow and sow they would be denied their harvest time!" This, of a country in which more than a million of men are now plowing and sowing without being denied their harvest time!

The ranchers built their low and often picturesque dwellings of the heavy root-matted sod, with walls two feet through, and roofs thatched with grass and thinner sods. Such houses may still occasionally be seen, and possess the comfortable qualities of coolness in summer and the cosiest warmth in winter. They are not, nor were they ever, the squalid abodes of a shiftless, spiritless peasantry. The comfort-giving homes of energetic, forceful men, they grew out of the conditions of their environment, and were good examples of adapting available means to necessary, immediate needs. Often they were surrounded by a corrall, or enclosure of sod built up in thick walls of the heavy turf, which gave them, if not the conventional aspect of a fort, much of the security afforded by a military structure, and afforded shelter and protection to the cattle of the owner, and of the wayfarer within his gates. Most of these habitations were long since superseded by more pretentious structures, those remaining being found chiefly in the remotest sections of the country.

There was a manifest disposition by the early visitors to this plains country to exaggerate nearly everything. A familiar but unimportant example of this exceedingly human tendency, was the usual description of prairie fires, which were said to be common, every-day events. These conflagrations were represented as great billows of flame rolling over the landscape, driving before them thousands of terror-stricken animals, striving in frantic desperation to escape the besom of destruction so fiercely pursuing them. The old school-book pictures made awful catastrophes of these events; and a favorite juvenile belief of the writer's vanished when he reluctantly learned that they were delusions. In one coveted geography that belonged to a comrade who went to another school, one of the "desert pictures" showed smoke masses rising above billows of flame and rolling up into the sky where the clouds should have been; but as to the phenomenon of so much fuel growing on such a desert, nothing was said. In the fast diminishing foreground were thousands of fleeing beasts—buffalo, beautiful wild horses, deer, antelope, wolves scared into unwolfly association with better creatures, and all the rest of the animal population of the plains. In the midst of this racing horde a pioneer was belaboring his galloping horses with a mighty whip, while his wife was trying to keep on her knees behind him in the wagon while she besecched heaven to assist in their salvation. The fate of that devoted couple remained for years a fascinating problem for youthful contemplation.

In some localities, such as broad river-bottoms, where the exceedingly rank growth of vegetation afforded large quantities of tinder-like fuel, such fires were very dangerous, and when swept forward by a driving gale were usually fatal to all living creatures encompassed by them. But, generally speaking, they were not so on the plains, proper. There, as a rule, the wild animals had no great difficulty in keeping ahead, or getting out of the way, of the prairie fires. The most interesting features they presented were the spectacular effects produced at night, which were sometimes impressive to the beholder, and suggestive of great danger; but in daylight they lost most of their threatening aspects.

A ready method of avoiding danger, and the one usually adopted by menaced people on the plains, was to start another fire where they were. The wind would soon drive this second blaze away from the starting point and in the same direction the other was advancing. In a few minutes this intentionally burned-over area would be quite large enough to afford security from the original fire, and with no greater inconvenience that the temporary one caused by its smoke.

The Indians who remained at large in the country until recent years, declared that the white men brought rain with them, and that the dry season was becoming shorter and favored with more frequent showers. Some of the old citizens of the State believe that the occupation and improvement of the country by the new population has been followed by a definite, though not large, increase in the rainfall over the eastern part of Colorado in which lies whatever there is of an arid district in the State.

The following tabulated statement of meteorological statistics covering the entire period of twenty-nine years during which the United States Weather Bureau has maintained a station in Colorado, was prepared for this History of Denver, by Mr. F. H. Brandenburg, local forecast official at Denver, and director of the Colorado section of the climate and crop service of the United States Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture. It is, we believe, the first time such a record covering the entire period has been presented in this compact and comprehensive form, and it is of much value and interest. It does not, unfortunately, sustain the beliefs of the Indians and old settlers that the amount of annual rainfall is increasing with the settlement and development of the country by the white people:

Dividing the period of the first twenty-eight years covered by this table into four lesser periods of seven years each, it will be seen that the average annual rainfall in the first minor period was 15.94 inches; in the second, 14.03 inches; in the third, 13.94 inches; and in the fourth, ending with the close of 1899, 12.74 inches. The greatest amount in any one of these twenty-eight years, was in 1891, when there were 21.43 inches; the least was in 1893, when there were but 8.48 inches. In 1900 it was rather above the average for the twenty-nine years.

Year.	Temperature.					Number of Days.				Total Precipitation in Inches.
	Mean.	Highest.	Date.	Lowest (Below Zero).	Date.	Clear.	Partly Cloudy.	Cloudy.	Days .01 in. or More Rain, Hail, Sleet or Snow.	
1872....	48	95	July 29. Aug. 5, 6, 7	—25	Jan. 28.	144	140	76	96	17.25
1873....	49	90	June 18. July 15.	—17	Jan. 28.	158	156	50	72	11.81
1874....	51	102	July 4.	—11	Feb. 25.	148	154	63	92	13.40
1875 ..	50	97	June 30.	—20	Jan. 9.	125	160	78	104	17.10
1876....	50	101	July 6.	—25	Dec. 24.	171	140	55	85	20.12
1877....	49	99	July 2,14,29 Aug. 5	—19	Nov. 29.	152	148	71	77	10.86
1878....	50	105	Aug. 8.	—12	Jan. 5. Dec. 14. Dec. 29.	163	137	65	93	15.46
1879....	52	98	July 12.	—17	Dec. 24.	191	139	35	57	10.85
1880....	48	96	June 19.	—14	Nov. 17.	168	154	44	75	9.56
1881....	50	99	July 15.	—29	Feb. 18.	158	154	53	82	13.79
1882....	50	94	Aug. 17.	— 4	Nov. 12.	202	130	33	78	14.40
1883....	49	96	July 19.	—22	Feb. 4.	187	124	54	89	19.40
1884....	49	96	July 6.	—15	Feb. 12.	141	186	30	99	15.07
1885....	50	97	July 15.	—11	Jan. 16.	148	160	57	95	15.96
1886....	50	98	July 15.	—19	Jan. 8.	158	167	40	95	15.07
1887....	51	98	June 28.	—18	Jan. 8.	150	174	41	80	12.49
1888....	50	100	July 11.	—30	Jan. 15.	152	168	52	81	9.51
1889....	50	100	July 31.	— 7	Feb. 17.	89	214	60	90	14.75
1890....	51	97	July 28.	— 8	Feb. 22.	124	172	69	67	9.22
1891....	48	94	July 13.	— 7	Jan. 10.	138	158	69	104	21.43
1892....	49	98	Aug. 14.	—17	Jan. 11.	142	165	59	80	16.02
1893....	51	96	July 3.	— 2	Feb. 2.	169	157	39	65	8.48
1894....	51	96	July 10.	— 8	Dec. 25.	160	159	46	76	15.00
1895....	49	98	Sept. 13.	—15	Feb 13.	150	163	52	51	16.12
1896....	52	98	July 12.	— 9	Nov. 27.	111	197	58	75	11.84
1897....	49	96	July 7.	—14	Jan. 27.	98	180	87	89	15.37
1898....	49	98	June 28.	—20	Dec. 9.	150	162	53	86	12.98
1899....	49	97	Sept. 5.	—22	Feb. 6.	205	109	51	74	9.32
1900....	50	97	Aug. 1.	—19	Dec. 31.	188	125	52	64	15.29

With respect to low temperatures this statement contradicts some popular local reminiscences. Next to the traditional cold snap of Christmas, 1859, when the mercury in the thermometers was alleged to have been frozen, January 9, 1875, has long been accorded a record of 32 degrees below zero. But the official report very materially reduces that record. Newspaper and other accounts attributed to February 6, 1899, a temperature of 29 degrees below zero, which, also, is not confirmed by the official record.

Denver stands in the midst of Mr. Webster's "region of savages and wild beasts, of deserts, shifting sands, and whirlwinds of dust," and of "endless mountain ranges, impregnable and covered to their very base with eternal snow." Around it over the plains are prosperous smaller cities, with many growing towns and villages lying between; and farmers are profitably and easily tilling hundreds of thousands of acres of his "worthless area." Farther to the east a vast section of his land of "cactus and prairie dogs" is producing corn and pork enough to feed half the people of the earth. To the west of Denver his impregnable, endless mountain ranges, are traversed by many railroads reaching the numerous flourishing mining towns, peopled by a busy population, which every year rescues from the depths of the ranges more mineral wealth of permanent value and utility, than is produced in any like area in the world. Time was when many others beside Mr. Webster declared the Colorado landscape to consist of but two features—great, dreary plains of drifting sand ending at the base of the impassable, appalling mountains of barren granite.

To be sure, these old fantastic beliefs seem incredible, unaccountable to us at this time, when we have bade farewell to the century in the last half of which all this wonderful development of this western domain has been accomplished. Furthermore, as we realize that the work has been no more than fairly begun, we may form some shadowy conceptions of what the future has in store for it. Dr. Hubbard Winslow Mitchell, in his "Evolution of Life," (1891) says of this Denver country:

"So fertile is this area and of such immense extent, that if the Rocky mountain region could be inclosed by a line beginning on the eastern border at the southeast corner of New Mexico, running thence slightly northwest, intersecting the city of Denver, and continuing in the same direction, through Wyoming and Montana, to the line of British Columbia, and by another line on the western border of the mountains, exactly parallel to it, and intersecting Salt Lake City, it would comprise a territory of sufficient extent to support the entire population of the earth.

"The agricultural and mineral resources of this vast area would profitably employ and comfortably support all the people that now live upon the earth."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Wild Animals of the Plains and Mountains—Enormous Numbers of Buffalo—Their Wanton Slaughter and Practical Extinction—Antelope—"Wild" Horses—Wolves and Prairie "Dogs"—Bears—Mountain "Lion"—Elk, Deer, and Mountain "Sheep"—Insect Pests—Approaching Extermination of Many Types of Wild Creatures.

Animal life existed in this great western empire on a scale befitting so vast and favorable a region. In the early years of the past century the buffalo on these plains were literally countless. All estimates of them were mere guesses and probably on the conservative side. At times single herds would blacken the hills and valleys as far as the eye could see. Out where the sky bent down to the earth there were as many all around as there seemed to be immediately in front of the spectator. The demands made upon them by the Indian population, before the white man came with his deadly rifle, had no appreciable effect in diminishing their numbers.

There were no antagonistic animals on the plains capable of causing them much trouble. The big, white "buffalo wolf," and his smaller kinsman, the gray wolf, were their worst pests; but these enemies had to confine their assaults chiefly to the young, the decrepit aged, and the accidentally disabled. The adult animals, when associated in numbers, and in possession of their natural defensive abilities, cared little for the hungry attentions of these gentry; but, when even a full-grown bull was caught off by himself, by a pack of famished wolves, he was often surrounded, worried and dragged down, by them attacking him in the flanks and rear. The coyote was beneath notice. Thus, without particularly destructive enemies, and with a boundless feeding ground, the buffalo had little to do but multiply and replenish; and they did both with praiseworthy diligence.

Originally these animals ranged over all the central portion of the North American continent, as far east as the eastern part of the State of New York, and west over the great Utah basin and down the fertile valley of the Columbia river. From the latitude of central Texas they roamed northward far into the plains of British America to the latitude of the lower confines of Hudson's Bay. They fast melted away before the encroachments of the white men's settlements, and the last one killed east of the Mississippi, went down in 1832. Up to 1836 they still flourished in large numbers along both sides of the Missouri river, and from that stream out here to the Rocky Mountains their droves dotted and darkened the landscape for miles in every direction.

When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri river on their famed exploring expedition, they encountered a herd crossing that stream in such numbers that the animals choked it for a distance of several miles, and compelled the exploring party to wait a considerable part of a day for the great shoal of beasts to pass across.

At so comparatively recent a time as thirty years ago there were enormous herds between Denver and the then settled parts of Kansas and Nebraska. Of some of them Colonel Inman says:

"In the autumn of 1868 I rode with Generals Sheridan, Custer and Sully, and others, for three consecutive days, through one continuous herd, which must have contained millions. In the spring of 1869 the train on the Kansas Pacific Railroad was delayed at a point between Forts Harker and Hays, from nine o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, in consequence of the passage of an immense herd of buffalo across the track. On each side of us, and to the west as far as we could see, our vision was only limited by the extended horizon of the flat prairie, and the whole vast area was black with the surging mass of affrighted buffaloes as they rushed onward to the south."

"On either side of the tracks of the two lines of railroads running through Kansas and Nebraska, within a relatively short distance and for nearly their whole length, the most conspicuous objects in those days were the desiccated carcasses of the noble beasts that has been ruthlessly slaughtered by the thoughtless and excited passengers on their way across the continent. On the open prairies, too, miles away from the course of legitimate travel, in some places one could, walk all day on the dead bodies of the buffaloes, killed by the hide-hunters, without stepping off them to the ground."

The females were about the size of an ordinary cow, but the males were twice as big and presented an exaggerated aspect of ferocity. They were clumsy, lumbering creatures, but when wounded and brought to bay, they became dangerous customers. Many a hunter forfeited his life, and that of his horse to boot, to the charging fury of a wounded buffalo bull, which could gore and rip and tear with the strong stumpy horns of his shaggy head, with amazing dexterity.

It was asserted by hunters and other observers that a herd would post sentinels on surrounding elevations to keep watch and give warning of approaching danger, and that calves and half-grown youngsters which were the favorite victims of the ever-hungry wolves, were carefully guarded in the center of the drove. While they were not combative animals, and greatly desired to be left alone, the bulls would have frequent encounters, inspired by pride or provoked by jealousy, between themselves; and the wolves would often profit by the result of the combats.

Ordinarily a drove of buffalo was no more dangerous than a drove of Texas cattle; often far less so. At the first sign of danger the herd would put off on a slow, bumping sort of gallop, but could be easily overtaken by a fair, average horse. They would crowd along blindly, and if a precipice or the abrupt bank of a stream stood in their way, over it they would go, tumbling in heaps, crippling, or trampling to death many of their comrades. Again would the "prairie lawyers," as the irreverent plainsmen nick-named the attentive wolves, have a satisfactory feast.

Herd of Buffalo—The Superintendent's Peril.

It was a perilous thing for a man and his beast to be in front of a stampeded herd of buffaloes and unable to avoid the oncoming mass of blindly galloping creatures. They would overwhelm him in a moment, the weight of their heavy bodies on their sharp hoofs quickly mince him to pieces, and all that would be left would be a few pulpy masses ground into the dust by the myriad feet of the passing drove. Many a man so lost his life, and many were the tales in earlier times of a narrow escape from such a fate. The experience of R. B. Fuller, a division superintendent of the old Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Stage company is a fair example of such an adventure.

He was riding the route of his stages and while passing through a depression in the plains a rushing drove of several thousand buffalo suddenly appeared, bearing swiftly down upon him. He was riding a mule, and the beast with characteristic perversity balked, either through natural stubbornness or sudden terror, and refused to budge an inch. A leading bull struck the halting creature amidship, gave him a rip and a capsizing shove, and the mule with his rider still astride him, fell dead in a motionless heap. The animal's body protected Fuller, who quickly drew his revolver and fired its charges in rapid succession, but not before several of the foremost buffaloes had jumped over him and what was left of the mule. The reports and smoke caused the herd to divide and swerve to each side, the two columns passing the unharmed man in a few minutes. This was an example of many such incidents, with the exception that its ending was more fortunate than most of them.

In a few years the great host of these creatures was swept from the face of the earth. The fur companies early began the slaughter, and prior to 1850 shipped buffalo hides to the east by tens of thousands annually. The American Fur Company is credited, or accused, of having marketed more than fifty thousand in one season. The passing emigrants, beginning with the movement to California in 1849, and following in the greater multitudes that marked the era dating from Denver's birth, caused the destruction of many more thousands. The ambition of every wayfarer across the plains was to kill a buffalo at as early a stage of the journey as he could, and to repeat the feat as often as he could. Of course, many of those thus slaughtered were for needed food, and the loss in numbers from this cause was not very disastrous to the buffalo. However, it made the herds keep farther away from the overland passages after the spring of 1859, and to be shyer than they previously had been. Yet, for more than a decade after that time the Denver market was well supplied with buffalo beef, the younger animals yielding excellent steaks. But when the white "hide hunters" later appeared on the scene the fate of the great beasts of the plains was sealed, and their doom came swiftly. These men, even more relentless than the fur companies' people, hunting in squads would assail a herd and hang on to it until it was annihilated—not one animal escaping. The hides were removed and later became the comfortable "buffalo robes," or "buffalo coats," while the carcasses were left to rot on the ground. Thus, the herds were pursued from place to place by these pitiless butchers until all were gone. No such slaughter of God's creatures was ever known in the history of the world as that of the buffalo on these plains. It was sickening, wholesale destruction, with a few greasy dollars for each hide as the only incentive and reward.

A large part of this wanton, brutal butchery was accomplished in the few years between 1860 and 1875. The "hide men" had the co-operation of hundreds of pretended sportsmen who came from all over the country and from England and other foreign lands, to take part in the disgraceful slaughter. These men wantonly killed for the brutal love of killing, leaving the carcasses of their victims to be skinned by the "hide men" to the latter's satisfaction and bloody profit. So things went along until a most interesting and valuable animal was all but exterminated. As a sport, it became toward the end, about as thrilling and sportsmanlike as shooting so many milk cows; the bedeviled creatures having lost all their former defensive combativeness.

A business that followed the practical extermination of these beasts, and one that is not yet wholly abandoned, was that of gathering buffalo bones from the plains where they were so abundant, and shipping them to makers of carbon and fertilizers. It was a lucrative business for many men. Thousands of car-loads of these bones have been transported beyond the Missouri river. At many wayside stations along the railways they were seen corded up and stacked in great heaps, awaiting transportation. The amounts yielded by these relics added to the pitiful sums received for the fresh hides, less freight and expenses, constituted all there was to show for the shameful annihilation of the vast herds of these harmless and valuable animals. A small number, guarded by the government in Yellowstone Park, a little bunch reported to exist in Routt county in northwestern Colorado, and another far up on the headwaters of the South Platte river, with a few individuals in zoological collections, such as the small herd in our City Park, are the sole survivors of the once countless host.

Of the extent of the traffic in buffalo bones for some years after the construction of the railroads across the plains, we quote the following remarkable statement from Inman:

> "An idea may be formed of how many buffaloes were killed from 1869 to 1881, a period of only thirteen years, during which time they were indiscriminately slaughtered for their hides. In Kansas alone there was paid out, between the dates specified, two million five hundred thousand dollars for their bones gathered on the prairies, to be utilized by the various carbon works of the country, principally in St. Louis. It required about one hundred carcasses to make one ton of bones, the price paid averaging eight dollars a ton; so the above-quoted enormous sum represented the skeletons of over thirty-one millions of buffalo. These figures may appear preposterous to readers not familiar with the great plains a third of a century ago; but to those who have seen the prairie black from horizon to horizon with the shaggy monsters, they are not so."
>
> "These statistics I have carefully gathered from the freight departments of the railroads, which kept a record of all the bones that were shipped, and from the purchasers for the carbon works, who paid out the money at various points. Some of the bones, however, may have been on the ground for a longer time, as decay is very slow in the dry air of the plains."

Colonel Inman's estimate of the weight of the buffalo's skeleton is probably a serious error in his calculations, resulting in a greatly magnified conclusion. The animals were, however, slaughtered literally by millions during the years he specifies.

The antelopes were the most beautiful and graceful creatures of the plains. While they were abundant, they did not equal in numbers the great, shaggy buffalo, of which they were often companions. Their flesh was highly esteemed as food and they paid dearly for maintaining its fine qualities. Their bodies were so nearly the color of the dry grass and earth that they were almost indistinguishable at any great distance. But when they were headed away on a run the patches of white hair below their tails betrayed them at once. These would comically bob up and down as the fleet-footed creatures put distance between themselves and suspicious objects.

The antelope often fell a victim to his overladen sense of curiosity. The hunter would stand a stick or the ramrod of his gun in the ground, attach a handkerchief or bit of colored cloth to the upper end, and lie await as the signal flapped in the breeze. The antelope, noticing the unusual object and curious to learn more about it, would slowly approach to his doom. These handsome, graceful, swift little creatures, with their large, dark, liquid eyes, were slaughtered as ruthlessly as their larger associates, and are now, also, about exterminated. In a few remote sections, small herds still exist, but they are but the merest remnants of the hundreds of thousands that flourished thirty or forty years ago.

There were no wild horses on the western plains nor anywhere else in the United States, in a strictly correct sense. That is to say, there were no wild horses native to the region, as the buffalo, elk and antelope were. The horse was unknown to the Indians until after the advent of Europeans on this continent. East of the Mississippi it was not adopted and used to any extent by the red people before they were deported from that section of the United States. Here in the west at the beginning of the past century a considerable number of horses ran wild upon the plains, and it was from this stock that the western Indians obtained their original supply by capturing the colts and domesticating them. The aggregate of these animals possessed by the different tribes would have been many thousands.

The "wild horses" of the plains were descendants of those brought into Mexico and New Mexico by the Spaniards, some of which escaped or were liberated, and took to a free life in the vast country. Whatever the original animals of the Spaniards' may have been, their descendants were smallish, wiry, hardy beasts; and ugly, withal. Whether those possessed by the Indians had been degraded by the rough and ignorant treatment received from the savages, or whether the wild stock had been run down by exposure to the elements and a generally rough and tumble life is, of course, not known. But the Indian pony was well adapted to the uses to which he was put, and his hardiness, great endurance and general toughness of both physical and moral character, make him peculiarly suited to his present service under white men in the west.

A popular story in the older books was that of a beautiful, large, white stallion, with glossy, jet-black ears, the able leader of a great drove of wild horses of size and beauty second only to that of their snowy commander. Repeated efforts were made to capture the magnificent animal, but he always succeeded in avoiding servitude, and in guiding his associates beyond the reach of the covetous white man. This drove was reported to have been seen at different times in localities all the way from Omaha to Santa Fe, and from Wyoming to Texas. A story so interesting and appropriate ought to have been true.

The white "buffalo wolf" and his smaller half-brother, the gray wolf; the shaggy brown, and the black wolves; all ugly, howling and hungry, once made themselves much in evidence in the mountains and on the plains, but are now infrequently seen, the few survivors keeping themselves in the remoter background. Except when in considerable packs, and famished by hunger, these unpopular beasts were not very dangerous to man. They were naturally cowardly sneaks, and their fighting qualities were exaggerated in the earlier stories, like most everything else told of the great west in those days. These creatures, except, as we have said, when given the courage inspired by numbers and made desperate by hunger, preferred to avoid close contact with man. Their humble relative, the timid, barking, coyote—the "medicine wolf" of the Indians—is a harmless little wretch who has managed to escape destruction and still flourishes in some localities. Aside from his raids on sheep and other small deer, he is not troublesome. In the old times he was usually found hanging around his larger brethren waiting for the fragments that could be snatched from any feast good luck might put in their way.

The frisky little prairie dogs, which are not any sort of dogs, at all, but resemble fox squirrels excepting in their somewhat shorter bodies, and short tails, are the only wild animals of the plains that survive in large numbers. People who have eaten their flesh pronounce it palatable, and in quality about as good as that of a rabbit. Large communities of them flourish in many places. They were objects of great interest to the emigrants, and the occasional presence of a rattlesnake and more frequent appearance of small owls in the dog towns, led to the conclusion that these undesirable visitors habitually shared the homes of the little beasts; and it was fashionable for every writer of western tales for eastern consumption, to tell of the strange family that resulted from such a combination of tenants. In vain did the pioneer residents who had carefully observed the habits of all three, insist that the owls and snakes were there in search of their dinners, for which the young puppies made fine material; and the undeserved reputation for so foolishly sharing his home with such dangerous enemies still clings to the prairie dog.

He dwells in a burrow which is frequently excavated five or six feet in depth, the spoil from the digging being heaped at the entrance, into a small mound. On this the timid animal spends much of his time, sitting erect on his haunches and hailing his friends and neighbors by the little yelps or barks from which he derived his unbefitting name.

Among the other smaller fry of native four-footed creatures, all surviving in diminished numbers the presence of the destructive white man, are the lynx and the wild cat, the wolverine, three or four varieties of foxes, the mink, badger and pine marten, a few lonesome beaver, and four types of hares and rabbits—the latter being in great plenty and good promise of continuing so.

The wild ducks and geese still come and go, and with them swans are sometimes seen. In distant localities affording agreeable and comparatively secure abodes, wild turkeys may yet be encountered, and prairie chickens are to be found in many places on the plains. In the mountains the mountain grouse flourishes, and changes the color of its plumage in harmony with the changing aspects wrought in the landscape by the successive seasons. In the lofty highlands to the northward where the frost holds sway through longer periods of the year, the ptarmigan, whose feathered garb also turns from white to brown as the snowy season lapses, may be found by those with sufficient fortitude and endurance to seek him in his lonely, elevated haunts.

In the mountain districts the bears once were numerous, and often raided out on the plains. They mustered the black, cinnamon and the grizzly, and the latter was the central figure of action in many thrilling hunting stories of unutterable interest to their boyish readers. When Fremont's expedition of 1843 was encamped here on the site of Denver, some members of the party encountered a big one near the mouth of Cherry creek, but let him get away. The grizzly is the largest and most ferocious of his species. With a weight equal to that of a good-sized horse, a vitality capable of enduring many wounds, and a most fearless and combative disposition, he is hard to kill, and still harder to manage if his hunter only wounds him. Probably he survives in distant and unfrequented parts in the mountains, but it is several years since one was last seen anywhere near Denver. The same may be said of the cinnamon bear, which is nearly the size of the grizzly, and almost his equal at close quarters, though not so difficult to disable or kill. The black bear has not been brought so near to extermination, and still flourishes in some of the mountain parts. He is more easily managed by the hunter, and takes not unkindly to captivity, being a familiar figure in most zoological collections. However, all of them are close upon the common fate of the other large wild creatures of the Colorado country.

Union Pacific Passenger Train stopped by a herd of Buffalo. (From a picture made in 1870.)

The "mountain lion" is another rather formidable beast, but not altogether so dangerous as his name might imply; and his name, by the way, does not very happily apply to an animal of his appearance, manners and habits. He is a cat all right enough, but ranks with the panthers and cougars. He stands about two feet high when squarely on his legs and out of his habitual crouching, has a body near four feet long, and is a most skillful climber of trees. In the pioneer times it was not unusual for these stealthy creatures to present themselves at night in the vicinity of the gold-hunters' camps, where they were sometimes mistaken in the darkness for the large gray wolves of the prairies. It is recorded that one of them attempted to enter a tent in Auraria one night, late in the autumn of 1858, where a man had died of a fever a few days before. These animals are still numerous in the mountains, and are not unduly dangerous to hunters who seek their lives for the sake of securing their handsome skins, for the creature rarely courts encounter with a man.

Along the foot-hills, in the valleys and the mountain parks, in the days of Denver's founding, elk and several kinds of deer were so abundant that they almost trod upon each other's heels; and the mountain sheep in large numbers looked down upon them from the eminences. So plentiful were these animals that the pioneers of the Pike's Peak country had no difficulty in keeping their larders well supplied with changes of good meat food, when they were satiated with their routine provisions. The deer and elk were the favorites, the mountain sheep being held in less esteem.

This queer creature, which is really an antelope, is larger than its domestic, wool-bearing namesake, and has no wool. Its name is about as much out of the way as that of the mountain lion. Its head slightly resembles that of a sheep, but the horns, especially the huge ones of the male, destroy much further similarity, and give to the head an appearance more like that of a goat.

The male is much larger than the female, and both have horns, those of the latter being about six inches long, pointed and somewhat flat; those of the male grow to the relatively great size of from five to six inches in diameter at the butt and, if straightened out, would be from two to three feet in length—the animal being largely horns, and the arrangement a good one, as the male does all the fighting. This equipment renders other useful service, for, in his reckless jumping downward the male sometimes misses his footing and strikes on his head, his horns acting as a kind of buffer to receive the shock of impact. In color the mountain sheep vary from a dingy white to a dark brown, or the grayish brown of the deer. A section of pure white extends from ham to ham, and includes the tail, which is short, and tipped with black. Instead of the wool their badly-chosen name suggests, they have hair like a deer, and shed it annually. They "ba-ah" like the domestic sheep, and the males are quite combative among themselves. They choose their abodes in the mountain regions that are most difficult of access, and are extremely hard to capture alive, even when young. It seems difficult for them to live away from their mountain haunts, and few have long survived captivity. For this reason they have been rarely seen in zoological collections. They are now extinct in the region for many miles around Denver, but a few still exist in the remoter parts of the Colorado mountains.

When George A. Jackson, the gold discoverer, was prospecting on Clear creek in January, 1859, he found hundreds of mountain sheep assembled around the hot springs which, in later years have made Idaho Springs a noted place. The sheep were there for water, and to feed on the grass which the warmth and moisture of the locality had stimulated to luxuriant growth, the same influences keeping it free from snow during the winter season.

The bears, reduced to a few individuals, have followed the surviving sheep into distinct hiding places, but the deer and elk of the mountain districts have not yet become so exclusive, and still flourish there in considerable numbers, with a tendency believed to be toward increase.

Some of the pioneer white men in this Rocky Mountain country asserted that the carrion fly, the common house-fly, the chincha, the mosquito and sundry other insectivorous pests of civilization, were not known in this region until after immigration streamed into it; and that these unwelcome visitors had no sufficient bases of operations until such were afforded by the settlements. This pioneer theory is not recommended as an established fact; but however it may have been with the flies and their relatives then, it is certain that those unpopular beings have since found neither the country nor the climate unfriendly enough to induce them to leave.

The presence of the civilized white man is fatal to the co-existence of wild creatures, whether wild beasts or wild men, and both go down before him as the grain falls to the sickle. His needs are so many, or he makes so many of them, that beings living a primitive life take up too much room in gaining a livelihood, to have the approval and toleration of the self-esteemed, more highly developed creature.

The game laws of the State of Colorado, though they were slow in reaching their present comprehensive scope, are doing much to prevent the total extermination of the beautiful, graceful and interesting wild animals of its territory. Under an intelligent, undiscriminating execution of these laws, many of these animals, especially those having their abodes in the mountain districts, may be preserved. Those of the plains are gone never to return, and it is improbable that the buffalo will be enabled to rehabilitate himself, even in small numbers, from the few surviving members of his species existing in the State. He requires large ranges, and the fine mountain parks that would accommodate him so well are utilized for other purposes. His return to the plains is not to be considered, and therefore, about the only hope for him lies in the direction of Yellowstone Park, where it is possible small bands may find sufficient protection to enable them to remain in the world as shaggy wards of the Nation.

The carnivorous animals, being outlaws under the statutes of Colorado, may be expected to disappear before many more years elapse. Under the relentless warfare waged against them, they have suffered heavy losses which, repeated a few times more, will end them. A popular winter sport is that of hunting them in organized parties of men, and these gatherings have been brought together by excursions on the railroads. When the locomotive sets out to hunt the mountain lion, the beginning of the end of Colorado lions is not far away.

Mr. Greeley recorded sundry opinions, including his own, of the edible qualities of certain game animals in the Denver region, and of others not usually classed as game, which had been tried by some of his companions, as they claimed. His recital is not without evidence that the good man's receptive nature had been imposed upon by his counsellors. He said:

> "I find buffalo beef to be a tough, dry wooden fiber, only to be eaten under great provocation. I infer that it is poorer in spring than at other seasons, and that I have not been fortunate in cooks. Bear, I was surprised to learn, is not generally liked by mountaineers—my companions had eaten every species, and were not pleased with any. The black-tailed deer of the mountains is a general favorite; so is the mountain-hen or grouse; so is the antelope, of course; the elk and mountain sheep less decidedly so. None of our party liked horse, or knew any way of cooking it that would make it really palatable, though of course it has to be eaten occasionally, for necessity hath no law—or rather, is its own law. Our conductor had eaten boiled wolf, under compulsion, but could not recommend it; but he certified that a slice of cold, boiled dog—well boiled, so as to free it from rankness, and then suffered to cool thoroughly—is tender, sweet and delicate as lamb."

Although killing the buffalo for its hide had been a business enterprise of the fur-trading period, it was then done principally by the Indians to enable them to get something they could barter for firewater and other necessaries supplied by the traders. Therefore, while the aggregate slaughter was great, it was not like the wholesale butchery that ensued when bands of white men took up the business as a trade. As late as the coming of the gold-seekers of 1858, the wild animals of this western country had not learned to look upon man as the most dangerous of all enemies, and would frequently draw near to passing wagon trains, and emigrant camps, in innocent curiosity or in search of food.

Their experience with the transient stream of California emigration had been forgotten, and they did not realize that the ruthless being who had again come among them, had come to stay; and to mar the beautiful natural meadows with winding wagon roads, muddy the clear streams, cut away the forests, disembowel the hills and cover their slopes with unsightly rubbish, tear out the gulches, exterminate the wild creatures of the region and drive out the wild lord of the soil, and bring in the rushing locomotive to go screaming across the plains and shrieking over the mountains; and, as with magic, build towns and cities in the land that had been all their own through so many, many years.

CHAPTER XIX.

Early Rumors and Discoveries of Gold—Old-Time Stories and Traditions—Circumstances Leading to Organization of the Russell Party in Winter of 1857-58—Its Progress Across the Plains and Arrival at Mouth of Cherry Creek—Organization and Coming of the Lawrence Party—First Ascent of Pike's Peak—Effect of These Western Movements.

At the close of the first half of the past century the westward tide of emigration had fringed the Missouri river, from the site of Kansas City to that of Omaha, and beyond, with various rude hamlets, straggling towns and embryo "cities;" and some of it had passed across to the prairies of eastern Kansas and Nebraska. Missouri had been a State since 1820, and Iowa since 1845. The great river which bisects Missouri was the natural highway leading to what was then the Far West.

In May, 1854, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were created by act of Congress, and organized government, such as it was, in the new region, gave fresh stimulus to the advancing civilization. For several years after, the people of the more populous Territory of Kansas were in embroilment that was practically a state of civil war, and their dissensions and strife diverted public attention from the farther west, the dormant possibilities of which had long been clouded by the fabulous earlier stories of the "Great American Desert."

The value and resources of the Louisiana Territory had for years before been discussed by those who upheld and those who condemned its purchase; and between the roseate views of its friends and the desolate pictures made by its opponents, the public mind had been left in a state of awaiting doubt. One of President Jefferson's defenders, in a little book published at Cincinnati a few years after the purchase, ventured the following somewhat optimistic statements about the Rocky Mountains:

> "These mountains are supposed to contain minerals, precious stones, and gold and silver ore. It is but late that they have taken the name 'Rocky Mountains;' by all the old travelers they are called the Shining Mountains, from an infinite number of crystal stones of an amazing size, with which they are covered, and which, when the sun shines full upon them, sparkle so as to be seen at a great distance. The same early travelers gave it as their opinion that in future these mountains would be found to contain more riches than those of Indostan and Malabar, or the golden coast of Guinea, or the mines of Peru."

The views of this worthy old chronicler, barring the harmless deception of the huge, light-reflecting crystal stones practiced upon him by his "early travelers," have been well sustained by developments of later years.

The decline of the fur trade after 1840, caused most of the restless, adventurous, sparse population in this region to seek other fields of activity and usefulness. Without the fur business, or with a steady and portentous diminution of it, they could see little ahead to keep them here. The gold discoveries in California, recounted in the exaggerated forms assumed after a journey of more than a thousand miles, attracted many from this intermediate territory, and by the close of that decade a census would have shown a great reduction in the number of white people—none too great at any time—in this part of the country. The Indians were growing more restless and troublesome, and were becoming disposed to open hostility. So, all the conditions tended toward the abandonment of the region by the majority of the white adventurers, who had about exhausted what they considered its resources, and who were largely birds of passage, anyway.

True, there were some who believed that new sources of wealth awaited discovery and development. Aside from the old Spanish stories of gold and silver in these mountains, there were traditions of gold nuggets carried in the pockets of trappers and mountaineers in earlier times. There were old tales growing out of Pike's expedition in occasional circulation; and others, of more indefinite character, coming from no one knew just where.

That hunting for the precious metals was the leading purpose of Coronado's long, fatiguing, resultless expedition into this general region in 1540-42, is indicated by the tone of disappointment in the published Spanish account of it, in which the statement is made that after reaching the fortieth parallel of north latitude, and "finding no gold, they returned to Mexico."

While Lieutenant Pike was detained at Santa Fe he fell in, as we have related, with James Pursley, to whom we have heretofore referred as one of the pioneer Americans in this part of the world. Pursley is represented in some of the accounts to have told Pike that he had found gold on the tributaries of the South Platte; and that when he was in the South Park had found more, some grains of which he exhibited with the assertion that he brought them out of there himself when he started for Santa Fe.

Of his interview with Pursley, Pike says in his "Account:"

> "He assured me that he had found gold on the head of the Plate [the South Platte] and had carried some of the virgin mineral in his shot pouch for months, but that being in doubt whether he should ever again behold the civilized world, and losing in his mind all the ideal value which mankind have stamped on that metal, he threw his sample away; that he had imprudently mentioned it to the Spaniards, who had frequently solicited him to go and shew a detachment of cavalry the place, but conceiving it to be in our territory he had refused, and was fearful that the circumstance might create a great obstacle to his leaving the country."

Pursley also said that the large band of Indians with which he had come into this part of the country, had left in the South Park the evidence of a numerous company's previous visit, which had attracted the explorer's attention when he was there. There is no record that Pursley ever went back to the South Park to develop his discovery, nor is anything further known about him.

The hunters and trappers of the fur-trading period learned of the existence of gold here, but without giving the knowledge much consideration, soon after they had come into this part of the country. As early as 1832 some of them found small quantities of it in the beds of the mountain streams. For several years thereafter it was not a rare thing for men to bring in to Vasquez's trading post, then at the mouth of our Clear creek, a few bits of gold they had found in their wanderings in this region. But so scant was the attention given these incidents at Vasquez's that they occasioned but passing notice, and no attempt was made to look for gold as a business. No one took the trouble to identify the localities where these small vagrant collections of dust had been made, so destitute of importance and significance did they appear to the men then attached to the Vasquez trading post.

One of the trappers roaming this region in these old times was a French Canadian named Duchet. An old story makes him one of the finders of gold in these parts "away back in the Thirties," also. It appears that he picked up in Horse creek—a South Park tributary of the South Platte—a piece of disintegrating rock that was rich in gold; that he carried it in his hunting pouch until he got tired of it, and then, without realizing its value, but regarding it only as a novelty, threw it away. A short time afterward, while at Santa Fe, the emptyings of his pouch containing small particles of gold, instantly attracted attention from men down there who appreciated their significance, and who besought Duchet to identify the creek upon which he had picked up the gold-bearing rock. But the old trapper could not again find the place, nor could any one else.

Sage, the hunter and trapper hitherto mentioned as one of the pioneer mountain men, seems to have known the general mineral character of this region, but his opinions involved theories quite different from those commonly entertained. He was a man above the average of his class, and kept a record of his daily adventures and observations, which he afterward published. Hollister says "he was somewhat of a sage by nature as well as in name." In noting his experience in the winter of 1843-44, while crossing the divide between Cherry creek and the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, Sage presents the following unique theory of the cause of certain uncomfortable climatic conditions:

> "The country hereabouts for an extent upwards of one thousand square miles, is much subject to storms of rain, hail, snow and wind. I can account for it in no way but by supposing it to have some connection with the vast quantities of minerals lying embedded in its hills and valleys."

Later in that season Sage found some tangible evidence to support his belief in the mineral character of the country. He had established his camp for the winter of 1843-44 on the side of the present city of Golden, and toward spring picked up in that vicinity several pieces of rock which, he records, he suspected to be gold-bearing. But he did not attach much importance to the matter.

In several places along the front range suspicious excavations were observed in the early days. Finding a copper kettle or two near some of them, gave rise in recent years to the theory that the digging had been done by ancient gold-miners from the ruined cliff habitations in the distant southwest corner of the State. But there is nothing to show that those stone-age people knew anything about mining. It is true, that the pre-historic people once occupying the Mississippi valley were in possession of silver; but it is more than probable that if the excavations referred to were prospect holes, they were made by the Spaniards, who were hungry and tireless seekers for gold wherever there was any prospect of finding it.

The old Spanish records state that after the conquest of the pueblo region and the subjugation of its inhabitants, at the close of the sixteenth century, the Spaniards made slaves of many of the people and compelled them to hunt for gold and silver in the mountain country of the north, but all particulars of these ancient mining enterprises are absent. If those natives ever did any successful work, it must have been in recovering free gold, as there is no evidence that they knew of any method of reducing refractory ores. The Spaniards of that time were but little in advance of them; the carbonates of lead were the only ores they well understood how to manage. Shallow shafts and other indications of old mining operations were observed between the Culebra and the Trinchera in what is now Costillo county, in the southern part of the State. It has been assumed that the Spanish leader Onate and his party, who were in that country in 1595, were responsible for these old workings. Onate represented upon his return home that he had found both gold and silver in the northward region he had visited.

"Spanish Bar" on Clear creek, a short distance below the mouth of Fall river did not, as has frequently been stated, receive its name from evidences of early mining there, but from an incident that occurred in 1859, and of which some account is given in a succeeding chapter.

A historical account of Park county, published about twenty-five years ago by the Sentinel newspaper, of Fairplay, relates that the trapper known as "old Bill Williams" claimed to have found gold in the South Park in 1848, while hunting and trapping there. If he did, he must, like Sage with the supposed gold-bearing pieces of rock found near the site of Golden, have considered his discovery as of little importance, for nothing ever came of it through his instrumentality.

Judge Wilbur F. Stone's historical sketch of Pueblo county, published about the same time, says that "in 1848 the children of William Bent, while camped on Crow creek, on the way from Fort Bridger to Bent's Fort, are said to have gathered small nuggets of gold." Crow creek is a Weld county tributary of the South Platte, but its locality has not been known as a gold district.

Another story of a pioneer gold discovery, that has been handed down with much semblance of accuracy, is that, in 1849, a party was made up in Georgia to go to the Rocky Mountains to have a season's hunt for big game. These people came out here and had their sport, and while encamped at the mouth of the Cache-a-la-Poudre river, in August of that year, are said to have found some gold in the bed of that stream. They are said, also, to have related the character and circumstances of their discovery on their way back east, and after they reached their homes.

In 1849, Governor William Gilpin, who was then Colonel William Gilpin, of the United States army, and whose career later became an important part of the history of Colorado, delivered an address at Independence, Missouri, which obtained considerable circulation through the newspapers along the border. Colonel Gilpin was, of course, well grounded in the natural sciences, and his geological knowledge combined with his personal observatives and examinations, had convinced him, upon his first visit to this part of the country, of the existence of gold, silver and precious stones in the Rocky Mountains. Colonel Gilpin accompanied Fremont's expedition in 1843, which crossed the plains to Fort St. Vrain and from there proceeded up the South Platte. One of the party's camping places after leaving St. Vrain was here on the site of Denver. While with Fremont that summer Colonel Gilpin found traces of gold in several of the streams in this region. During the war with Mexico, in which he rendered distinguished services in New Mexico, Colonel Gilpin commanded expeditions against the Ute and the Navajo Indians, which penetrated the mountain recesses in the San Juan country, and while thus engaged saw unmistakable evidences of gold, silver and copper, in several places. In 1847 he commanded an expedition of twelve hundred troops against the Indians here in this part of the west, who were menacing emigration then setting in by the overland route for the Oregon country and other sections on the Pacific coast. This expedition wintered near Pike's Peak in 1847-48. Colonel Gilpin's renewed researches at that time, following his earlier observations here and elsewhere in the Rocky Mountain country, satisfied him that the precious metals existed in abundance in these ranges, and placed him conspicuously among those who knew, in the first half of the closed century, of the presence here of gold and silver. His conclusions were embodied in his address at Independence—which was also delivered later at other places—and the clearness with which he presented the results of his personal observations may be said to have first given substantial footing to reports of gold existing in the Pike's Peak country.

There are accounts of a cattle-trader named Parks, a Cherokee or a half-breed, who passed through here with a drove of stock in 1852, and while halting at Ralston creek, a small tributary of Clear creek, and which a few years later became the scene of great activity in the search for gold, found some of the yellow metal in the creek's bed. Parks is credited with having had knowledge of gold existing here, from his Indian relatives.

Hollister, in his "Mines of Colorado" (1867) does not mention Parks, but gives this version of a Ralston Creek-Cherokee discovery in the same year:

> "A party of Cherokee Indians traveling overland to California in 1852 via the Arkansas River, and along the eastern base of the Sierra Madre to the North Platte at Fort Laramie, by some means found gold in the banks of Ralston Creek, a small affluent of the Vasques Fork of the South Platte, emptying into it near its mouth; and each year thereafter parties of Cherokees had gone out and prospected the streams in the vicinity of what is now Denver City. At last they were successful; they obtained a few dollars' worth of the glittering dust, which they carried home late in 1857, exhibit-

ing it freely as they passed through Nebraska and Kansas."

"The report of a new land of gold in the west spread like an epidemic through the country drained by the Missouri River, and soon traveled far beyond. These Indians appeared to have gone home and told their story on the confines of the Gulf of Mexico, for Georgians were among the first to seek the new gold country."

Bancroft, in his "History of Colorado," makes the following statement, but does not give his authority for it:

"A party of Cherokees, being en route for California, looking not only for gold, but for a new country in which to locate their people who had been invited to sell their lands in Georgia, taking the Arkansas Valley route, and the trail by the Squirrel Creek divide to the head of Cherry Creek, made the discovery that gold existed in the streams of this region. The party continued on to California, and returned, in time, to Georgia where they attempted to organize an expedition to the Rocky Mountains."

The stories of Cherokee connection with discoveries of gold in the Denver region—and these two are not all of them—have been mixed up in a variety of ways; and Bancroft, by implication, puts the visit of his party "away back in the Thirties," if not earlier. Hollister locates the Cherokee people in Georgia at the time of these alleged western expeditions, and goes even further, by making that State part of "the confines of the Gulf of Mexico." Bancroft also locates them there, and says the members of his party were going to California to buy new lands for their people. Some of this Georgia tribe of Indians, by treaties in 1791, and 1798, gave up their lands in Georgia and moved beyond the Mississippi; there were three thousand of them down on the Arkansas river in 1817. In 1835, those remaining in Georgia, by treaty exchanged their lands in that State for others in the Indian Territory, whither they were all removed in 1838. If the Cherokee party referred to by Bancroft was on the way to California to find a new location for the tribes "who had been invited to sell their lands in Georgia," it must have passed here earlier than 1835; for, in that year, to say nothing of the time previously consumed in negotiations, they agreed to give up their Georgia lands, and their future home was then decided on.

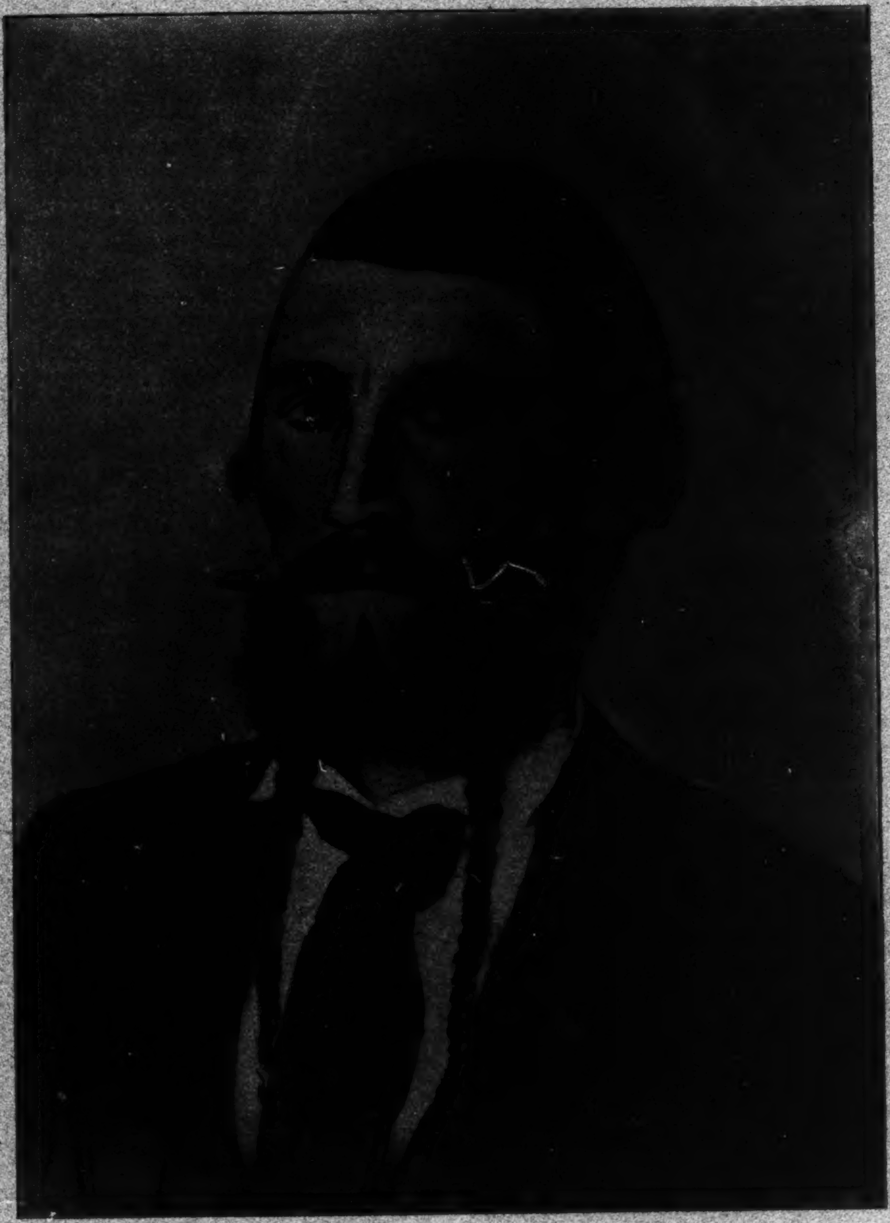
These facts render obvious the confusion in the various traditional accounts of Cherokee prominence in the pioneer events we are about to consider. Indians of that tribe did participate in them, and were indirectly influential in causing the first organized party of white men, to come here from Georgia, to hunt for gold and establish some basis for "the Pike's Peak excitement."

There were two instances of Cherokee gold-seeking here in the general vicinity of the mouth of Cherry creek in early times, concerning which there is now no lack of definite account; but it is due to the personal knowledge of a survivor of those times, who is familiar with all the facts and who was a participator in the events he recounts, that we are enabled to present the circumstantial details of the Cherokee operations and of those ultimately growing out of them. We may say in passing, that the story fails to show that any of the Cherokees made themselves conspicuous as gold-miners in this part of the country when they purposely came here for gold in 1858, or at any other time.

Some of the host bound overland for California after the discovery of gold in that country, having heard the vague rumors, even then existing, as we have seen, about the presence of gold in the Pike's Peak country, came through this way, or turned aside from other routes, and made more or less superficial investigations along the South Platte and its branches; but, with one exception, so far as any definite record goes, without any effective results.

The exception was the work of a party of Cherokee Indians from their country in the Indian Territory, bound for California in the spring of 1850, to dig gold in the newly-discovered fields out there. For the particulars of this expedition, and for many others concerning the history of the pioneer events that eventuated in the settlements at the mouth of Cherry creek, we are indebted to Dr. Levi J. Russell, an active participant in many of them, and who preserved a record of his experiences. If to any one man more than to another the distinction of having been the founder of Denver is to be accorded, it would seem that it is due Dr. Russell. He was a physician in these early times, as he is now, and at this time is a citizen of Heidenheimer, Bell county, Texas, where he is still actively practicing his profession.

In this Cherokee party of 1850 were some Indians who had formerly been residents of northern Georgia, and with them were two white men named Ralston, of Cherokee connection by marriage, and relatives of Samuel Ralston then a citizen of Dahlonega, Lumpkin county, that State. This party traveled westward by the Arkansas river route to the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, and then turned northward and proceeded across the Squirrel creek divide to the upper reaches of Cherry creek. After leaving the Fontaine they did some prospecting all along the way and, as they afterward asserted, found small quantities of gold. They followed Cherry creek down to its mouth here at the site of Denver, where they camped and stayed a few days. They prospected the creek, the bed of the South Platte river, and portions of Clear creek —but how far is not known—and claimed to have found some gold in each, but not enough to induce them to abandon their westward journey and remain here to hunt for more. From here they went northward to Fort Laramie, and thence by the



William Green Russell (Deceased).
(From a crayon portrait, 1857; only picture of him ever made. An outline of the later years of his life appears in Chapter XLV.)

South Pass on their way to the coast. They afterward represented that they also found traces of gold in some of the tributaries of the South Platte to the northward of Denver's site. While they were here they gave one of the branches of Clear creek the name it still bears—Ralston creek, in honor of the members of their party of that name. To further circumstances arising from this visit of the Cherokees, and to those attending their second expedition, we shall again refer.

In 1852 when William N. Byers was on his way from Iowa to the Oregon country he stopped at old Fort Laramie, and while there heard stories of gold having been found in the streams putting out from the eastward slopes of the Rocky Mountains by trappers and traders who had long been in the country. He was also told that there were three mountains, or buttes, near each other in what is now eastern Idaho, north of Pocatello, and about half-way between the northern and southern limits of that State, that were enormously rich in silver. We do not know that these mountains have ever been located by miners and made to give up their treasures.

In the summer of 1853 a man named Norton who, with a small party bound for California, had crossed the plains by way of the Arkansas river route, and passed northward along the foot-hills here, to Fort Laramie on his way to the farther west, exhibited at Laramie a small quantity of gold which he stated he had found "down at Pike's Peak." The matter commanded no especial attention at that time, further than to become an occasional subject for gossip among the soldiers and other people at the Fort, and in that form floated away to the Missouri river as one of the vague rumors that there was gold in the Rocky Mountains.

But these earlier stories about gold existing in the Pike's Peak country, growing more and more indefinite as they advanced in age, gradually wore themselves out of public notice, and for several years in the middle "Fifties" but little was said or heard of them east of the Missouri. For a few years after the organization of Kansas and Nebraska as Territories, and in the uproar which ensued over the possibility that Kansas, at least, would become a slave State, the western region was comparatively forgotten, and the thoughts and attention of the people along the Missouri river border were bestowed in other directions.

Late in 1857 there was a revival of the rumors of gold discoveries out at the base of the mountains. Stories more or less indefinite, founded on the reports of trappers and traders returning from the Rockies, and on army gossip, began to make their way again through the settlements and towns along the Missouri river. Whether they were new tales of gold at Pike's Peak, or the old ones re told, it would now be hard to tell. But these renewed accounts, losing nothing by travel, spread the germ of gold fever wherever they went. Time was required for the development of the contagion, winter was coming on, and so that year closed without inaugurating the westward hunt for the precious metal, though public interest in the subject steadily increased.

Through the winter of 1857-58, the newspapers of the States teemed with wild speculations, and exaggerated versions of the Missouri border stories, concerning what was now by common consent called "the Pike's Peak Gold Region," and so called more for convenience than from knowledge. All the old theories, predictions, and travelers' tales were revived and put in commission. The placer mines of California had waxed and waned, and the public mind was ready and eager for new golden sensations from the "Great West," the frontier to which was still nearly within sight of the western borders of Missouri and Iowa.

Among the traders and frontiersmen who ranged over this region in the "Fifties" was John S. Smith of whom we have already given some account in a preceding chapter. As most of his dealings were then with the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians, he spent the greater part of his time in this immediate part of the country. Among those who arrived here in the autumn of 1858 a story in some way became current that Smith, in company with some Mexicans had, in the summer of 1857, discovered and taken out considerable gold at a place on the Platte river, about three miles above the mouth of Cherry creek. The spot thus became known in the local annals, as "the Mexican Diggings"—or, by some, as "the Spanish Diggings." While there is no authentic confirmation of the story, by Smith, there seem to be some reasons for believing it may have been true. The place was worked in the summer and autumn of 1858, and some more gold found, as we shall presently relate.

In the spring of 1858 while Captain R. B. Marcy was proceeding from New Mexico to Fort Bridger with some United States troops and supplies, he reached the mouth of Cherry creek on May 3d. Of the discovery of gold here by one of his men, he says:

> "We found the river at such a high stage, and so rapid, that we were compelled to encamp here for four days and construct a flat-boat, in which we crossed our entire party. * * * While our ferry-boat was being constructed, one of our citizen employees washed out from the sands of Cherry creek a small amount of gold dust, which he showed to me."

Captain Marcy's teamster was George Simpson, heretofore mentioned as one of those who claimed to have been a builder of the old "Pueblo," on the site of the present city of that name.

In 1859 a well-known pioneer of Denver, named Samuel Stone, was with a party of hunters and prospectors up on St. Vrain creek. At a place well up in the mountains and near the southeastern part of the base of Long's Peak, the party found evidences of what appeared to be ancient mining operations. There were some partly filled-up shafts, and other excavations, and the remains of several cabins. In what was left of one of the latter Stone found a curious old copper vessel something like a kettle, and a copper "worm" of several coils; the two if joined would have formed a little "still." They appeared to have once been united in a manner to fit them for distilling. Stone brought the kettle and "worm" back to Denver with him, and they lay around his cabin on the west side for a long time, but finally disappeared. William N. Byers saw them and learned the story of their discovery by Stone as above stated. Some years later when Mr. Byers was in Santa Fe he told about this finding of the kettle and "worm" and signs of old-time mining at the base of Long's Peak. He then learned that there was a tradition at Santa Fe to the effect that many years ago—how many, no one knew—a party of Portuguese coming from Mexico, passed through Santa Fe on a mining expedition far to the north; and that the strangers were never heard of again at Santa Fe, at which place, it was thought, they would have stopped on their return journey had they survived their adventures. Whether these copper utensils, the old workings, and the remains of cabins near Long's Peak had any connection with that party of Portuguese is, of course, unknown; but there is a possibility that they had.

The Cherokee party of 1850 remained in California two years. Its members fell far short of finding gold enough there to satisfy them, or in any very large amount; and, like many others, returned to their former homes not violently in love with their experience. Some time after their return, Samuel Ralston's relatives who had been in the party, as we have stated, wrote him at Dahlonega, Georgia, about the discoveries of gold the party had made in this region on the way west in 1850. After some delay Samuel Ralston communicated these facts to William Green Russell, a brother of Dr. L. J. Russell.

W. G. Russell was then in Lumpkin county, Georgia, and in addition to his experience in the not very prolific gold-fields in that part of that State, had been one of the California argonauts of 1849. He went there early in that year overland by way of Fort Bridger—or, rather, by "Sublette's cut-off," and worked some claims with fair success. He returned to Georgia by way of Panama in the summer of 1850, and in the autumn of that year went back to California accompanied by Dr. L. J. Russell, the two remaining in the gold districts of that State until late in 1852, when they returned to their Georgia homes. Neither of them while in California learned anything of the reputed existence of gold in the Pike's Peak country nor had either encountered any members of the Cherokee party while there. Their first information, aside from later vagrant rumors of the existence of gold at Pike's Peak, came through Samuel Ralston who had it from his friends and relatives in the Cherokee Nation, as hereinbefore related. From the Cherokee end of the line later came a suggestion that a party be organized to go out and thoroughly prospect the Pike's Peak country; but, as we will now see, this was not done until several years had elapsed.

Early in the spring of 1857 W. G. and J. O. Russell, J. H. and R. J. Pierce, and Samuel Bates went from Georgia to Kansas for the purpose of locating land claims, which they did on Rock creek. The Russell brothers and Bates returned to Georgia in the summer of that year, leaving the Pierce brothers to look after the several claims. R. J. Pierce, who is now a practicing physician at George's Creek, Arkansas, informed us that he and his brother made a crop at Rock creek that year, and remained there until the spring of 1858, when they joined W. G. Russell's Pike's Peak expedition of that year; the immediate circumstances of the organization of which will presently be related. Dr. Pierce also stated that W. G. Russell, recalling the reports he had received from the Cherokee people through Samuel Ralston, contemplated going to Pike's Peak in 1857 after the land-claim party had reached Kansas. Of the reasons for abandoning that enterprise Dr. Pierce said:

"In May, about the 15th, we arrived at Fort Riley, Kansas. Green Russell had an interview with the commander of that post who refused to let us go farther, as General Harney was then having serious trouble with the Indians in the far west, and many of the tribes were disposed to be aggressive. We were advised to postpone our expedition until the next spring when it would be much safer to make the trip. We then turned back from Fort Riley and went to Rock Creek Falls, Kansas."

This statement having been referred to Dr. L. J. Russell, he said:

"I think Dr. Pierce is in error in recalling after so many years that my brother actually intended to extend the Kansas trip of 1857 to so distant a place as Pike's Peak. Green may have talked about it and made inquiries with relation to the western country, but I am sure he had no serious thought at that time of going to Pike's Peak. Before leaving home for Kansas in 1857 there was no talk of going to Pike's Peak that year. Had the land-claim party left with the intention of going there, the expedition would have been the talk of the whole county. Green did not leave home prepared to make such a trip, nor for a long absence; and he came back about the time he had expected to. He certainly would have mentioned such an enterprise to me before he went away, or upon his return (which he did not) had he really contemplated doing so as Dr. Pierce recalls. It was not until the winter of 1857-58 that a Pike's Peak expedition was seriously proposed among us at our homes in Georgia. Green never mentioned having been at Fort Riley in 1857, nor having gone in that year farther west than the Big Blue, as he certainly would have done upon his return home, or upon our way out in the spring of 1858, were Dr. Pierce's recollections free from the element of romance. Whatever thought Green may have had of Pike's Peak in 1857, he evidently did not consider it of enough importance to mention upon his return home that year, nor at any other time."

When the extravagant accounts, based on practically nothing—because nothing beyond the old, time-worn stories we have recounted, was actually known—of the alleged "new gold-fields at Pike's Peak" were again put into circulation by newspapers and word-of-mouth late in the autumn of 1857, W. Green Russell, who was then at his home in Georgia, resolved to go to the Peak on a prospecting tour. After some correspondence with the Indian Territory people it was decided to jointly organize such an expedition, a part of the men to be from Lumpkin county, Georgia, and the others from the Cherokee Nation. This was the earliest movement toward making an organized attempt by experienced men to systematically search for gold in this Rocky Mountain country. Of the ensuing proceedings in Georgia we quote from Dr. Russell's statement made for this History:

"A party was finally made up in Lumpkin county, consisting of the following-named persons; W. G. Russell, J. O. Russell (a brother), L. J. Russell, Lewis Ralston, William Anderson, Joseph McAfee, Solomon Roe, Samuel Bates and John Hampton. This party left home on the 17th day of February, 1858, and expected to be joined by the Cherokee party at the Cherokee town of Maysville, near the northeast corner of the Cherokee Nation's territory. When we reached Maysville we found that the other party was not ready to move. After a conference with the leader of the Cherokee party, the Rev. John Beck, a Baptist preacher, and a future time and place of meeting agreed upon, our party moved on to Rock Creek, Kansas, where W. G. Russell had taken up land in 1857, and where we went into camp and remained several days. J. H. and R. J. Pierce joined us at Rock Creek, and from that point W. G. Russell, J. O. Russell, William Anderson, Lewis Ralston, and Joseph McAfee went to Leavenworth and exchanged our mule teams for oxen, and procured a general outfit. Upon their return we left Rock Creek and moved to Manhattan, Kansas, where we camped for two or three days. Here we were joined by William McFadding, William McKimmons, Jacob Masterson, Valarious Young, Theodore Herring, J. Brock, Luke Tierney, T. C. Dickson, George L. Howard, and a Frenchman, whose first name, Henry, is the only one I remember. Leaving Manhattan, we crossed the Kansas river near that place and struck out for the old Santa Fe trail on the Arkansas, reaching it near the Great Bend. Here we came up with Mr. Beck and some thirty other Cherokees, on June 3d; they having arrived somewhat in advance of us and we having seen signs of their presence ahead of us for a couple of days."

It is to be remembered that the Cherokee people since their removal from Georgia had advanced far into a state of civilization; quite far enough to thoroughly appreciate the power and value of gold, and to be as keen after it as any of the white people. Beck had little difficulty in recruiting his company of Cherokee prospectors and in getting started; but before going far the party got into trouble with some Osage Indians, and a portion of it becoming apprehensive of further hostile encounters, abandoned the undertaking and went back home.

The others, however, being more determined men, decided to go ahead, knowing that when they joined their expected white associates under Russell, the combined parties would be strong enough to resist any attack likely to be made. The Cherokee division of the expedition, as finally constituted for the journey across the plains, consisted of thirty Indians. Although Preacher John Beck was what we would now call the "promoter" of the enterprise, George Hicks, Senior, was a prominent member of the Indian company. He was a lawyer by profession, had served on the Cherokee bench as Judge, was of decided ability, and a notable man in the Cherokee nation. Aside from John Beck, other somewhat conspicuous members of the party whose names have been preserved, were George Hicks, Junior; Ezekiel Beck, and Pelican Tigre.

J. Oliver Russell.
(Photographed 1885.)

Beck's contingent had been joined by several white people after it started. These were George McDougall, a brother of Senator McDougall of California; Philander Simmons, an experienced mountaineer; Levi Brumbaugh, a man named Kirk with his wife and two children; and four other men, named Brown, Taylor, Tubbs, and Kelly. Kelly had his wife with him, and her sister also accompanied the party. There should be something more to tell about these three women, but the early chroniclers appear to have considered them as historical incumbrances to be abandoned forthwith, rather than as the important personages they certainly were.

Philander Simmons was a mountain and plains man of some experience. He had been attached to Bent's Fort as early as 1842, and was familiar with all the region hereabouts. He had left this part of the country several years before and gone back to Joplin, Missouri, where he had been engaged in lead-mining up to the close of 1857. Before the

Russell party reached the site of Denver he started off hunting game instead of gold and, although he remained in this vicinity, he did not participate in any of Russell's mining undertakings. The later years of his long and adventurous life were passed in Denver, and he died in this city in abject poverty in November, 1899.

The united companies made an imposing caravan, which consisted of thirty-three yoke of cattle, fourteen wagons, two two-horse teams, a dozen or two of ponies, with about sixty people to care for it and be cared for. But not all of the people were bound out to dig gold. Some, including the women mentioned, were destined for Bent's Fort, a few for the mountains, and one, McDougall, was going to the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, where, as will later appear, the beginning of a settlement was made the following autumn. He was an eccentric, dissipated genius who sought to bury himself in the wilds of the far west. After the Cherry creek towns were started he came up here.

On June 12th the expedition reached Fort Bent where a brief stop was made. On the 16th the Russell-Cherokee part of it, including Simmons and the men who had in Kansas directly attached themselves to the expedition, left the Arkansas and struck across the country by the way of Squirrel creek to the South Platte-Arkansas divide. Beck claimed that the Cherokee party of 1850 had found gold in the hills down there while passing through them. Russell found nothing and after a day or two of labor in them, crossed over to Cherry creek, and all the party began prospecting as soon as they struck it, and continued their work along its bed without finding anything of importance. Then it was decided to move down the creek to the South Platte. They came in here on June 24, 1858, and, crossing the creek at a point between the present Blake and Wazee streets, went into camp on the west side.

We have entered into the details of the organization and progress of this company somewhat at length because it was not only the first organized party which came to the Pike's Peak region to persistently conduct a search for gold and under the direction of competent and experienced men, but because it made the actual beginning of gold-mining here; and that it was in consequence of the presence here of some of its members that the first permanent settlement was made on the site of Denver. R. J. and J. H. Pierce, members of the party, were relatives of the Russells, and some reminiscences of J. H. Pierce, long a resident of Idaho Springs, are incorporated in this account. When the party went into camp here on the 24th of June there was neither a white man nor the sign of one around the mouth of Cherry creek; nor were there any Indians within sight.

The Russell party came near not being the first organized company of gold-seekers in the Pike's Peak country. Not far behind it was another band, almost as large, winding its way across the plains. The new rumors of gold being in plenty at the Peak, or the new versions of old ones, had reached Lawrence, Kansas, in the winter of 1857-58 as they had every other place along the Missouri border, and were so persistent as to excite great interest in that town. In the spring of 1858 two Delaware Indians reached Lawrence from the west and had with them a small quantity of gold dust and nuggets. Their names were "Little Beaver" and "Fall Leaf." The latter represented that he had served with Fremont as scout and guide; that while in the explorer's service had discovered gold existed in the streams of the Pike's Peak country; and that the gold he then exhibited in Lawrence, he had collected while out here the previous summer and autumn.

The story told by "Fall Leaf," and the yellow evidence with which he substantiated it, made a profound sensation in that little frontier town. A meeting of adventurous younger citizens was held, and a company organized by John Easter to go at once to Pike's Peak. These Lawrence men who constituted what is known in the early annals of Denver as "the Lawrence party," were men of action, for they completed their arrangements, got their wagons and draft animals, collected provisions, supplies and tools for a season's operations, and started on their long journey on the 19th of May. Their company comprised Albert W. Archibald, A. F. Bercaw, Giles Blood, Frank Bowen, Joseph Brown, W. J. Boyer, William Chadsey, John A. Churchill, Frank M. Cobb, William Copley, —— Cross, John Easter, Adnah French, Peter Halsey,

John Easter.
(From a recent photograph.)

William Hartley, Josiah Hinman, Mrs. Anna A. Holmes, Charles Holmes, George Howard, Howard Hunt, Roswell Hutchins, "Pap" Maywood, William McAllen, —— McKay, John D. Miller, Austin R. Mills, Robert Middleton and his wife and child, Charles Nichols, William Parsons, George Peck, Robert Peebles, William Prentiss, William Regan, Charles Runyon, George W. Smith, Nicholas Smith, J. H. Tierney, Jack Turner, Augustus Voorhees, James H. White, A. C. Wright and Jason T. Younker; with J. H. Tierney, as the guide, or leader.

This Lawrence party also came out by the Arkansas river route and was only ten days behind the Russell expedition. Some of the accounts say the Lawrence people knew nothing about Russell's expedition being ahead of them, nor about it being in the country after they reached the mountains. This is altogether erroneous, as they heard of Russell's large caravan before they came to Bent's Fort, which was a halting place for both. The Lawrence party followed the Arkansas to the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille and then turned northward, and on the 5th of July went into camp at Pike's Peak, which they fondly believed marked the location of the fortunes awaiting them.

After the party had settled in camp, Frank M. Cobb, John D. Miller, and "Gus" Voorhees ascended to the top of the Peak. They looked for signs of previous visitors there but found none. Other members of the party, including Mrs. Holmes,—the first woman who ever did so—went to the top of the Peak a few days after Cobb and his companions returned from their trip. These Lawrence folks appear to have been the first men who reached the summit of the Peak.

It is to be remembered that at this time this region here at the base of the mountains was not altogether unfrequented by white men. While the Russell and the Lawrence parties were the only organized companies out here on the search for gold, there were several individuals and little parties of two or three persons, in the country, who knew nothing of the larger organizations until they fell in with them here along the South Platte. Furthermore, the first overland stage line was making its occasional trips between the Missouri river and Salt Lake, by way of Fort Laramie, and at longer intervals a wagon train would pass this way on a journey between New Mexico and Utah, or by the Arkansas river route to and from the Missouri river. There were also a few traders and trappers still coming and going, probably as much from force of habit as for any great amount of business in their lines that was then left for them to do. So, our parties of gold-seekers whose steps we have been following, were not entirely alone in the country.

The departure from the Missouri border of these two large companies bound for the alleged "new gold regions" was soon noised abroad. Wildly exaggerated reports of what was going on out at the base of the mountains were again in circulation that spring and summer along the Missouri and through the States, and led to the organization of many other parties in the border towns to follow these pioneers. While no authentic accounts of gold having been found in paying quantities went with them, these fantastic stories grew in size and splendor as they traveled. A repetition of similar circumstances, growing out of the Klondyke discoveries, occurred through the winter of 1897-98. Ample compensation for the lack of actual knowledge was found in fertile imaginations, just as readily in these earlier times as it was in the more recent excitement.

CHAPTER XX.

GOLD-SEEKERS AND IMMIGRANTS OF 1858—DISMEMBERMENT OF THE RUSSELL PARTY—SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS OF THOSE WHO REMAINED—PLACER CAMP—MOVEMENTS OF THE LAWRENCE PARTY AND FOUNDING OF "MONTANA CITY"—O'DONNELL'S COMPANY AND "EL PASO"—CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE BEGINNING OF DENVER—FIRST BUILDING—AUTUMN IMMIGRANTS OF 1858—PIONEER BUSINESS MEN—THE LEAVENWORTH PARTY—ADVENT OF GEORGE A. JACKSON—OTHER SETTLEMENTS IN THE PIKE'S PEAK COUNTRY.

The pilgrimage of Russell and his men to Cherry creek had been a long and tedious one covering the period from February 17th to June 24th, when camp was made on the site of Denver. But, as the reader will have seen, the party moved leisurely; and, furthermore, the march across the plains was made somewhat difficult by conditions arising from the severity of the preceding winter, which was followed by a "late" spring.

These people did not tarry long here, for the morning after their arrival they broke camp, crossed the Platte river, and moved over to Clear creek, crossing it just below the mountains, and then went on to Ralston creek where they made camp. They remained there only a day or two, prospecting in the vicinity of their camp with but little encouragement, and then came back here, crossed the Platte, and again went into camp on the west side of Cherry creek.

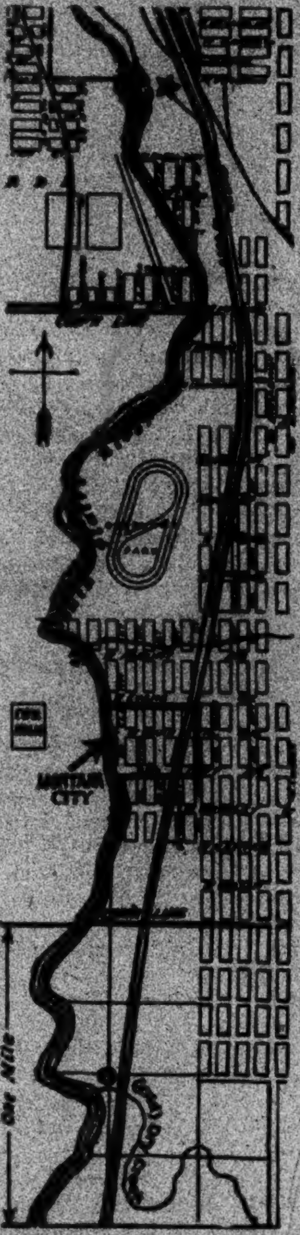
Before the party left Ralston creek the Indian members began to give signs of waning enthusiasm, and were not proving themselves possessed of the industry, patience, and hopefulness essential to successful gold-hunters, and which are usually the traits of the unsuccessful ones. So, in the evening of June 28th, in camp here, Beck and his Indians announced their intention to start back home the next day, and several of the white men, including four of the original Georgia party, said they were ready to go, too. These malcontents were thoroughly disillusioned of the charms of fortune-hunting in the "Pike's Peak gold-fields," even though they had not put in ten days at it, all told.

The Cherokees were the more completely discouraged, and most of them were homesick. They had also conceived that there was going to be trouble for all the party with the Indians of these parts, and were determined to leave forthwith. The discontented white members of the party had made up their minds that there was nothing in the mining business in this region, and that all of them had come out on a fool's errand. Russell and several others pleaded with the discouraged element not to break up the party, but to stay a while longer, pointing out that but little prospecting had been done, that they had found proof that gold was here, and that further search would certainly reveal it in paying quantities. But the Cherokee mind was made up to go, and neither eloquence nor hopeful persuasion could change it. The Indians started on their homeward journey at noon the next day, and with them went the discouraged white men including Lewis Ralston, William Anderson, Joseph McAfee and John Hampton of the original Georgia party, leaving W. Green Russell and twelve others, all white men, to search for gold as long as they wanted to. This was the last of the Cherokees in the events associated with the pioneer history of Denver. It is to be hoped that they safely reached their homes and lived content and happy long after.

T. C. Dickson also left the Russell party at this time and started with the others toward the Arkansas river. While on the way, below Pike's Peak, he heard of the Lawrence men. He then left the homeward-bound, hunted up the others, and joined them at their camp at the Peak the day after they stopped there.

Those who stayed with Russell and were determined to still further prospect the country were his two brothers, Levi and Oliver, Samuel Bates, and Solomon Roe, of the original Georgia party; and Jacob Masterson, William McFadding, William McKimmons, James H. Pierce, R. J. Pierce, Valarious Young, Luke Tierney, and Theodore Herring, who had joined the expedition in Kansas. W. Green Russell had come to this country with the intention, to carefully prospect the eastern base of the mountains from Pike's Peak to the Black Hills, if necessary, and had especially in view the headwaters of the South Platte and its mountain tributaries. Therefore, he and his remaining associates, undismayed by the desertion of the larger part of the company, immediately resumed prospecting, turning their attention to Cherry creek and the River Platte.

Not much time was spent on the creek, but it was rather carefully examined by some members of the company from its mouth up to about the point where Broadway now crosses it. It is described as having been at that time a shallow trough, dry, about one hundred yards in ranging width, and with banks from two to three feet high. This is still its normal general appearance, excepting here in the city where its channel has been artificially narrowed and made to appear deeper in some places by its banks having been raised. A little gold was found in the creek, but not much more than was obtained by Captain Marcy's teamster, who was the first discoverer of the yellow metal in the bed of that historic and occasional water-way.



The Russell Party's "Diggings" on the Platte.

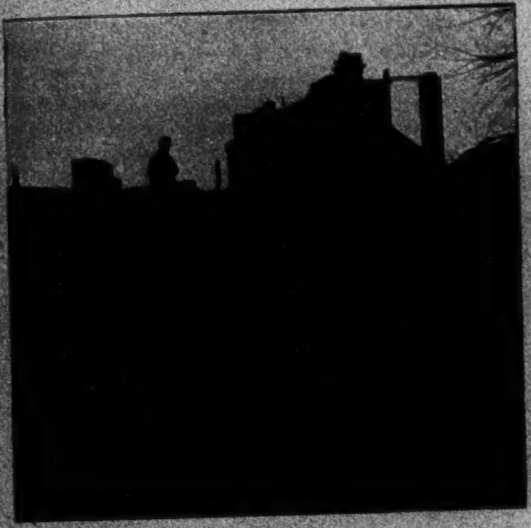
(Star near top of map, "old Mexican Diggings"; cross at middle of map, mouth of old "Little Dry creek"; circle near bottom of map, locality of "Placer Camp." Site of "Montana City" is indicated near middle of map.)

On the day after the weary and homesick departed, W. Green Russell and most of his party moved up the east side of the Platte to the locality later reputed to have been where Smith and his alleged Mexican associates were afterward said to have found gold in 1857. The rest of the party soon followed and all of them engaged in the hunt in that locality. A camp was established there and mining begun, the first day's work yielding between five and six dollars' worth of dust. In subsequent operations when better appliances had been contrived they took out as much as ten dollars' worth a day.

But this place soon appeared to be exhausted and the men moved farther up that side of the Platte to the mouth of a small creek, then almost without water, and which became known as Little Dry creek, but is now nameless. There they worked a day or so with indifferent results, but found some gold. Then they moved still farther up the river to the mouth of a larger creek which, also, was almost waterless, and which was afterward named Dry creek, but now appears on some maps as Little Dry creek. They began prospecting in its bed, and one evening, at a point a short distance from its mouth, the presence of more gold than they had yet seen in one place anywhere in this region rewarded their labors and enlivened their hopes. At this place they at once established their camp. They dug large holes in the wet sand, put their rockers down in them, shoveled in some of the dirt and, dipping in the water that seeped into the pits, soon washed out more gold than they had found in all their other prospecting since they had been in the country. This was the most important and valuable discovery made that year in all this region, though the party, all told, recovered only several hundred dollars' worth of dust, during their operations there.

Inasmuch as many hitherto published accounts of the locations of these pioneer "gold-diggings," have placed them at various points on both banks of the South Platte river, from three to six miles above the mouth of Cherry creek, it is essential that their localities should be definitely stated. They are all on the eastward side of the river, are places of great historic interest and should be marked by permanent monuments. The area of the "old Spanish," or "Mexican diggings," where the early reports among Denver's pioneers stated that Trader John S. Smith and his Mexicans discovered and washed out placer gold in 1857, is within the city limits, embracing all told a tract of a couple of acres. But the scene of the Russell men's operations includes only a small part of it, and is on the river bank, on the south side of Virginia Avenue, between that avenue and the old Bailey, or Tabor, smelter and almost within the shadow of the latter. The land around there is platted, but to the eastward of the diggings it is mostly occupied by railway tracks, with the "roundhouse" and other buildings of the Santa Fe road near by. Virginia Avenue is supposed to extend down to the river, and near its foot are the headgates of the ditch supplying Lake Archer, the gates being but a few yards distant from the diggings; the excavations still being apparent. Virginia avenue is two and one-quarter miles south of the Capitol Building.

The small creek, an insignificant water-way even in watery times, which the Russell men, and others in the autumn of 1858, called Little Dry creek, puts into the Platte just south of Jewell Avenue which is the south line of the Overland Park property. This little stream, on which the Russells found some gold, is also within the city limits. One and one-quarter miles south of Jewell Avenue, and a half-mile south of the present southern limits of the city, another and larger stream empties into the Platte. This is the Dry creek on which the Russells' Placer Camp was located in the summer of 1858; and the later town of "Montana" was a mile north of it. On some recent maps this "Dry creek" appears as "Little Dry creek;" and another stream, one mile north of Littleton, is named "Dry creek"—a shifting of the pioneer names.



Present Aspect of the "Old Mexican Diggings."
Figures in middle foreground are those of William N. Byers and Andrew Sagendorf, who mined there in 1859.
(From a photograph made in 1900.)

While the Russell people were working at Dry creek a party of men on their way from Utah to Westport, Missouri, (Kansas City), diverging from the common route from Fort Laramie to the Missouri, came down along the base of the foot-hills in this direction. While encamped near the mouth of Ralston creek they, too, found a little gold in the bed of that stream. One of the number, a man named Cantrell, visited the Dry creek diggings and obtained a sack of the dirt in which the miners were working there. This was taken to Westport, where it was carefully washed out by an old California miner named Ira Evans and, for its quantity, yielded a fair amount of gold. This result was made public at Westport and, growing bigger all the time, it went up and down the Missouri river, in company with many other new stories about the Pike's Peak country, that were making plenty of extravagant talk in all the towns along the border through that autumn of 1858.

The Dry creek diggings were named "Placer Camp" by the Russell people, and the place was the first in this immediate vicinity to receive a definite name. However, after the middle of July, the work had ceased to be mining and became somewhat lean prospecting. Six of the party went over into the mountains and penetrated the South Park. Running short of supplies, they found what it was to live on game served without salt; but that was all they found, for no gold was discovered in the Park at that time.

Early in August, the South Park prospectors having returned and the others having grown weary of their operations around Placer Camp, it was decided to strike out for the north. The party proceeded along the base of the mountains, almost fruitlessly prospecting all the way; and on September 4th camped near where the Medicine Bow mountains join the main range, and just within what is now southern Wyoming. Dr. Russell says—

> "That night snow began falling, and continued all next day. Realizing that we were too far north, we started on our return journey to the Platte and reached our old camp [Placer Camp] about the middle of the month."

Upon their arrival they concluded that they could not continue their prospecting with any degree of success in what they believed was fast-approaching winter weather, and it was decided to at once establish winter quarters, and await the following spring before resuming their work. It was in consequence of that conclusion that the first habitation by and for white men was constructed on the site of Denver, as will presently be shown.

At this time W. Green Russell and J. O. Russell decided to go back to Georgia, organize a new and larger company to come out in the spring with new outfits and an abundant supply of provisions for the next summer. The leader was convinced that rich deposits of gold existed here somewhere, and that they could and would be found. So, about October 1st he and his brother set out on horseback on their long journey across the plains. Down on the Arkansas river they met a party on the way hither which was destined to make a commotion at the mouth of Cherry creek upon its arrival—the party of "Leavenworth men," the organizers of the "Denver City" Town Company. W. G. Russell and his brother returned in the spring of 1859 with a small regiment of Georgians, and made some important discoveries, the circumstances of which will be related hereafter.

Through that summer of 1858 an occasional trader, or a mountainman, passed through here, and once in a while a party of the restless "emigrants" of the period, to or from Salt Lake City. Of the latter class were S. M. Rooker, his wife and daughter, and son John. They arrived at Cherry creek on August 30, 1858, and went up to the Dry creek diggings where they remained until the middle of October, when they came back here and camped on the west side of the creek. They were a non-polygamous Mormon family which had left Salt Lake to return to the States overland. After crossing the mountains by way of the South Pass the came down this way. Mrs. Rooker and her daughter were the first white women among the pioneers on the site of Denver.

Present Aspect at mouth of old "Little Dry creek."
(Photographed in 1900.)

It is now time that we give further consideration to the experience and fortunes of the second organized party that crossed the plains to hunt for gold in the Pike's Peak region; the company organized in the spring of 1858 at Lawrence, Kansas, by John Easter, and which we left encamped at Pike's Peak. Mr. Easter still survives, a hale and hearty man, and is now a citizen of Goldfield, in the Cripple Creek district. To him we are indebted for verification of many facts and circumstantial incidents connected with the organization, progress and operations of the Lawrence company, of which he was the promoter.

The Lawrence men, as gold-hunters, seem not much better than the Cherokees, when the practical results of their operations are considered; although they tried hard enough. However, they had the staying qualities in which, as we have seen, our Cherokee friends were so lamentably lacking; and these served them to good advantage in other but later undertakings. When they hauled up in the shadow of Pike's Peak they camped near a little stream and began prospecting in the neighborhood. They put in a week or ten days at resultless work of that kind. Then the rains descended, the floods came, and the innocent-looking little creek became a torrent and drowned them out of their camp. Having been joined by T. C. Dickson they moved over into the Garden of the Gods, and after staying there a few days concluded that they would go farther south to see if they could not find gold in that direction. They prospected along the way and went southward nearly to the Sangre De Christo pass, but found nothing. Here they fell in with a mountain-man who told them of Russell's discoveries up on Dry creek. After sending across to Fort Garland to get some reinforcements for their larders, they turned around and started for the South Platte river. They prospected along that stream, but with no better results than they had had at and below Pike's Peak; and finally pulled into Placer Camp on the 4th of September, finding the place practically deserted. It may be said here that while the Placer Camp locality never further developed as a mining point of much importance, it was a place of absorbing interest to the newcomers in the autumn of that year. Many men toiled there in the spring of 1859, but the results were not of great consequence.

Some of the Lawrence men immediately began hunting along the creek and the Platte for working places that might yield something, but with most indifferent success in the weeks they devoted to it. Others, believing that the Placer Camp diggings would prove permanent, or near enough so to give a settlement a good start, decided to lay out a town near there. They organized a company, elected Josiah Hinman, President, and William J. Boyer, Secretary. The other members joined heartily in the enterprise, and by the middle of September the deed was done. They laid out their town and gave it the pretty and appropriate name of "Montana City." While "Montana" did not survive many months, it was the first collection of white men's dwellings in all this Colorado region along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. Fifteen or twenty cabins were built there that fall, in regular rows fronting on streets in orderly town fashion. However, "Montana's" career was cut short, and in less than twelve months not a vestige of the hamlet remained. The causes resulting in this unmerited fate will present themselves further along in this story. This first town in the Pike's Peak country was located on the eastward bank of the South Platte river, and its site is now within the city limits of Denver. The land on which it was situated is bounded on the north by West Evans Avenue; on the east by South Tremont street; on the south by West Iliff Avenue; and on the west by the Platte river. The tracks of the Denver & Rio Grande and the Santa Fe railroads cut through the eastern side of the tract. The place is directly east of the Overland Cotton Mills, and four and one-quarter miles down Broadway from the Capitol Building. A few new houses are now on the land, and in several places shallow prospect holes remain to indicate where the founders of "Montana" hunted for gold. William J. Boyer, of the Lawrence party, later "took up" the "Montana" town-site and other land around it, for a ranche, and in 1861 sold it to General Ewing for $750. Boyer is now living near Pony, Montana.

Some of the Lawrence men in their industrious burrowing in the vicinity had accumulated a little gold dust. Having left home with the intention of returning in the autumn, several of them started back to eastern Kansas early in October. Notwithstanding the bald fact that the general results of their expedition had been disappointing, when they got to Lawrence, ragged and unkempt from the wear and tear of their season's experience, they were heavily laden with fascinating stories of what they had seen and found in the west. Those who had a little gold exhibited it with pride, and the sight of the shining grains of metal made the beholders believe that the returned miners probably had much more in concealment about their persons. Most of these men expressed their intention to go back to the mountains early the next spring, and this, with the sight of the bit of South Platte gold-dust, made many of their friends and neighbors determined to do likewise.

The Lawrence party did not develop any conspicuously successful miners in that year of 1858. As an aggregation the company seems to have taken more readily to the business of locating towns than to the heavy drudgery of prospecting, and further evidence of this will be found in the accounts of subsequent operations by some of them at the mouth of Cherry creek soon after "Montana" was brought into being.

Following the Lawrence company across the plains and not far behind it, was another party from eastern Kansas headed by a man named O'Donnell. These men appear to have come to the country more with the intention of becoming settlers, in the ordinary meaning of the term, than to engage in gold mining. They headed in to Pike's Peak, and after they got there laid out—mostly on paper—a town on part of what is now the site of Colorado Springs. From its location at the gateway to the Ute pass through the mountains, they named it El Paso. The paper part of this enterprise was accomplished before "Montana" became a reality, but, as "El Paso" never developed anything more than one poor log cabin and a few tents, it did not disturb "Montana's" title to having been the first real town in the region. Some of these men took up land claims on the Fontaine-qui-Bouille just above "El Paso," which are now included in the site of Colorado City. A number of town lots were assigned to the members of the town company, and several were sold, or were pretended to have been sold; but "El Paso" languished and the next year gave way to Colorado City, then founded near by.

Early in September, 1858, several companies of men left the Missouri river for the Pike's Peak country, and before that month had closed several more had started. All were not intending to hunt and dig for gold, as there were merchants, mechanics, professional men, town organizers, and general adventurers among them. But all were led on by the exaggerated stories afloat along the Missouri, but which had no more foundation in fact than could reasonably be derived from what has been narrated in this and the next preceding chapter; but the oncomers did not know this. The great majority were headed for Cherry Creek, a result of the stories that had arisen from Russell's midsummer operations at Placer Camp; but some of them had, under the advice of frontiersmen, decided upon other localities as the scenes of their operations.

Immediately after the Russell company returned from the northern prospecting expedition, and before W. G. and J. O. Russell started on their journey back to Georgia, it was agreed, as we have stated, that the other members should establish winter quarters in this vicinity and remain here through the ensuing winter. In addition to building a house it was part of the plan that, as provisions on hand were insufficient to carry the men through the winter, Dr. L. J. Russell and two or three others should proceed to Fort Garland and obtain a fresh supply, while those left behind should put up a cabin at some point to be agreed upon. At this time the party was at Placer Camp. Dr. Russell decided that the winter quarters should be built at the mouth of Cherry creek instead of at Placer Camp or at "Montana," and pointed out that a permanent settlement would probably arise somewhere near, in the following year, and if so that the mouth of the creek would be the better place for a town. While these arrangements were being made, the old plainsman and trader, John Smith—or John Simpson Smith, as he later called himself—already introduced to the reader, visited the camp of the Russell people. This was their first encounter with him, though they had heard that he and another trader named William McGaa, afterward known as "Jack Jones," had been camped down the Platte near old Fort St. Vrain; but they did not see McGaa until late in October, at the mouth of Cherry creek after several parties of autumn emigrants had arrived here. Smith made friendly overtures to the Georgians and an alliance with them, notwithstanding that he had already made another, as we shall presently see, with certain of the Lawrence men then at "Montana" about a mile distant from Placer Camp; but of this he said nothing to the Georgians.

Toward the close of September Dr. Russell, R. J. Pierce, William McFadding and William McKimmons, with two wagons and teams set out for Fort Garland for supplies; and a few days later W. G. and J. O. Russell departed for Georgia. Their associates left at Placer Camp had been instructed to remove to the mouth of Cherry creek to put up winter quarters as directed by Dr. Russell. Trader John Smith had invited himself to spend the winter with the Georgians and proposed that they unite and put up a double cabin, one part of which he and his squaw and goods would occupy; an arrangement which was indorsed by W. G. Russell before his departure, as Smith was an experienced man in the west, on good terms with the Indians, and had agreed to contribute some goods of which the Georgians were in need.

Mouth of old "Dry Creek." "Placer Camp" was in timber in left of the picture.
(Photographed in 1900.)

So, Smith and "the Russell boys," as he called them, a day or two later moved to the mouth of Cherry creek, though when they did so there was not a Russell left in the company. They lost no time in beginning the double cabin which, as near as its site can now be located, was built but a few feet from the present northeast corner of Eleventh and Wewatta streets, with its rear toward the river. The men crossed the Platte to cut the logs, which they "snaked" over. The cabin was a rough affair, of good size and with a shed roof covered with earth. Concerning it and some other matters, Dr. Russell says:

"When I got back from Fort Garland—having gone on ahead of the others—past the middle of October, I found the cabin finished except the chimneys, and occupied by the builders, with some Arapahoe Indians camped near by. The boys told me that out of respect to Mrs. Wa-po-la Smith, the Smith end of it was finished first. They also said that our friend Smith had contrived to avoid most of the hard work in building. I also found that during my absence a considerable party headed by D. C. Oakes had come up the Platte from Omaha and joined our new camp. Other parties soon came in, among them being Henry Allen, William Slaughter and—I think—Andrew Sagendorf. Upon my return our double cabin was the only structure on either side of Cherry creek, and no other was begun until we started in to organize a town company, which we did in a few days."

We will leave the history of the organization of town companies to appear in succeeding chapters, and will consider here what immediately followed Dr. Russell's decision to build the winter quarters of his party at the mouth of Cherry creek.

The company he mentions as having arrived here during his absence—that led by D. C. Oakes—came in on October 10th, and was the first significant and important party to reach here that autumn. Beside the leader, it included H. J. Graham, Charles Miles, George Pancoast and Abram Walrod. Major Oakes was from Glenwood, Mills county, Iowa, and the others were also Iowa men. They came by way of the Platte river route and upon their arrival, about the first thing they did after they went into camp on the west side of the creek, was to put out on a visit to Russell's Placer Camp. The coming of these forceful, energetic men at that season of the year meant that they had come to stay, and brought into existence a conviction that there was really going to be a permanent settlement made here at the base of the Rocky Mountains.

On October 20th, the second party arrived, coming also by the route up the Platte. It was from Omaha, and included Hayman Chapman, Judson H. Dudley, A. J. Smith, and Henry Springer. This party was followed on the 24th by a large caravan—a consolidation of several original companies—accompanied by one woman and fifty-six men. These people came from Missouri, eastern Kansas and southeastern Nebraska, having consolidated their forces at Fort Kearney, and proceeding west from there by the Platte river way. Among them were John Anthony, A. H. Barker, "Hank" Bassett, George A. Bates, George Colvin, William Dermitt, Eli Dickerson, Miles Fellows, "French Louie," —— Garrison, William Gullion, David Griffith, George Griffith, Captain Harrington, D. Hooper, Joseph Hoover, Bart Kennedy, Fred Koocherhautz, William Liston, "Count" Murat and his wife, Jervis Richardson, George Salsey, Andrew Slane, William M. Slaughter, Ransom Smith and William Stocking. A portion of this company went to "Montana" and temporarily settled there, while the remainder stayed here.

On October 26th a small party headed by E. P. Stout came in by way of the Platte. Mr. Stout, who soon became a leader in other things, has contributed the following account of his experiences here on the first day and evening:

"Our party, consisting of myself and two others, with a four-horse team, left Omaha on the 26th day of September, 1858, and arrived at the mouth of Cherry creek on the 26th day of October. We were met by "Jack Jones" and John Smith, traders with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, who were living on the site of Denver. That evening these two traders invited us to visit them and feast with them. We did so, and were treated to a good meal provided by Jones' squaw "wife." It wound up with a hot whiskey stew made from whiskey distilled from wheat, and called "Taos lightning." From the effect it produced on Jones and Smith, one would readily have concluded that it was a genuine article of fighting whiskey. When it began to take effect those two gentlemen seemed to be seized with a fiendish desire to slaughter one another; and with their Colt's revolvers commenced a rapid fusillade upon each other. As that kind of entertainment was rather too vigorous for us "tender-feet," we managed to slide out through the darkness, making our way to our own tents, leaving our hosts to the tender mercies of each other, and expecting to find next morning both of them riddled with bullets. On the contrary, before the sun was fairly up both of these gentlemen came over to our tents to apologize in the most humble and contrite manner for the disgraceful and humiliating spectacle they had made of themselves before their invited guests. We came to the conclusion that it had been merely an effort on their part to impress us innocents abroad with their wonderful bravery."

In the last week of that October, and through November several parties, but none so large as the third one, above-mentioned, arrived and at once established themselves on the west side of the creek where, up to the middle of November, nearly all the people who had then put in here had congregated, and where there was by that time a camp of considerable size. Among the men who came with one of the parties late in October, was Henry Allen who was a civil engineer and a man of energy and executive ability. He quickly became identified with the enterprises which resulted in the organization of town companies and the platting of towns. On December 1st the second large party from Lawrence, Kansas, arrived. It numbered about thirty, but its members are not to be confused with the pioneers from that town, who historically figured as the "Lawrence men."

The names of all who came here through that autumn can not now be certainly ascertained, but aside from those elsewhere mentioned were M. A. Avery, P. T. Bassett, Richard Blore, Anthony Bott, William Coberly, James Cochrane, Charles Dahler, Captain William Green, Louis Hermans, M. Ivory, James Luttrell, A. Monti, Arthur E. Pierce, John J. Riethmann, L. J. Riethmann, Henry Reitze, Andrew Sagendorf, J. S. Sanders, George C. Schleier, John Scudder, Henry Springer, Charles M. Steinberger, F. B. Steinberger, John Sutton, Oscar Totten, D. R. Wagstaff, O. P. Wiggins, Robert Willis, and E. A. Willoughby. Under the circumstances then existing, it is not to be expected that the name of each individual could have been made of record. There had also been a few business enterprises established. On October 27th, Blake and Williams, the pioneer merchants, arrived with a considerable stock of mining-camp merchandise. A week later, John Kinna came in with a small stock of hardware and tinner's goods. Early in December, J. D. Ramage, a repairer of watches, opened a shop; and a little later was followed by R. L. Wooton with a stock of merchandise, containing certain elements which, in the generous hands of "Uncle Dick," made Christmas day one that was long and longingly remembered. Inasmuch as these and other pioneer business enterprises will be considered in detail hereafter, we will not here enter into further particulars concerning them.

Site of "Montana City."
(Photographed in 1900.)

While all these things were happening, the organizers and platters of towns had not been idle. Several embryo metropoles had come into being, principally on paper, however, and one of them had suffered the experience of our old friend Jonah with the whale, but with the important and fatal difference that it did not survive the adventure. "St. Charles" City had risen and fallen; and Auraria City and Denver City had arrayed themselves to their best advantage on the banks of Cherry creek, with greater zeal and larger ambitions than the circumstances of those times would seem to have warranted.

It is to be remembered, here, that all of the Cherry creek pioneers were not town-builders, nor financially interested prospectively in town-platting, though most of them identified themselves with one town or the other, as we shall see. Many were abroad looking for gold, for the autumn was fair and favorable, and even the following winter proved gentle in its attitude toward these courageous men seeking their fortunes in a new and wild country.

In 1858, James W. Denver, of Ohio, was Governor of the Territory of Kansas—an able and sagacious man. The reports from the western end of the domain under his jurisdiction had immediately commanded his attention, and when the movement of energetic, enthusiastic men to the reputed new gold fields began that year, he comprehended its significance, and seems to have foreseen its ultimate consequences. By midsummer he had in mind the creation of a new Territory from the domain of western Kansas, which he proposed should be called "Shoshone," after the great family of western Indians. Late in that summer, a small party was organized at Lecompton to go to Pike's Peak, and among its members were Hickory Rogers, H. P. A. Smith, and E. W. Wyncoop, men whom he knew well and favorably. The Governor, in all probability misled by the many overgrown rumors then flying around over the border, and in consequence of them over-estimating the number of people who would be here that year, concluded that he would immediately commission three "county officers" to proceed to the new country as representatives of civil government under the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory. The western end of the Territory had, in 1855, been set off as "Arapahoe county," but no permanent county organization had ever been established in it. Of the circumstances of Arapahoe county's creation in 1855, of the officers appointed by its organic act, of an election held in 1856, and of other particulars related to the origin of the county a full account will be found in a subsequent chapter dealing with its general history. Governor Denver appointed H. P. A. Smith, Probate Judge; Hickory Rogers, Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors; and E. W. Wyncoop, Sheriff. Armed with their credentials of office, these "county officials" set out with their party for the west.

While this was going on another Pike's Peak company was being organized at Leavenworth—its members becoming famed in our pioneer local annals as "the men from Leavenworth." In this party were Folsom Dorsett, M. M. Jewett, General William Larimer and his son William H. H. Larimer, C. A. Lawrence, and Richard E. Whitsitt—men who became actively and intimately associated with the founding and history of Denver. This company left Leavenworth on the 3d of October, a few days after the departure of the official party from Lecompton, both going by way of the Arkansas river route.

Before reaching Fort Bent, the Larimer company encountered W. Green and J. O. Russell who had left Placer Camp, as we have stated, for their homes in Georgia; and from them learned definitely of what had been done on the South Platte that season, and that they intended to return the next spring and bring a large delegation from Georgia with them. When the Leavenworth men reached Fontaine City—"the Pueblo"—they found the Lecompton pilgrims there, they having arrived just in advance of the others. From Fontaine City, which had then just come into being, the two companies came up to Cherry creek together, arriving here on the 16th of November, and going into camp in Auraria City.

The men composing this combined party were destined to exert much influence over the fortunes of the settlement at Cherry creek, not only in that year, but also in those that followed. The pioneers of Denver were, as a rule, men of uncommon force of character and determination of purpose, and these from Leavenworth were conspicuously so. They lost no time in demonstrating it, nor did they let the grass grow under their feet—if it had been disposed to grow at that season of the year—while they stood around talking about what they were going to do.

Individuals and small groups had been drifting in from various directions, adding to the prospective aggregate of winter sojourners, and strengthening the conviction of the pioneer town-builders that they had wisely selected the sites of their "cities." Pike's Peak had been discarded as the local focus for in-coming fortune-seekers, and "Cherry Creek," now raised to the dignity of a definite settlement, was substituted for it; the Peak remaining as the popular landmark for the general region hereabouts. No new "diggings" of the least importance had been opened by any of the newcomers, and Placer Camp had ceased to be an active mining center; yet, the fanciful stories told of what the Russells had done there had great potency in sustaining the hopes of those who had been here long enough to rank as pioneers—which did not call for much time, and in exciting the imaginations and anticipations of the more recently arrived people.

Several of the men—a dozen or two—who came out here in October, started back to the Missouri river before the close of November, intending to return in the spring with new and larger preparations for mining, merchandising and other fortune-winning enterprises they had in mind; but it was yet entirely a matter of faith in things to come, for all the gold that had been found in the entire region that year would not have paid the expense of moving an ox-team wagon-train from the Missouri river to Cherry creek. It was estimated that on the first of December there were between two hundred and fifty and three hundred people here, or scattered around in the immediate vicinity and within practical hailing distance.

While W. Green Russell and his remaining associates were prospecting far to the northward of Denver in September, a young man named George A. Jackson, whose name was destined to become historical in the annals of the Rocky Mountain region, was also in that part of the country, but it does not appear that he at that time fell in with the Georgians. Jackson was a native of Glasgow, Missouri, and went from that town to California after the discovery of gold in that country. He remained there until the spring of 1857 when he returned to his former home. Early in 1858 he crossed the plains with a small stock of goods for Indian trade and proceeded to Fort Laramie, intending to engage in bartering and prospecting along these mountains for a season.

D. C. Oakes (Deceased).
(From a photograph made about 1865.)

Of the circumstances of his presence in this part of the country Jackson afterward stated that late in the spring of 1858 he came down from Fort Laramie with a party conveying goods with which they intended to have trade with the Indians at the mouth of Cherry creek. There were in the party twenty-five Ogallala Sioux under chief Swift Bird, a brother-in-law of Antoine Janise, a French frontiersman; Chief Chaka, Swift Bird's lieutenant; John Gardner, Oliver Schofield, Antoine Le Beau, Nicholas Janise and his family—a Snake squaw and her children; Jose Merrival, a Mexican; and a half-breed boy. They came by way of Cheyenne Pass where they found a detachment of about two hundred and fifty United States troops engaged in building Fort Walbrach in the Pass, with some eight hundred Cheyenne Indians encamped around them. The party stopped there, traded off all their goods, and then went back to Fort Laramie for a new stock. On the return, when they got to where the old Santa Fe-Fort Laramie trail crossed the Cache-a-la-Poudre river—the site of the present village of La Porte—they found Ni Wot's band of Arapahoes and Big Mouth's band of Cheyennes encamped; about 500 Indians in all. Antoine Janise (in French "La Juennesse") and some other traders were also encamped there; and James Sanders, Chat Debray, and "Rocky" Thomas came up about the same time, the last-named three joining Jackson's party. The second stock of goods were soon disposed of to the Indians, after which Jackson and his three new associates began hunting for gold, as they moved down this way. Their only discovery of any consequence was made in what was then called the Benito Fork of St. Vrain creek. From there they continued their prospecting until they reached this locality, when they went to Placer Camp where they found W. Green Russell's party which had then returned from the prospecting journey to the northward. Jackson and his associates remained there a few days and then went over to Ralston creek in which they prospected and found a little gold. From Ralston they went back to Janise's camp on the Cache-a-la-Poudre, and from there returned to Fort Laramie.

About the first of December, after the "cities" had been begun here at the mouth of Cherry creek, Jackson returned and in company with James Sanders and Thomas Golden went over to the foothills and began prospecting in Clear creek, but beyond some promising traces, found nothing to reward their labors. They put up winter quarters on the site of the present town of Golden, and continued their prospecting operations up until the first of the new year, without much greater reward than the conviction in Jackson's mind that he was on the scent of gold. What they did after the new year came in makes another and important story by itself. Though their winter camp was established where Golden was, the next year, located and platted, it can hardly be called the beginning of that fine little city which, in 1859, was founded, and named for Tom Golden of Jackson's party. Jackson had no thought of founding a town when he set up his winter camp there.

The "town of Montana," not far from Placer Camp, and the "cities" at the mouth of Cherry creek were not the only settlements in the indefinitely defined "Pike's Peak country" in the latter part of 1858. We have already mentioned "El Paso" in the afternoon shadow of the Peak, and which, like "Montana," vanished from the face of the earth within a few months. But there was another one down that way that survived, though by name it long since disappeared from the map of Colorado.

In the autumn of 1858 a small party from St. Louis, consisting of George LeBaum, Josiah T. Smith, Otto Wenneke, and Frank Doris, came out by the Arkansas river route to the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille where they went into camp. In a few weeks they were joined by several straggling wayfarers, when it was decided to lay out a town. Two men named Wing and Cooper, who came from somewhere in Missouri, plodded in with their wagons loaded with a small stock of frontier merchandise. With them were two others, named Shaffer and Browne, and these men, having some knowledge of such business, were induced to make a survey and plat of the new town, which was called Fontaine City. The place soon received a number of other recruits, and before winter set in some thirty cabins were built of logs and adobe, the last-named material being taken from the crumbling walls of the old "Pueblo" which stood near by, and which Beckwourth, and others claimed to have built sixteen or eighteen years before. Wing and Cooper opened a store and built a large cattle corrall there.

It does not appear that the original founders of Fontaine City came out to hunt for gold; they were traders and otherwise men of business. Several of the Lawrence party went down there to stay through the winter of 1858-59. Among them were Robert Middleton with his wife and child; Mrs. Middleton being the first white woman in the place. Late in 1858 LeBaum, Smith and Doris came up to the mouth of Cherry creek and identified themselves with affairs here, becoming well-known and active men in Denver. Fontaine City, or "the Pueblo," as it was still often called, because of the old name of the fur-trading days, became an important way-point in succeeding years for the immigrants who came to Denver by the Arkansas river route. It was subsequently absorbed by the city of Pueblo, and is now nothing but a historical reminiscence.

First structure by white men on the site of Denver—the Russell-Smith double cabin.
(From an old drawing by Dr. L. J. Russell.)

A beginning was also made to the northward of Denver, in what is now Boulder county. About the middle of October a party from Nebraska City, having come out to this country by way of the Platte valley, arrived at Fort St. Vrain. It consisted of Thomas Aikins, his son, and a nephew; Albert Atchison, A. A. Brookfield, John Brown, Silas D. Burns, H. Childs, Charles Clouser, C. Davenport, W. Dickson, David Gordon and his brother, John Hall, Thaddeus Hamilton, W. W. Jones, Thomas Lorton, J. W. McChesney, John Rothrock, Theodore Squires, the two Wheelock brothers, A. K. Yount, and several of whose names there is no record. On October 17th Aikins and his two young relatives; Brookfield, Clouser, Dickson, the two Gordons, Lorton, Moore, Rothrock, Squires, the two Wheelocks, and Captain Yount passed over into the Boulder valley and on that day established their camp at Red Rock near the entrance to Boulder canon and but a short distance above the site of the present city of Boulder. The other members of the company with their wagons and outfit came on to Cherry creek from Fort St. Vrain and cast their fortunes with the little settlement here. The Red Rock camp did not receive any definite name that year, but it was in one sense the nucleus from which the town of Boulder grew in 1859.

The men at Red Rock were gold hunters, and good ones, too. Several of the discoveries made in that section in the following winter were the work of the Red Rock party. The first thing they did was to build a group of log houses for winter shelter, and after they were finished the camp was sometimes referred to as "the Eleven Cabins." That was a mild winter, and the weather permitted much prospecting to be done.

In the summer of 1844, Antoine Janise, the French trapper, first visited the Poudre valley and was so pleased with its beauty that he determined to locate there should the country ever become settled by white people. In the summer and autumn of 1858 he was there again, with his Indian associates, as we have mentioned, and after having learned of the presence of gold-seekers in the country and of the coming of emigrants, he resolved to establish a town on the Poudre river; and after having been joined by Elbridge Gerry and Nicholas Janise, obtained the consent of an Arapahoe band of Indians whose chief was Bald Wolf and who were then in the Poudre valley, to their settlement there. Through the winter of 1858-59 a considerable number of traders and prospectors had assembled there and among them a town company was formed. Its members were Antoine and Nicholas Janise, Gerry, Todd, Randall, Raymond, John Batiste, Oliver Morisette, Antoine Le Beau, Goodwin, Ravofire and others. A town was located and named Colona, and some thirty or forty cabins built. The place afterward became the present village of Laporte, near Fort Collins. Gerry's connection with the town was speculative, as he did not locate there; nor did his speculation amount to much.

Winter was now at hand for our Denver pioneers, and those who had come to make the best of things at Cherry creek and learn by practical experience what a Rocky Mountain winter would be, had busied themselves in the closing autumn putting up cabins and making them as comfortable as possible against the frost and winds and snows. A favorite pastime with many, through the cold and house-bound days that later occasionally came upon them, was writing letters—to be dispatched however and whenever they might—to friends in the east. These missives were filled with accounts of the region's richness in gold; a metal which, except in very small quantities representing large labor and plenty of it, they had seen but with the eye of faith.

The newspapers in the States took up the refrain early in that winter and gave circulation to almost every sort of exaggerated versions of reports and rumors from the west. Among these, that of the "Westport sack of gold" proudly held its head aloft. The newspapers of the Missouri river towns were great offenders in this way at that time. They embellished their narratives with all the colors of the rainbow, and rather obtrusively presented the alleged advantages of their respective "cities" as outfitting points for emigrants. Each of these "cities" was far better prepared than any other to supply horses, cattle, wagons, provisions and tools to all who had enough energy and ambition to go to the Rocky Mountains and shovel out a fortune.

CHAPTER XXI.

Organized Beginnings of Denver—Pioneer "St. Charles Town Association"—Operations of Its Promoters—Story of the "St. Charles" Record—First Appearance of "Arapahoe County" in Local Annals—Town Companies "Squatters" on Indian Land—Organization of the Auraria City Town Company—Its "Constitution"—List of Its Shareholders—Surveying the Town, and Details Incident Thereto—First Lot-Donations—Home-Made Currency—Genesis of the Town's Name.

It is to be considered that the ancient cities of Europe, and even the American cities of the Atlantic coast, have traditions that have grown venerable in the lapse of years. In those of the older countries moss and ivy still cling to walls and roofs which men of many centuries before had seen. Husbands, wives, children, sweethearts, councillors, soldiers, who have been dust and ashes hundreds of years, looked from those ancient windows, trod the floors of those halls and dwellings, and passed in and out through the aged portals. They loved in the still standing gardens; fought in the same highways; drunk from the same still existing cups. Streets, by-ways, corners, monuments, statues, are saturated with history, which the intelligent visitor can read almost as familiarly and easily as he can read the printed page. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, obelisks, columns, sometimes would seem in their dotage to be as ancient as the hills and valleys that lie around them, and to be part of Nature's handiwork rather than of man's.

But, in this country, and particularly in this western empire, there are no such historic landmarks. Traces of ancient semi-civilization there are, it is true, but they are of a time so far away, that they may be likened to the faint murmur of voices one hears in sleep. The difference between the rise and growth of other cities of the world, and the rise and growth of such a city as Denver, is almost as great as that between the many-ringed oak of the forest, that outlives generations of men, and the shooting up of a shade-tree that was a sapling yesterday, and in a few years will have all the proportions, beauty and usefulness of the forest's patriarch.

The explorers and pioneers, and those who followed them on hastening feet into this land of the west, made their history as swiftly as they built their city; and the annals of the world are searched in vain for anything to compare with either the one or the other.. Here a great city has been built within the period of active life of men not yet grown old.

It has frequently been stated that a large portion, if not a majority, of Denver's pioneers who were here at the mouth of Cherry creek in the autumn of 1858, were Georgia men. This, as we have seen, was not so. There were but few Georgia men here at that time. W. Green Russell's small party was the only one which came from that state in 1858. Nearly all the founders of the pioneer towns which were afterward united and became the city of Denver, were from along the Missouri river border; that is, they came hither from that general region.

When the ground on the west side of Cherry creek was made a camping place by the party of immigrants which came here October 10, 1858, that side was occupied as much because it just happened so, as by design. The double log cabin, or "shack," built by "the Russell boys" and Trader John Smith was then nearing completion; and so the first caravan that put in here in that month naturally made camp near them. Those arriving later pitched their tents where the others were, and so it was that the actual beginning of Denver was made on the northward end of the tongue of land lying between Cherry creek and the River Platte.

The possibility of a town at the mouth of Cherry creek had been talked about, but not very seriously, by "the Russell boys" and Trader John Smith before they left Placer Camp to locate here for the winter, and in disregard of "Montana" as a possible rival. But Smith never mentioned an association he had already formed with others to establish a town here, nor had any knowledge of such an enterprise otherwise come to "the Russell boys." At that time, a "town" always meant a "city" in the language of the west, and upon the arrival of the Oakes party it immediately became the subject of evening discussions around the camp-fires and at the evening parties held in the solitary double-cabin that constituted the nucleus for the camp.

But the first Cherry creek town company was not organized to lay out a town on that tongue of land. The primary purpose of all hands who were here in that autumn was to find gold, or to get it in some way after it had been found, and the exploiting of town lots was thought by some to be a promising way to do the latter. To an enterprise intended to be of this kind, the first one undertaken on the site of Denver, and with which Trader Smith was connected, we will now ask the reader's attention.

Adnah French (Deceased).
(From an ambrotype of 1857.)

Among the "Lawrence party" which founded the "City of Montana" were Frank M. Cobb, John A. Churchill, Adnah French, William Hartley, Charles Nichols and William M. Smith. These men deserted that town soon after it was brought into being, and came to the mouth of Cherry creek with a definite and immediate purpose in view—that of founding another "city." In this proposed enterprise they had been joined by T. C. Dickson, who had crossed the plains with the Russell party, but had, as we have told, gone down to Pike's Peak and joined the Lawrence men when the latter had arrived at that point. Dickson came with them to "Montana" and had remained there in the meantime. Most of the members of that Lawrence company would seem to have generally been more exalted by the spirit of real estate speculation than by that of gold digging; the inclination probably having been a legacy from experience or association with the dead mushroom "cities" that had recently flourished along the Missouri river border.

It was about five weeks after the Russell party had started on its prospecting expedition to the northward that these town-founders came to the mouth of Cherry creek, looked over the land, and decided to organize a company to lay out here and exploit a new town. At that time there was no one here at the mouth of the creek, all of the white people in this vicinity being congregated at "Montana." A few days later two white traders among the Indians, who had been camped down the Platte, near old Fort St. Vrain, put in an appearance at "Montana." They were John Simpson Smith and William McGaa. Both had Indian wives, and considerable influence among the Cheyenne and the Arapahoe Indians then occupying this part of the country. As title to all the land around here was then in the Indians, and not subject to occupation by white men under the public land laws of the United States, our party of town founders induced Smith and McGaa to join them in organizing the proposed town company, provided the two traders would make the enterprise satisfactory to the Indians; all of which they agreed to.

Smith and McGaa set up their tepees here at the mouth of the creek, and on September 24, 1858, their associates came from "Montana" to formally organize their town company. From the first, they had fixed upon the land on the eastward site of the creek as the site for their town and gave no consideration to any other. On that day they laid claim to and nominally took possession of a tract embracing six hundred and forty acres, lying eastward of the River Platte and Cherry creek; and then repaired to McGaa's lodge where they held their first meeting for organization. The following is a literal copy of the minutes of the proceedings of that meeting taken from the original record of the town company, the circumstances of the recovery of which together with some others connected with it, will presently be recounted:

Upper Waters of the South Platte River at the Mouth of Chery Creek Araaphobe County Kansas Territory.

September 24, 1858

This article of Agreement Witnesseth That T. C. Dickson, William McGaa John A. Churchill, William Smith William Hartley, Adnah French John S. Smith Frank M Cobb and Charles Nichols, have entered into the following agreement which they Bind themselves their heirs Administrators Executors, Assignees &c. forever to Well and truly Cary out the Same.———

Article First: Whereas, the aforesaid Parties, as above, have Agreed to lay out Six Hundred and Forty Acres of Land into Streets, Lots, Blocks &c to be held by them for Town purposies, and Equally divided among the Above members except Such Lots as the company Shall See proper to donate to Settlers, or for other purposies, and no Such donations Shall be made without the consent of Two thirds of the Members,———

Article Second: It is further agreed by the aforesaid parties to Locate the town on the East Side of Chery Creek, and to commence at a point about One Hundred and Sixty Rods from its mouth, more or less and running due East Three Hundred and twenty Rods thence north three hundred and Sixty Rods, thence due West three Hundred and Twenty Rods, thence South Three hundred and Twenty Rods to the Point of Starting."

Article Third: It is agreed by the aforesaid party that the expeses incured of Surveying Said town also for the procuring of a charter Books Maps &c and all necesary expences Shall be equaly borne by each member of the aforesaid company.

Article Fourth: it is further a greed by John S. Smith and William McGaa that they will take possession and hold for the benefit of the aforesaid

Company that fraction or quarter sectn as the case may bee lying West of the Town and Adjoining the Same and use their influence to see that it eventually becomes a part of the town and the common property of said Company at Government price the purchase money to be raised by the company———Signed and Sealed this Twenty fourth day of September Eighteen hundred and fifty Eight———

William McGaa
John S. Smith
Adnah French
T. C. Dickson
John A. Churchill
William Hartley
Frank M. Cobb
William M. Smith
Charles Nichols

T. C. Dickson.
(From a recent photograph.)

At this meeting of September 24th the following "constitution" of the "St. Charles Town Association," which had previously been prepared at "Montana," and which, as it appears here is also a literal copy, was adopted:

Constitution of the St. Charles Town Association.

We, the undersigned members have jointly agreed to lay out a Town at or near the mouth of Chery Creek and to be Equal Stockholders in the Same, and we have adopted the following Constitution by which the Town Company are to be governed—

Article First: Their Shall be a president, Vise President Secretary Treasurer and Recorder Who Shall be Elected by ballott at each anual meeting of the company and who together With four others of who air to be elected in the Same manner, Shall constitute a board of Diretors and they Shall hold their office for the tearm of one year, at the Expiration of which time a new Election Shall take plase, but provided that Said Election Shall go by default, then the aforesaid Officers Shall hold their positions untill the next anual Election

Article Second: In case of death Absence or Resignation of the aforesaid officers a majority of members may call a meeting and elect others in there place———

Article Third: It Shall be the duty of the President to preside over the meeting of the Bord to preserve order. likewise to Sign the Certifiates of Shares and to discharge the official duties devolving upon the president of meeting or of Companies———

Article Fourth: It shall be the duty of the Vice-president in case of absence death or Resignation of the President to discharge all the duties as above Required of the President———

Article Fifth: It shall be the duty of the Secretary to Keep the Books of the Town Company and to keep the proceedings of all the meetings and to report the Same at the next meeting it Shall be the duty of the Secretary likewise to sign the certificats of Shares

Article Sixth: It shall be the duty of the treasurer to take charge of Such Mony as the Board of Directors may place in his hands and to pay out the Same to order. which Shall be directed by the Board and Signed by the president and Secretary———

Article Seventh: It Shall be the duty of the Recorder to Record all mortgages. and all documents Relating to town lots and town property. and his fee Shall be fix by the Board of directors

Article Eigth: The Board of Trustees Shall consist of nine of the present Stockholders untill otherwise provided for by bye laws which they may hereafter adopt.

Article ninth: The first Election for officers of Said town company Shall take place on the Tweny-eigth Day of September Eighteen hundred and fifty Eight.———

this Constitution may be altered or amended at any time by a majority of the members.———

Charles Nichols
T. C. Dickson
John. A Churchill
Frank M. Cobb
William Hartley Jr

Names
Adnah French
William M. Smith
William McGaa
John S. Smith

On September 28th the members of this close corporation again met at McGaa's lodge, and organised themselves. The entire party was made to constitute the Board of Trustees; and then Adnah French was elected President; William McGaa, Vice President; T. C. Dickson, Secretary; Frank M. Cobb, Recorder; and John S. Smith, Treasurer. Of these transactions the record says:

Sep the 28. 1858 At a meeting of the Town Company held in William McGaa lodg on the Platte The following persons was Elected To fill the offices as provided for by the Constitution

On motion Charles Nichols was called to the Chair and afterwards elected Chairman of The meeting. The meeting came to Order the members proceeded to ballott for the president of the Town company. on the first and Second ballott no one received a majority over All the rest but on the third ballott Adnah French received a majority and was Declared Elected President of the Town company. Then the members proceeded to ballott for the ballance of the officers which resulted as follows William McGaa Elected Vice President T. C. Dickson was Elected Secretary John S. Smith was Elected Treasurer Frank M. Cobb was Elected Recorder. The officers above mentioned together with four others which was William Hartley Charles Nichols William Smith John A Churchill was declared a Bord of Trustees.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

On October 2, 1858, these promoters held a meeting, but the record does not state where, at which they adopted some additional regulations:

Oct the 2. 1858 By laws of The St Charles Town Company

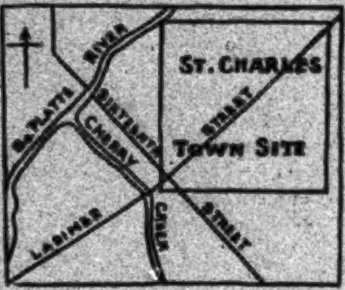
Article first

no person Can become a member of the St Charles Town Company unless his name Shall first be proposed by one of the member and at the next meeting The members of the town Company may go into an Election and if he Shall receive tw-third of the votes of the original nine members he Shall become a member of the St Charles Town Company in every respect except the right to cast his vote for or against an additional member

Article Second

no one member of the St Charles Town Company Shall have the power to transact any business for The Company without a written power of Attorney and it Shall be Signed by a majority of the Members

William Hartley, whose name as attached to the "constitution" has "Jr." appended to it for the first time, was a surveyor, and had brought with him from eastern Kansas a pocket compass and a chain. While perfecting their organization, or making it as nearly complete as they could, these enterprising "St. Charles" men surveyed around their proposed town site, which embraced one square mile of land; and also ran the lines of a few streets through it. They planned to have their streets run due north and south, and east and west, and their site was a square tract with its boundary lines conforming to the four points of the compass. This arrangement left a large angular-shaped tract between the westward line of the town tract and the Platte river. This was the land of which Smith and McGaa were to take possession and to "use their influence to see that it eventually becomes a part of the town and the common property of said Company." The "Point of starting" this survey is in the present block bounded by Larimer, Fourteenth, Lawrence and Fifteenth streets; and there the first stake was driven in the first proceedings toward founding a town at the mouth of Cherry creek. The river has changed its course since then, and at that time the line of the present Chestnut street would have intersected the mouth of the creek. Mr. Dickson related to the writer that he assisted in the survey, and went over near the river and cut down a young cottonwood from which he made a long, heavy stake, hewed it off smooth on two sides and drove it down deep to mark the starting point of their survey on the higher ground as above indicated, and which became that block under the Denver Town Company's platting. Then they wrote with a pencil on the smoothed sides of the stake notices that they claimed a square mile of land, of which that stake marked one corner, for a town site.



Outlines of St. Charles Town site with reference to present streets.

After the meeting of October 2nd, all of those "St. Charles" men, excepting Traders Smith and McGaa, decided to return to eastern Kansas to remain through the coming winter, and to come back here in the following spring. Smith and McGaa agreed to look after the company's interests here; and after that meeting their associates saw nothing more of them until in the summer of 1859. Cobb, Dickson and the rest of them started on their eastward journey October 9, 1858. They had made no attempt to build any kind of structure on their town-site, having made "Montana" their headquarters while they were organizing their association and platting their land at Cherry creek, and also their point of departure when they started eastward.

Of the projectors of this proposed pioneer town, three are still living. T. C. Dickson remained here until 1863 when he went to Montana Territory and mined there until 1867. He then came down to Cheyenne, which had but recently been located, and has ever since been a citizen of the Wyoming capital. Frank M. Cobb now lives in Denver; and John A. Churchill in Council Bluffs, Iowa. The company's record shows that there had been some division of sentiment as to the name given the town. The entry following that of October 2nd is the record of a meeting at which McGaa and Smith were not present, held on the day the promoters started for eastern Kansas, and reads as follows:

"Oct the 9 1858 At a meeting on the platte their being two thirds of the members present it was unanimously agreed to Change the name of the town from Golden City to St. Charles which was Dun by motion of T. C. Dickson

on motion the meeting adjourned."

In explanation of this apparently contradictory action Mr. Dickson at Cheyenne stated to the writer that "St. Charles" was the name agreed upon by all in the beginning, and was proposed by Nichols who had once lived at St. Charles, Missouri; but that afterward some of the members thought the town should be called "Golden City" in deference to the golden character of the country which faith and hope—and little else at that time—attributed to it; and that they began so calling it. He further explained that the entry should have read, to have clearly stated the action of the company, that the name should "remain St. Charles," instead of being "changed from Golden City to St. Charles." He also added that their meetings were not very formal affairs.

The foregoing accounts cover all the official proceedings of the "St. Charles Town Company," as its promoters usually called it, at the mouth of Cherry creek in 1858. A meeting is recorded as having been later held in Lawrence, Kansas Territory, that year, and to it and the final one here, in October, 1859, we shall again refer.

The "St. Charles" enterprise when it was organized was not thrown open to the very limited number of people at "Montana," and who were all that were in this part of the country at that time. The company was a close corporation which gave no publicity to its transactions until it later came into disastrous conflict with the "Denver City" company. Neither Smith nor McGaa appear to have said anything about it; which, for the latter, who possessed an unusual ability and inclination for making his presence and purposes known wherever he might be, was rather extraordinary. As both these men become conspicuous figures in our story, something more of their transactions and personal history will appear before they pass from our view.

The others of the "St. Charles" people had left on their homeward journey before any of the autumn immigrants had arrived at the mouth of Cherry creek and without knowing anything of the Russell party's intention to build winter quarters here. They travelled by the Platte river route, and their purposes were while at their homes through the coming winter to attend to all the matters of chartering their company and arranging details, so that when they would come back in the spring they would have everything ready for business; provided that intervening developments here warranted them in going ahead with their undertaking. When they were a short distance down the Platte they saw the Oakes party bound hither, and soon afterward met others of the companies that reached the mouth of Cherry creek in the latter part of October. This made them uneasy, and apprehensive that some of these people might adversely locate on their unoccupied and unimproved town-site. Therefore, Charles Nichols was delegated to go back at once and put up some kind of a building on the land as evidence of the company's priority of right to it, and then induce some of the newcomers to locate on it subject to all the claims and priority of the "St. Charles" company.

Nichols returned without delay and found that quite a change had taken place during the brief time since he and his associates had departed. The Russell-Smith cabin had been built and a considerable congregation of people assembled on the west side of Cherry creek, including Smith and McGaa. These two gave him neither aid nor comfort in protecting the town-site, and now apparently cared nothing for the interests of the "St. Charles" enterprise. Soon afterward, when the Auraria and Denver City companies were organized they became members without raising hand or voice for the welfare of the older organization. Instead of building the cabin himself, Nichols tried to get some one else to do so. Among the pioneers then here was A. C. ("Jack") Wright (still a citizen here), who had been one of the original Lawrence party which came out early in the previous summer, and of which the "St. Charles" promoters had also been members. Wright says Nichols offered or promised him sixty-two and one-half lots in the proposed new town if he would at once build a cabin for the company on the town-site; a proposition which Wright declined. Nichols then adopted an expedient that had often been employed to hold public land in eastern Kansas—that of placing four logs, in a square, on the ground—the "four-log improvement."

First structure on east side of Cherry creek—"four-log improvement."

Samuel S. Curtis, a pioneer at Cherry creek, and a man who became very prominent in the early affairs of Denver and Colorado, and for some years past a citizen of Omaha, has contributed to this work many historical facts. Of his coming here, and of the condition of the "St. Charles" enterprise and its custodian at that time, he says:

"I left Council Bluffs, Iowa, for 'Pike's Peak' on September 20, 1858, and at Columbus, Nebraska, was elected Captain of a train of emigrants. At Plum creek, thirty miles west of Fort Kearney, the train lost thirteen head of cattle by stampede, which threw us behind some other trains; otherwise we would have been the first train of emigrants to reach Cherry creek after the discovery of gold by the Georgia company. We reached camp about one and one-half miles below the creek, on October 30th."

"The Lawrence company, consisting of seven members, had claimed 640 acres as a town-site, on the eastward side of Cherry creek, calling it 'St. Charles.' Six members of the company had returned to the States, leaving Charles Nichols to protect the town-site; four logs, crossed, being the only improvement. He was without money or food, and dependent on friends for support. Courtright and I helped to take care of him, as also did old John Smith and 'Jack Jones.' [McGaa.]"

"I represented to Nichols that he must do something on his town-site or it would be 'jumped,' and he agreed that I should have an interest in the town of 'St. Charles' if I would help him hold it. I turned out our cattle to haul logs, and with Courtright and others from our camp we built a cabin of logs to about six feet high and put on part of the roof. By an arrangement with Nichols it was afterward finished and occupied by Hank Way, as a blacksmith's shop. It must have stood near the Blake street crossing of Cherry creek."

Other pioneers of that autumn confirm its location as having been near the creek and between

Blake and Wasee streets. It was thus outside the boundary limits of the square-mile town-site, but was on the additional land that Smith and McGaa were to secure for the company, between the west line of the survey and the river. The work of Curtis and Courtright on Nichols' cabin was done in the latter part of the first and early part of the second week of November. They had enrolled themselves as members of the Auraria Town Company the day after their arrival; but, for this aid and comfort given the "St. Charles" custodian they were, as will presently appear in one of the Colonel's contributions, "unceremoniously kicked out" of the organization which, by that time had come into existence across the creek. But, before poor Nichols, for whom the reader will probably feel a sincere sympathy, could get the roof of that cabin finished, the men who founded "Denver City" came in, swooped down upon "St. Charles," and opened a new chapter of local history which will furnish most of the material for our next one.

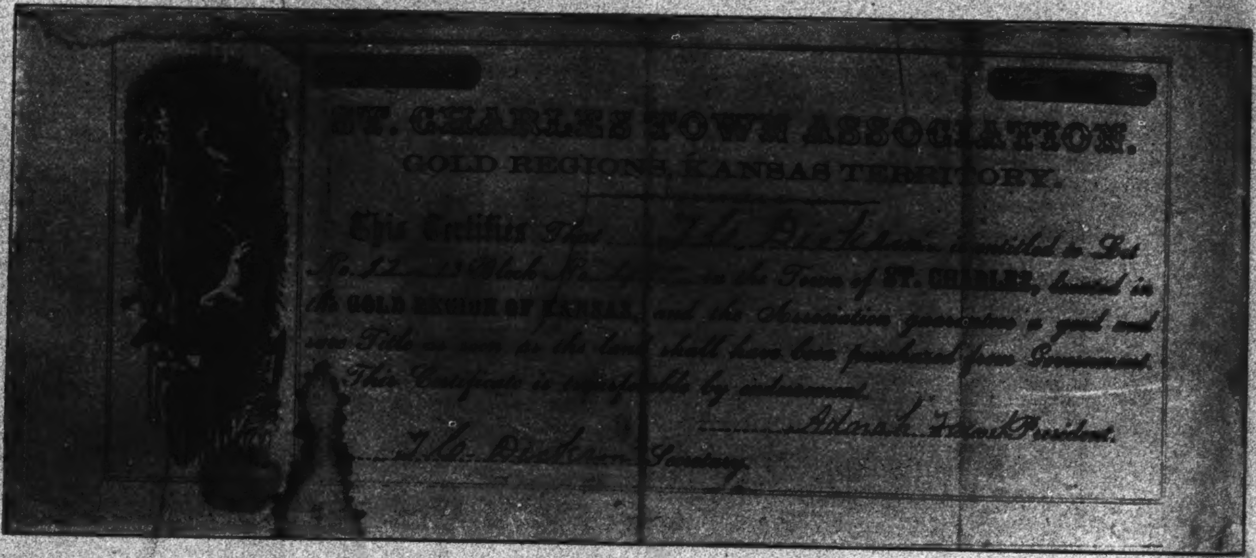
John A. Churchill.
(Photographed 1885.)

There were four separate, independent town organizations at the mouth of Cherry creek in 1858-59, three of which were later united as the City of Denver. In order, they were "St. Charles," Auraria City, Denver City and Highland. Our State Historical Society is now in possession of the original record books of the Auraria and Denver City companies; nearly the whole of the original record of the "St. Charles" company, and a complete copy of it to the termination of entries in it. If the Highland Town Company, organized in 1859, ever had and kept a record, its whereabouts are unknown. From the Auraria and Denver City records we have copied for this work everything of historical interest they contain, and have taken all of the entries in that of "St. Charles." The extracts from them are distributed through this, and various succeeding chapters.

The circumstances of the Historical Society having a complete copy of the "St. Charles" record while the original had never passed from the possession of T. C. Dickson, the Secretary of the company, were partly explained by him to the writer recently at Cheyenne. After he and his associates returned here from eastern Kansas early in the summer of 1859, found the Denver Town Company in full possession of their town-site and a town built on it, there was vigorous protest from them. But a compromise, as will presently be fully stated, was made, and the "St. Charles" men finally became shareholders in the Denver company. While some details of the agreement were yet unfinished the Denver Town Company manifested extreme anxiety to obtain the "St. Charles" record, and repeatedly asked for it and sometimes demanded it. Mr. Dickson said that he, fearing the book might prematurely pass into the other company's possession, tore out all the leaves that had been written on; that he then carefully made copies of all the removed minutes back into what was left of the old book—a long-paged, narrow "day-book." He carefully wrapped up the removed leaves and buried them in one corner of the cabin he occupied, and put the book containing the copies in the bottom of his old "carpet-sack," which also held many of his personal belongings. Shortly afterward, he was absent from his cabin an entire day, and upon his return noticed that his "carpet-sack" had shifted its position while he had been gone. Emptying it of its contents, he discovered that the "St. Charles" record had vanished; and from that time he had neither seen nor heard of it again.

A few years ago the original record of the Denver Town Company and other remains of its archives came into possession of Mr. W. N. Byers, President of the Historical Society. Among the collection were about a dozen leaves torn from a long-paged, narrow "day-book," and containing all the minutes of the proceedings of the "St. Charles" Town Association. As the Denver Company had been the successor of that organization, these minutes, being part of the archives, were supposed to be the original records of the first town company organized at the mouth of Cherry creek. Recently they were discovered to be copies, and when the writer informed Mr. Dickson of this, and that they had been found among the Denver Town Company's relics, he declared that the missing link had been supplied, and related the story embodied in the foregoing. In the meantime, through many years, he had preserved his torn-out leaves bearing the original entries; but a few years ago a couple—the last two—were lost. However, he was confident that the copies were literally accurate, and a comparison with the originals, so far as the latter extend, proved the copies to be exact. He was then asked to present the original minutes to our Historical Society and very kindly did so.

The reader will have noticed that the minutes of the first meeting of the "St. Charles" town promoters, that of September 24, 1858, set forth that it was held in "Arapahoho county, Kansas Territory." This is the first local record of the existence of Arapahoe county to be found in the annals of Denver. Mr. Dickson, who was very much the sponsor for "St. Charles," stated to the writer that none of his party at that time knew that the mouth of Cherry creek was in Arapahoe county, nor that such a county existed. He said that his party had no blank book to use as a record, and but little paper of any kind; and that he was hard put to it to find anything on which to do his work as Secretary while at Cherry creek at that time. He carried his documents and memoranda back to eastern Kansas and there wrote up his record. After his arrival at Lawrence he learned that the western end of Kansas Territory "either had been or was to be made into Arapahoe county," and therefore included its name in his record in order to make the location of "St. Charles" more definite and certain. But, in printing lot certificates, the company, as will be seen, placed "St. Charles" in the "Gold Regions, Kansas Territory," as a more alluring designation of the locality.



ST. CHARLES TOWN ASSOCIATION.

GOLD REGIONS, KANSAS TERRITORY.

This Certifies That T. C. Dickson is entitled to Lot No. 12 and 13 Block No. [illegible] in the Town of ST. CHARLES, located in the GOLD REGION OF KANSAS, and the Association guarantee a good and sure Title as soon as the land shall have been purchased from Government. This Certificate is transferable by endorsement.

Adnah French President.

T. C. Dickson Secretary.

A St. Charles Town-lot Certificate—Size of Original.

The signatures to the organization agreement, and to the "constitution" of "St. Charles," as they appear in the old record are, of course, not in the handwriting of the signers, but were written in by the Secretary. The original documents were signed here. What became of them Mr. Dickson did not know, further than that they disappeared about the time the copied record escaped from the old "carpet-sack," and probably were destroyed.

At the risk of being tedious we enter much into the details of all the proceedings of the Cherry creek town companies of 1858. It would seem to be desirable to follow them step by step until the various results of their operations were crystallized into a municipal organization by authority and under the forms of law. It would also seem that such details are of importance and should properly be made of record in a history of a city, the origin and development of which were attended by circumstances so extraordinary as those associated with the founding of Denver.

Frank M. Cobb, of the "St. Charles" Town Company, after returning to Denver in 1859, left Colorado at the outbreak of the civil war and was with the Union army until its close. In later years he returned here and is now engaged in mining. Of his participation in these pioneer events, and especially with reference to the organization of the "St. Charles" Town Company, he prepared for us the following account:

"I will give you as briefly as possible my experience, and knowledge of the facts, with and of the location of town-sites in this region. I came out in the year 1858 with the Lawrence, Kansas, party. We arrived in this vicinity on September 4, 1858, and camped about four miles above the mouth of Cherry creek, on the South Platte river, where the Georgia party, led by W. Green Russell had been panning and rocking out gold from the sands of the river and from a little creek. The Lawrence party took land near there and located a town calling it 'Montana.' A few days afterward Adnah French, T. C. Dickson who had joined our party at Pike's Peak, and myself, walked down to the place where "East Denver" is now located. We concluded that if a town or city should ever be built in this section of country it would be built here. We at once agreed to take the land, form a company, and locate and survey a town site."

"We returned to 'Montana' and soon afterward formed a town-site company, composed of Adnah French, Charles Nichols, William Hartley, William Smith, John A. Churchill, T. C. Dickson, William McGaa, John Smith and myself. Smith and McGaa were squaw men who came up the Platte and camped here for a few days; and we took them in on account of the land belonging to the Indians at that time and in order to avoid trouble because of that; though this country was then part of Kansas Territory. William Hartley was a surveyor and had a chain, and pocket compass with him. We commenced on the east side of Cherry creek and surveyed around 640 acres, and also surveyed several streets and blocks. I helped make and drive the first stake. T. C. Dickson and myself carried the chain, and William Smith went in advance of Surveyor Hartley. Not expecting any people to come in until the following spring, all of we Lawrence men in the St. Charles company, and Dickson, started from "Montana" for the States on the afternoon of October 9th, leaving only William McGaa and John Smith to represent the company here. I do not recollect anything about the change of name from 'Golden City' to 'St. Charles,' but think Charles Nichols wanted to call it 'St. Charles' when we drew up our company agreement and constitution; and I think T. C. Dickson, our Secretary, sided with him. As we went down along the Platte river we met people with wagons coming from the Missouri to the mountains. When we were about seventy-five miles on our way I suggested to the other members of the St. Charles Town Company that we ought to send some one back to look after our interests and to induce people to locate and build on the St. Charles town-site. Charles Nichols agreed to go back to the mouth of Cherry, and I and the other members proceeded on our way to Lawrence, Kansas, intending to get a charter for our company and arrange other things through the winter, and come back the next spring. Some time later, some time after New Year's, Charles Nichols got back to Lawrence and informed us that a party arrived at the mouth of Cherry creek soon after he returned there, had taken possession of our location, and had laid out a town they called 'Denver City;' that they had threatened him with violence and were in full possession. We concluded that there was but one thing to do; we must go into the Kansas Legislature, then in session, and try to get a charter for St. Charles right away. We did so and at last succeeded in getting a bill passed, and signed by Governor Medary, who had succeeded Governor Denver. The pioneer town-sites around here were located in this order; first, 'Montana;' second, 'St. Charles;' third, 'Auraria City;' fourth, 'Denver City.'"

It is to be remembered while we are considering the affairs of these Town Companies that none of them had any valid title to the soil on which their operations were carried forward. All of them were merely squatters on land to which the Indians had the first claim under the conditions then existing. Later, in giving lots to all who would build on them, or in donating lots to first-born children, or to this or that especially worthy citizen; or in keeping a liberal share for themselves, these excellent and enterprising men were dealing with things which they did not, legally, own; nor was it any better if they sold a lot for cash. As this was Indian land not open to entry, no title could be acquired to it through the ordinary operation of the land laws of the United States. This was the legal aspect of the situation; and in theory, at least, it remained so until, in 1861, a treaty was made at Bent's Fort pursuant to a resolution of the United States Senate, with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, under which they ceded all their lands "in the Pike's Peak region" to the United States. This was done as part of the proceedings in organizing a new Territory here, but it did not give title to these town companies. Prior to that extinguishment of Indian title and, as a matter of fact, for some time afterward, possession and improvement of the town lots carried title of right that was maintained with guns upon occasion; though it was not until Congress enacted the law of May 28, 1864, "for the relief of the citizens of Denver," and making what is known in real estate annals as "the Congressional grant," that these defective titles growing out of the irregular proceedings of the founders of Denver, were confirmed and made good.

Frank M. Cobb.
(From a recent photograph.)

It may be well to mention at this juncture that when the organization of the Auraria Town Company was undertaken, the two Indian traders, Smith and McGaa, made some claims to general rights to the land around the mouth of Cherry creek, for which they demanded concessions. Their claims were pretended to be based on their imaginary rights by virtue of priority of occupation of the country as traders and trappers, and on the more valid rights of their Indian associates to all the land here. There was some ground for the Indian claim, but none for the other. However, the Aurarians, for the sake of harmony conceded to Smith and McGaa the privilege of a ferry across the Platte, gave them a liberal share of town-lots, and made them officers in the organization; but the pair did nothing as ferrymen, and but little more as officers. Each of them was about half Indian in everything but birth, but they had a strong influence among their copper-colored relatives and allies that might be of great importance should the Indians resent the location of towns on their lands.

Having followed the fortunes of the first town undertaking to the eve of its overwhelming misfortunes, we will now take up the story of the second municipal enterprise on the site of Denver. After the arrival of D. C. Oakes' party and the return of Dr. Russell from Fort Garland it was decided that if any considerable number of people later arrived in that autumn, a town should be laid out on the west side of Cherry creek. Within several days thereafter, as we have seen, several parties came in and camped on the west side of the creek where the others were. Notwithstanding the preferences and operations of the "St. Charles" men all the people at the mouth of Cherry creek were congregated on the west side; but there was, however, a camp down the Platte about where the present stock yards are located. This situation resulted in a public meeting of the people here, on October 30 to organize a town company and provide for laying out a town.

The record of the Auraria Town Company is well-kept, in neat, legible handwriting and in good form. It affords evidence of systematic, businesslike methods, and of an intention to promote the common welfare by affording all who were then here an opportunity to unite in common action. In these features there is a marked contrast to some of those appearing in the record of the "St. Charles" enterprise. The accounts of the initial proceedings leading up to the organization of the Auraria Company were copied into the book from memoranda, as the Secretary was careful to indicate, the first entry being as follows:

Copy. October 30, 1858.

At a meeting of the Citizens of the South Platte for the purpose of selecting a suitable site for a town, Wm. McFadding was appointed as chairman, and A. J. Smith as Secretary of said meeting. The President stated the object of the meeting.

On motion of Mr. Hutchins a committee of five was appointed to select said site, with power to examine into any and all previous claims. The chair appointed the following, viz: Hutchins, Dudley, Dr. Russell, J. S. Smith and Rooker.

The Committee reported that they were not able to report at this meeting and asked further time. Permission being granted.

On motion of A. J. Smith a Committee of five was appointed to draft a Constitution, and by-laws, to govern the Town Company. The Chair appoined the following, viz: A. J. Smith, J. H. Dudley, Wm. McGaw, L. J. Russell, and S. M. Rooker.

On motion Wm. McFadding was added to the Committee.

On motion meeting adjourned to Oct. 31, 1858.

A. J. Smith, Secretary.

Promptly the next day the "Citizens of the South Platte" held their second meeting, of which the record tells the following:

Copy. October 31st, 1859.

Meeting met pursuant to adjournment, Mr. McFadding in the Chair.

Minutes of Meeting 30th inst. read and approved.

The Committee to whom the selection of a town site was referred reported the Following, which was adopted, viz:

'The Committee report that they have selected a town-site upon the following lands. A tract having Cherry Creek for the Easterly line and the South Platte for the northerly line, and extending west and south sufficiently to include not less than Six hundred and forty acres. The claimants to said portions being present and acquiescing. Reserving and excepting for the Benefit of Wm. McGaw and John S. Smith the privilege of a ferry landing within the river boundary of the town lands.'

The Committee appointed to draft a Constitution and By-laws reported on the Constitution and By-laws, which were adopted with the following amendment, viz: To the 9th article of the Constitution—When it becomes necessary to lay a tax for any improvement upon the town site it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to call a meeting, notifying the Stockholders to that effect. A majority of the quorum always being necessary to levy such tax.

On motion adjourned.

A. J. Smith, Secretary.

Here we have two members of the "St. Charles" Company—McGaa and John S. Smith—identifying themselves with its rival before their recent associates were far out of sight on their homeward way across the plains.

The constitution and by-laws as amended to the committee's report state in the preamble that they were agreed to at a meeting held November 1st. The Secretary's record states that they were adopted at the meeting of October 31st; however, this conflict of dates is unimportant. The following is a copy from the record:

"Constitution of Auraria Town Company."

"We, the Citizens of the South Platte have assembled on the First day of November, A. D., One thousand, Eight hundred and fifty-eight, and agreed to associate ourselves into a Company to be known and distinguished as the Auraria Town Company, by which name we hold ourselves liable to sue and be sued, and to transact business as an individual and legal body.

Article 1st.

This Company shall be known and distinguished as the Auraria Town Company.

Article 2nd.

There shall be elected by the Stockholders of said Company a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and One Director, who shall hold their offices for the term of one year from the date hereof, at the expiration of which term there shall be a new election.

Article 3rd.

In case of any failure of such election at the expiration of said term of One year, or should a vacancy occur through resignation, death, or absence, a majority of the board may direct a meeting of the Stockholders to be called and elect others in their places.

Article 4th.

It shall be the duty of the President to preside over the meetings of the Board, to preserve order, and likewise to sign all certificates of shares, and to discharge all the duties usually devolving upon the President of meetings and of companies.

Article 5th.

It shall be the duty of the Vice President in case of death, resignation, or any absence from any cause, of the President, to discharge all the duties required of the President.

Article 6th.

It shall be the duties of the Secretary to keep the books and accounts of said Company, to record all meetings of the Stockholders, or of the Board of Directors; likewise to sign all shares and transfers of shares and record the same. Keep a record of all documents and papers relating to Town property, and to notify stockholders of all assessments and when to be paid.

Article 7th.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all monies which the Board of Directors may place in his hands, and receipt for the same; to collect all assessments which the Board may make, and receipt for the same; and shall upon an order from the Board disburse any funds belonging to said company, and shall submit a statement of his proceeds in office at any meeting of the Board when called upon to do so by said Board.

Article 8th.

The President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and One Director shall Constitute a Board of Directors, all to be chosen from the Stockholders of said Company.

Article 9th.

It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to superintend the surveying, platting, lithographing or mapping, of the Town Site. Printing or writing shares of stock, superintending all company improvements, and hold all Company property in trust for the benefit of said Company. And also—when it becomes necessary to levy a tax for any improvements upon the Town Site, it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to call a meeting notifying the stockholders to that effect. A majority of a quorum always being necessary to levy such a tax.

By-Laws.

Article 1st.

All shares donated by said Company shall be improved in such manner as the Board of Directors may contract, within Sixty days after the day of Donation. But if such specified improvements be not made, then the title of such person or persons to whom such donation shall have been made is null and void.

Article 2nd.

The election of Officers shall take place on the first Monday in November in Each year, the vote shall be cast by ballot, and two-thirds of the vote cast shall be necessary to a choice.

Article 3d.

Each stockholder shall be entitled to one vote at the first election. At every succeeding election each stockholder shall be entitled to one vote for every share of stock as originally issued, provided all arrearages of assessments are paid.

Article 4th.

Thirty days shall be allowed for payment of assessments, and if not paid within said thirty days the Secretary shall advertise the same for thirty days additional, and if not paid within said time the Secretary shall cause such share or shares to be sold to pay such assessments.

Article 5th.

The owner or owners of any stock sold as above provided to pay assessments, by paying, within 90 days after such sale as aforesaid, the purchase money and fifty per centum added thereto, shall be entitled to redeem such stock.

Article 6th.

Each member of the Board of Directors shall be held under bond for the faithful discharge of his duties as such member, the sum of which bond not to exceed the sum of Twenty-five hundred dollars and not less than Two thousand dollars.

Article 7th.

There shall be set apart four hundred shares for the use and benefit of the Stockholders, the remaining two hundred shall be set apart for donation, public improvements, etc., and it shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to take charge of such donations, and all profits arising from such donations shall be set apart for the benefit hereafter of said Company.

Article 8th.

The number of Original Stockholders shall not exceed the number of One hundred. In the absence of any stockholder he may appoint an agent to cast the vote or votes to which he may be entitled, and to act as proxy, generally.

Article 9th.

No transfer of stock shall be considered legal unless such transfer be signed and recorded by the Secretary in the books of the company at the time of making such transfer.

Article 10th.

Shares of stock shall be issued to each and every stockholder when such Stockholder shall have, or cause to have been, constructed within the City Limits a house not less than Sixteen by sixteen feet, to be approved by the Board of Directors. Such improvements to be made and completed on or before the first day of July, A. D. 1859, or the shares become forfeited to the Company.

Article 11th.

This Constitution and By-Laws thereunto annexed may be revised and amended at any general meeting of the Company by a vote of Two-thirds of the Stockholders of said Company."

Having laid these broad and liberal foundations for their town the Aurarians proceeded, on the 6th of November, to elect their officers, of which election their record book gives the following account:

"November 6th, 1858."

"At a meeting of the Stockholders of the Auraria town Company an election of Officers took place at which

William McFadding received 84 votes for President.

J. H. Dudley received 84 votes for Vice President.

L. J. Russell received 84 votes for Secretary.

John S. Smith received 84 votes for Treasurer.

Henry Allen received 84 votes for Director.

Whereon the above named were declared duly elected for the term of One year.

A. F. Graeter,
Clerk of Election.
John J. Shanley,
Clerk of Election."

W. M. Slaughter,
Judge of Election.

The name of the company's first President appears in the record as "William McFadding" and as "William A. McFadding," but both apply to the same man.

The record contains no reference to the circumstances of selecting or deciding upon a name for the town. The first appearance of the name "Auraria," is in the title line of the constitution and by-laws. Dr. L. J. Russell was a member of the committee which drafted those documents, and, as will presently be explained, the name was one of two submitted by him at the time. When the meeting of October 31st adopted the constitution and by-laws the name "Auraria" was also adopted.

Judson H. Dudley (Deceased).
(Photographed in 1879.)

Immediately succeeding the entry of the constitution and by-laws in the record, appears the following:

"List of the Stockholders of the Auraria T. Co., Nov. 1st, A. D. 1858.

Wm. McGaw,
John S. Smith,
Andrew J. Smith,
Hiram J. Graham,
E. P. Stout,
A. J. Williams,
S. M. Rooker,
James R. Compton,
Henry Springer,
Jarvis Richardson,
James Gordon,
John J. Shanley,
J. D. O'Connell,
Wm. S. Foster,
R. J. Pierce,
W. J. Russell,
J. O. Russell,
V. W. Young,
A. F. Graeter,
Judson H. Dudley,
E. H. Conart,
Wm. A. McFadding,
Henry Allen,
E. B. Shorpe,
Theodore Herring,
J. H. Clarke,
Wm. Regan,
L. J. Russell,
Solomon Roe,
Luke D. Tierney,
J. H. Pierce,
A. C. Wright,
J. W. Reed,
John Pander,
John F. Palmer,
Nicholas Migel,
George Maus,
Theodore Fetts,
John Granfred,
W. A. Smith,
A. H. Barker,
John Kinna,
W. H. Longsdorf,
Phillip E. Peers,
A. H. Ramsdale,
John Easter,
Roswell Hutchins,
Giles Blood,
Joseph Brown,
Samuel Bates,
J. F. Masterson,
Christian Kelber,
A. Sagendorf,
D. D. Hoag,
G. W. Coffman,
Oscar E. Lehow,
Phillip Scheerer,
Frank K. Kast,
Louis Pilcher,
F. Bartrof,
John D. Baker,
Mathew Teed,
Austin R. Mills,
John Kane,
Noel Lajuenesse,
J. T. Parkinson,
James B. Reed,
W. R. English,
Michel Leo Prance,
Charles M. Steinberger,
F. B. Steinberger,
H. Earl,
A. Viele,
H. B. Chubbuck,
James Lee,
W. R. Blore,
—— McCaslin,
E. W. Bigelow,
Thomas Pollock,
Geo. Fuller,
H. Tozier,
John Graves,
W. Starring,
J. Conner,
W. M. Slaughter,
Charles Blake,
W. H. Clarke,
Wm. Cole,
James C. Sanders,
Wm. Roland,
Wm. D. McLain,
J. C. Cotton,
Moses Stocking,
J. N. Cochran,
Wm. McKimmons,
Hayman Chapman,
Charles Johnson,
Fred Grider,
James F. White,
James Lowry.

All the men whose names are given in the foregoing list were not at the mouth of Cherry creek when the organization meetings of the Aurarians were held, nor on November 1st as set forth in the title line of this list. The names of some absent ones, such as those of W. G. and J. O. Russell, were, of course, entered by friends who were here. Apparently, names were added to the original list, as new parties came in, until the complement of one hundred was completed. Some persons whose names appear above did not arrive until late in November. Nevertheless, it is a valuable and interesting roster of the pioneers of Auraria City.

Colonel S. S. Curtis tried to line himself up with the founders of Auraria City but failed. Of this incident he relates the following:

"I attended a meeting for the organization of the Auraria Town Company on October 31st. The first hundred men whose names were entered on the paper of organization were to compose the company. I put down my name, and that of Courtright, one of my associates; of William Cole, 'Jim' Gordon and of several others in our camp. However, Courtright and myself were later unceremoniously kicked out of the company when it was discovered that we were negotiating with Charles Nichols for an interest in 'St. Charles.'"

The Auraria Town Company was never incorporated. Of this matter Dr. Russell states:

"Application for a 'charter,' as it was then called, for Auraria was made to the Kansas Territorial Legislature, but if it was ever granted we received no certificate or other form of notice of it; not, at least, during my connection with the company. We did not consider it of very much importance, under the circumstances."

Soon after Dr. Russell ended his official connection with the town company the "Legislature" of "Jefferson Territory" enacted a consolidating "charter" which was held to be sufficient for its time and purpose.

On November 8th the Auraria Board of Directors held their first meeting. Committees on finance, on streets and alleys, on claims, on internal improvements, and on rules and order of business "for council" were appointed. On motion of Director Henry Allen it was

"Resolved, That the engineer be authorized to commence the survey of the Town of Auraria under the instruction of the Committee of Internal Improvements."

The boundaries of the Auraria City town-site, enlarged from the original plan so as to embrace about 1,200 acres, were technically defined as follows:

> "Beginning at a point in the middle of the main channel of the South Platte River opposite the mouth of Cherry Creek; thence up the middle of the main channel of Cherry Creek two miles; thence north sixty degrees west to the middle of the main channel of the South Platte River; thence down the same to the place of beginning."

On motion of Vice President J. H. Dudley it was agreed that the lots should be sixty-six feet front and one hundred and thirty-two feet deep; the four main streets running from the "public square" to be one hundred feet in width, the other streets to be eighty feet, and the alleys sixteen feet. The "public square," however, does not appears on the map published in 1859.

On motion of Secretary L. J. Russell it was resolved that each member be required to build a house at least sixteen feet square "and comfortable to live in," to comply with the requirements of the company.

Then Treasurer Smith, the trapper-trader, gave proof of his belief in the utility and power of the press by offering the following resolution, which was adopted:

> "Resolved, That there be Donated to the person or persons who will first establish a printing Press in the Town of Auraria, and maintain the same for one year, four shares of stock."

A share called for four lots, and this proposed subsidy was the equivalent of sixteen Auraria lots; but what they called an "original share" carried with it sixteen lots.

The claims committee was then instructed "to confer with those interested in the claims adjoining the Town and get such Quit claims and other relinquishment as may to them seem necessary." As there were no claims "adjoining the town" except those of the "St. Charles" people, this indicates that the Auraria Directors had their eyes on the land east of the creek.

Notwithstanding that the survey of the town was "authorized" at the Directors' meeting of November 8th, it had, as a matter of fact, been commenced earlier; and that entry in the record was intended to confirm the preliminary work already done by an unofficial understanding. The first surveyor employed was William S. Foster, who made fair progress with the work in November and December. At a meeting of the Directors held December 3d, it was agreed that orders "be issued to William Foster, Surveyor, for one hundred and twenty dollars for services rendered, payable July 1st, A. D. 1859." After this the work seems to have dragged. On April 22, 1859, the Directors resolved that the Surveyor be ordered to complete the survey and to make a plat; and, also, "to survey the bottoms on the Platte and Cherry creek, dividing those on the Platte into one hundred equal parts, and to report the amount of land on Cherry creek." On July 8th the Auraria Directors resolved "that W. S. Foster be required to finish survey of the City as far as he has the same platted." It would seem that this should read "finish plat as far as he has the same surveyed," but it does not. At this same meeting the finance committee was instructed "to contract with George L. Moody to complete survey of the City of Auraria." Surveyor Moody appears to have been dilatory, for the Directors at a meeting held September 30, 1859, resolved that the surveyor be notified "to return the plat corrected, and finish the survey in one week, or his contract to be forfeited." This appears to have finally brought the survey near enough to a conclusion to enable Fosdick and Tappan to make their map of December, 1859, which shows the three Cherry creek towns. But Surveyor Moody did not complete all the details of the Auraria survey until the following spring. On January 18, 1860, he and the Directors had a final settlement and agreement, under which he finished up the long drawn-out piece of work.

In 1858 the course of the Platte river by the pioneer towns was somewhat different from its present way. Between our Eleventh and Twenty-third streets it described the outline of a pair of ox-bows, one of which received the water of Cherry creek near the line of Chestnut street. On the eastward side the other bow projected in as far as the site of the Union Railway Station, over a part of which the river then flowed. Later the stream cut across these bows and found its present channel, though railroad grades in later years did much toward confining the stream and straightening its channel. The map of the old towns shows the river's former devious course.

At their second meeting of record, held November 15, 1858, the Auraria Directors adopted their rules and order of business, and then resolved to donate four lots to John D. Baker "for the purpose of erecting a hotel or House of Entertainment, and that the said John D. Baker on completion of said House of Entertainment be made a Quit Claim Deed to the said four lots, said Lots to be selected by said John D. Baker, out of any lots not otherwise appropriated." This appears to have been the first lot-donation made by the company.

Then followed instructions to the surveyor to plat as much of the town as he had surveyed, and to the Secretary to assign lots to shareholders as soon as he received the plat. At this meeting the Directors also adopted the following:

> "Resolved, That there be hereafter donated one lot to each person who will build a house on said lot under the instruction of the Secretary, and those who are now building or living in the Town shall be entitled to one single share, under the instruc-

Dr. Levi J. Russell.
(Photographed 1888.)

tion of the Secretary, but in no case to extend to more than sixty shares; And when donation lots are selected the Secretary shall cause to be selected only every alternate lot in each block."

The next business was to provide a circulating medium of home production. On motion of President McFadding it was

> "Resolved, That the City of Auraria by its City Officers issue five hundred dollars in scrip, and bind the faith of said City to redeem the said scrip on or before the first day of July, A. D. 1859. Said scrip to draw interest at the rate of ten per cent. per annum. Said scrip to be received in payment of any debts due said City of Auraria."

The resolution was adopted after providing that the scrip be issued in denominations of five and ten dollars.

At the next meeting, held November 19th, the Directors authorized the Secretary to demand and receive a fee of fifty cents for assigning lots to shareholders, and also authorized that officer to secure to Captain William A. Smith ten lots in exchange for certain lithographed plats of Auraria City which Smith had engaged to have made. Then the claims committee reported that "they had contracted with William McGaa and John S. Smith for their claims and had filed the contract with the Secretary; and also that they had given the said Wm. McGaa and John S. Smith a ferry privilege."

The next meeting was held December 3rd, at which donations of lots were made to Thomas P. Parker, Benjamin Bernheizer, Frederick Dimitt and William Blick.

Several other meetings were held in December but their proceedings were mostly of unimportant routine character. On December 17th the Directors were petitioned by J. T. Parkinson, William Parkinson, O. B. Potter, Charles Noble, Albert Bober, P. T. Bassett, John Harris, Charles Dahler, James Reed and John Scudder, to grant further time to them as lot-owners and house-builders in which to comply with their contracts with the company. The petitioners set forth that they wanted to build better houses than a man could put up by himself, and that they had to haul their logs a long distance—in some instances as far as six miles. They were granted an extension of sixty days. At a meeting held December 24th it was resolved to "donate sixteen lots to Mr. Hall for building a hotel under the instructions of the Secretary, who is hereby authorized to contract with said Hall, he (Hall) to select four of the lots." A meeting was held December 31st, but "Having no business to transact" it adjourned until January 7, 1859.

Notwithstanding that Baker and Hall each had been granted donations to enable them to build houses of entertainment, neither put up the first one. The town was without a "House of Entertainment" until the next February.

Auraria was named after a little village in Lumpkin county, Georgia, which is in the old gold district in the northern part of that State, and of which Dahlonega is the county seat. W. Green Russell's Georgia party, as we have seen, was recruited in that county, and his brother, Dr. L. J. Russell, who named our Auraria, came from that Auraria. Whatever the Georgia Auraria may have been forty years ago, it is not much of a town at this time; as, according to the census of 1890, it then had a population of but seventy-five. In the census of 1900 the village does not figure as a separate organization.

Much fanciful speculation was formerly employed in efforts to account for the name of Auraria City. Some persons asserted that it was derived from that of a person; others suggested that it came from Aurora, the Roman goddess of the dawn; another far-fetched theory was that it was twisted out of the word "auriferous," and intended to indicate the character of the country around the new town; "Uncle Dick" Wooton, in his book, offers his contribution as follows—and he settled in the place a few weeks after it was named:

> "There must have been some classical scholars among the founders of the town, because I am told that the name has a Latin origin, the word "aura" meaning a gentle breeze. I suppose Auraria was intended to mean the town of gentle breezes, and it was a rather pretty and appropriate name."

Of the circumstances associated with selecting a name for the first real settlement at the mouth of Cherry creek, Dr. Russell has favored us with the following definite information:

> "I submitted two names to the meeting: "Dahlonega," which was and is the name of the county seat of Lumpkin county, Georgia; and "Auraria," the name of my home town in the same county. The latter was chosen. I very much preferred the name Dahlonega (in Cherokee, 'Tau-lau-ne-ca'), which means in the Indian dialect, Gold or 'yellow money.' It was said at home that the name 'Auraria' was conferred on our little village by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and that its meaning was 'golden head.' This story, it is evident, was wholly mythical. However, the name 'Auraria,' regardless of its meaning, was chosen by our new town company on the South Platte."

Dr. Russell's Auraria was the first duly located and platted "city" at the mouth of Cherry Creek, and the definite beginning of Denver. It was the cradle of pioneer business life, and within its limits the first newspaper here was printed. The pioneer church, and Sunday school, were organized and nurtured in Auraria, and in one of its cabins the first secular school was established. The first movement toward organizing a new Territory or State was made there, and the hospitality of one of its citizens provided ways and means for the first celebration of Christmas at the mouth of Cherry creek.

CHAPTER XXII.

DENVER CITY TOWN COMPANY—GENERAL WILLIAM LARIMER—PROMPT ORGANIZATION—INVASION OF THE "ST. CHARLES" TOWN SITE—PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMPANY—LISTS OF SHAREHOLDERS—PROVISION FOR THE "ST. CHARLES" MEN—NICHOLS' FATE—LOT DONATIONS—DENVER CITY AND GOVERNOR DENVER—SURVEYING THE TOWN—ATTEMPT TO INCORPORATE DENVER CITY COMPANY—INCORPORATION OF THE "ST. CHARLES" COMPANY—FINAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE "ST. CHARLES" MEN—COLLAPSE OF THE ENTERPRISE—ADNAH FRENCH—McGAA'S PROMINENCE AND DEATH—"CITY OF HIGHLAND"—MARCY'S THEORY—DECIMATION OF TIMBER—DISAPPEARANCE OF "MONTANA CITY."

The founding of Denver City, the vigorous pioneer rival of Auraria City, was a somewhat theatrical performance, and one which suddenly terminated the brief career of unhappy "St. Charles." President French and his companions had no more than ended their homeward journey when the men from Leavenworth, and the three "county officers" commissioned by Governor Denver arrived at Cherry creek on November 16th, as heretofore stated. The more prominent men in this combined party were General William Larimer, Jr., W. H. H. Larimer, Richard E. Whitsitt, Charles A. Lawrence, Folsom Dorsett, and M. M. Jewett, of the Leavenworth contingent; and H. P. A. Smith, Hickory Rogers, and E. W. Wynkoop, the trio of "county officials." On the first page of the Denver Town Company's record book General Larimer subsequently made the following entry, or memorandum:

> "I left Leavenworth City on the 3d day of October, 1858, and arrived at the head of Cherry creek on the 12th day of November, and on the 16th I landed at what is now Denver City at the mouth of Cherry creek on the South Platte river. My son, Wm. H. H., accompanied me through the long and tedious journey with a 4-yoke ox-team. I am now living in a house built for a blacksmith's shop. Our immediate company consisted of Messrs. Lawrence, Dorsett, Whitsitt, Jewett and my son William.
> Wm. Larimer, Jr.
>
> Denver City, 24th Nov., 1858.

The house "built for a blacksmith's shop," in which General Larimer was then living, was the Nichols cabin which had been built up for Nichols in place of the "four-log improvement," by S. S. Curtis and his associates.

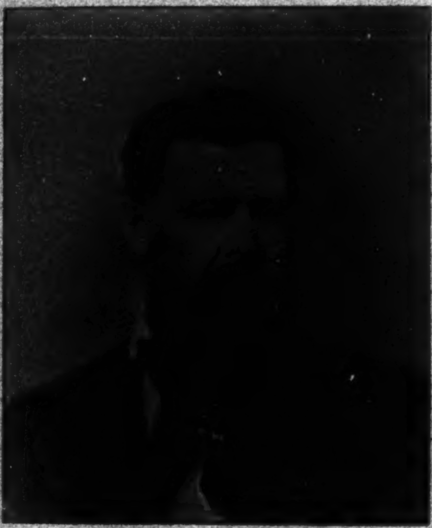
Mr. W. H. H. Larimer, now and for some years past conspicuously identified with the live-stock and packing interests of Kansas City, wrote us the following brief account of his father's life, and of the circumstances under which the Leavenworth party came to the Pike's Peak country:

"My father was born October 9, 1809, in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh, on the old Larimer homestead on the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia turnpike and about two miles from a station which bears his name, on the Pennsylvania Railroad. His ancestors came from Scotland about the year 1700 and settled in what is now Adams county, Pennsylvania. His boyhood was spent on a farm, but he soon developed into a business man, and for many years he was prominent in business circles in Pittsburgh, having been engaged in the banking business. He was the projector of the Pittsburgh and Connellsville Railroad, which is now part of the Baltimore and Ohio system, and was its first President. In the spring of 1855 he came west and located in Nebraska, where he took an active part in the early settlement of the country. He was in the Nebraska Territorial Legislature, of 1855-56. He first settled at the mouth of the Platte river, but later moved to Omaha, and in the spring of 1858 removed to Leavenworth, Kansas."

"The circumstances of our going to Cherry creek were as follows: My brother, John M. M. Larimer, was engaged at Leavenworth in the banking business and in dealing in land warrants. About the last of August or the first of September, 1858, a man giving his name as King, and claiming to have been one of W. Green Russell's party, came into the bank with a few flakes of gold in a vial, and wanted it tested; he said it came from Cherry creek. My impression is that it was the first gold that reached the Missouri river from Colorado, which was then part of Kansas. It naturally created an excitement, not only in Leavenworth, but all up and down the Missouri river."

"A company of about sixty was immediately organized at Leavenworth to go to the Pike's Peak country, but on the first day of October, our leaving time, only six of us made the start; my father, C. A. Lawrence, Folsom Dorsett, M. M. Jewett, R. E.—or, as we called him, 'Dick'—Whitsitt, and myself; I being the youngest of the party, and not yet eighteen years of age. We took the southern route, up the Arkansas river. Our outfit consisted of four yoke of oxen, a wagon, and saddle ponies for each member of the party. We arrived at the mouth of Cherry creek on the 16th of November, and camped in what was then called Auraria, one night. The next morning, November 17th, my father went across the creek and made claim to the land. We camped near where Blake street crosses Cherry creek. Right back of our camp toward the Platte, was a grove of a few acres of young cottonwood trees. It was in that grove that I, myself, cut logs with which to build the first cabin on the town-site of the City of Denver. Its place was made a corner lot, and Samuel Curtis, from whom Curtis street takes its name, and myself, staked off the four corners of what is now the intersection of Fifteenth and Larimer streets."

These Leavenworth men also knew a thing or two about real estate manipulations, as they were from a locality in which little had been left to learn of such matters. Immediately upon their arrival they carefully viewed the situation of Auraria, considered the relations of Cherry creek to the probable routes of travel, and then quickly decided that French and his friends were right in their judgment when they selected the east side of the creek as the better place for the future metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country. The next day, November 17, and before they had been twenty-four hours on the ground, they took possession of the townsite of "St. Charles," which they alleged was deserted.



General William Larimer (Deceased).
(Photographed in 1860.)

This proceeding was nothing more than an unceremonious "jumping," but it was effectively done. The only "improvement" on the land was the Nichols-Curtis rude, unfinished cabin — later "Hank" Way's blacksmith shop. The Leavenworth men claimed that there was no evidence on the ground of the prior survey which T. C. Dickson and his associates had made early in October; but it is not at all probable that the Leavenworth men went around with lanterns at night in continued search for the stakes they had failed to see in the daytime. Some of the members of the "St. Charles" Town Company who might have been expected to protect its interests, were then in Auraria City. William McGaa, its Vice President; and John S. Smith, its Treasurer, were here; but they were indifferent, as they had by this time acquired interests in Auraria. Charles Nichols, who had returned after making a start for home, to build, or to get some one to build, a cabin on the land to guard against the very thing which now had happened, and which his friend Curtis predicted would happen, was also present. Hollister, in his "Mines of Colorado," says:

> "The interests of St. Charles were left in the hands of a man who sold out to the 'Denver Town Company.'"

If this were intended to apply to Nichols it would seem to have been an unjust reflection upon him, for he protested vigorously against the acts of the invaders, and at first did all he could to obstruct them, but to no purpose. If there were a betrayal of "St. Charles" interests it is more than probable it was the work of John Simpson Smith or William McGaa.

Mr. E. P. Stout informed us that "Nichols was notified that at his next attempt to make trouble a rope and noose would be used on him." This proposition, of course, had a quieting effect upon Nichols, and he concluded to enter into negotiations with the invaders, of which proceedings Colonel Curtis supplies us with the following testimony:

> "About the middle of November the Leavenworth party arrived with commissions from Governor Denver as county officers, and commenced negotiations with Nichols for interests in 'St. Charles,' agreeing to make it the county seat, etc. He had a meeting with them at which he gave up to them the control of the 'St. Charles' town-site. I was not at the meeting, but Nichols and old John Smith agreed to see that I should have an interest in the new company. I slept on the earth floor of old John's cabin that night with his half-breed son, young Jack, who was later killed at Sand creek. Old John came home about twelve or one o'clock and told me that Courtright and I were members of the new town company. I think it was at that meeting the name of Denver was adopted and the town company organized. I drew the first plat of the City of Denver, and staked out Larimer and Blake, E and F and a few other streets, in November and December, 1858."

The new men had at once interested in their enterprise many others who had recently arrived at Cherry creek, and among them E. P. Stout, P. T. Bassett, Judson H. Dudley, Charles H. Blake, A. J. Williams, William Clancy; and also McGaa, and John S. Smith. Mr. Stout, a man of energy and ability, and who became the company's first President, had come with a party from Omaha which arrived here on October 26th. He now lives in Wyoming, a suburb of Cincinnati, and is the President of the Cincinnati Savings Society.

William McGaa and John S. Smith did not behave well toward their first associates in town company organization. They had, as we have seen, promptly allied themselves with the organizers of Auraria City, becoming members and officers of that Town Company; and now, discarding all pretense of regard for the interests and welfare of the pioneer "St. Charles" municipality, they willingly joined its invaders. In the absence of a habitable building on the "jumped" town-site, the first preliminary meeting of the "Denver City" promoters was held in McGaa's cabin in Auraria on the evening of November 17th.

Under the relaxing influence of a pot of hot and powerful frontier whiskey punch provided and freely shared by the host, the strangers were soon in possession of all the official and unofficial secrets, plans, purposes, intentions, hopes and expectations of the "St. Charles" Town Company.

E. P. Stout.
(From a recent photograph.)

The record book of the Denver Town Company was not so systematically kept as that of the Aurarians, and there is considerable confusion in the entries. In some instances it is difficult to determine the sequence of the transactions. No account is given of the preliminary meetings of the organizers of that vigorous association. The first record of the company's proceedings is as follows:

"Denver City Company adopted the Constitution on the 22nd Nov. 1858, and elected the following Board of Directors and officers:

President—E. P. Stout.
Treasurer—Wm. Larimer, Jr.
Secty.—H. P. A. Smith.
Recorder—P. T. Bassett.
Directors—E. P. Stout, Wm. Larimer, Jr., J. McGaa, C. A. Lawrence, Wm. Clancy, Hickory Rogers, P. T. Bassett.

The Board of Directors appointed Wm. Larimer Jr Secty of the Board and also Selected the Same to donate lots under the instructions from the Board. Under a previously appointed committee of Messrs. Rogers, Bassett, McGaa, Lawrence and Larimer, they secured the services of —— Curtis and laid out one principal street [Larimer] and further the same Committee set posts and bounded two miles square for a town site. Called Denver City.

Wm Larimer Jr
22 Nov 1858 Secty of the Board.

So, in less than a week after their arrival these Leavenworth men had taken possession of the "St. Charles" town-site, got together an association nominally of forty-one persons, perfected their plans, and were ready for surveying and platting their town.

All subsequent entries in the record are those of the Secretary of the Board of Directors; and Secretary H. P. A. Smith, of the Town Company, proper, appears to have had nothing to do. The constitution of the company is not recorded, and the by-laws, which were not adopted until January 10, 1859, contain nothing of special interest now. They are merely definitions of the officers' duties, and regulations for transacting routine business.

The entry next to the one above-quoted relates that on Thursday, November 30th, "The Denver Town Company passed a resolution instructing the Board of Directors to contract with Messrs. Curtis and Lowry to survey and stake and plat 320 acres of the town." In obedience to this behest the Directors "entered into a written agreement with Messrs. Curtis & Lowry to survey, plat and stake 320 acres of the town for 75 cents per lot 25 feet by 125 with 16 feet alleys and 80 foot streets, with payments as follows fifty dollars on the 1st of Jany next one hundred and fifty dollars on the 1st of Feby next and the remainder on the 1st of July next."

The Denver City Directors' record contains no definite list of shareholders in the Town Company, such as we find in that of Auraria City. But a good substitute for it is found in the record of the first assessment made on shareholders, which is entered as the "Assessment of 22nd Nov. 1858," and is for one dollar and fifty cents on each share. The names entered are as follows:

Adam French
Wm. McGaa
T. C. Dickson
Frank M. Cobb
Charles Nichols
John S. Smith
John A. Churchill
A. J. Williams
Oscar Totten
E. P. Stout
Judson H. Dudley
Geo. W. Fuller
J. B. Reed
Charles H. Blake
Wm. Parkinson
Wm. Clancey
Hickory Rodgers
Levi Thompson
Geo. McDougall
Charles A. Lawrence

Curtis and Lowry
Folsom Dorsett
Wm. H. Russell
E. W. Wynkoop
James McGargill
Jos. L. McCubbin
Wm. Larimer, Jr.
N. W. Welden
R. E. Whitsitt
P. T. Bassett
T. J. Parkinson
W. H. H. Larimer
M. M. Jewett
Richard Courtwright
Samuel S. Curtis
Philip E. Peers
Hugh S. Walsh
Wm. Brindle
David Michele
R. S. Stevens
S. O. Hemingway.

Book "A" of the Arapahoe County Records of Deeds is the old Denver City deed-record book kept by R. E. Whitsitt, the first entry in it being the copy of a deed from William Clancey to M. C. Fisher, dated May 11, 1859. On a "fly-leaf" of this book appears in Whitsitt's handwriting the subjoined entry which, it would seem, was placed there sometime in the summer of 1859. The appearance in these lists of the names of some of the "St. Charles" men will presently be accounted for:

"List of the Names of Stockholders in the Denver City Town Company.

Bassett, P. T.,
Blake, Chas. A.,
Brindell, W.,
Cobb, F. M.,
Churchill, John A.,
Clancey, William,
Courtwright, Richard,
Curtis, Samuel S.,
Dorsett, Folsom,
Dickson, T. C.,
Dudley, J. H.,
Fergonson, Levi,
French, A.,
Fuller, Geor. W.,
Hemmenway, S. O.,
Jewett, M. M.,
Kunkel, A. S.,
Lawrence, Chas. A.,
Larimer, Wm., Jr.,
Larimer, W. H. H.,
McDugall, George,
McGargill, James,
McCubben, J. L.,
McGaa, William,
Mitchell, David,
Nicholls, Chas.,
Parkinson, J. T.,
Peers, Phillip E.,
Rodgers, H.,
Russell, Wm. H.,
Reed, J. B.,
Smith, H. P. A.,
Smith, John S.,
Stout, E. P.,
Stevens, R. S.,
Totten, O. B.,
Wynkoop, E. W.,
Welton, N. H.,
Whitsitt, R. E.,
Williams, A. J.,
Walsh, H. S.,
Winchester, L. J."

With a few exceptions the names in Whitsitt's list of 1859 are the same as those in the assessment list. The record of the second assessment, made December 29, 1858, for two dollars on each share, shows John S. Smith to have transferred his share to Dr. A. S. Kunkle; and a few others appear to have later transferred theirs. "Adam" (Adnah) French, Frank M. Cobb, John A. Churchill and T. C. Dickson were at the time the first assessment was made, in Lawrence, Kansas, in utter ignorance that their town-site had been invaded and that they had been made shareholders in the new company. Their other associates, William Hartley and William Smith, appear to have been ignored at that time by the Denver City men. The record shows the assessments against French, Cobb, Churchill and Dickson, remained unpaid.

When Charles Nichols, the representative of the "St. Charles" town organizers, saw the new company in full possession of the town-site, he endeavored to save something from the wreck for his absent associates and other friends. To this end he made a bargain with the invaders in consequence of which the names of French, Cobb, Churchill and Dickson appeared in the list of shareholders. This agreement is further referred to in the following entry in the Denver Town Company's record. It is not dated, but it appears to have been made about the middle of December, 1858:

Richard E. Whitsitt (Deceased). (Photograph 1865.)

In obedience to instructions the Board of directors made and concluded a contract on the 4th day of Decr. with the following parties (see contract). This arrangement was made to carry out the previous contract made by Charles Nichols. The donations are as follows:

W. L. Perkins, 15 lots
Geo. W. Franz, 4 lots
Robt. R. Dumont, 4 lots
David Bliss, 4 lots
Jerry Sullivan (M. C. Fisher), 4 lots
James E. Latta, 4 lots
Leroy Hobbs, 4 lots
Benj. Franklin (M. C. Fisher), 2 lots
F. C. Orem, 4 lots
J. S. Lowry, 4 lots
John L. Banfill (M. C. Fisher), 4 lots
Edward Hay, 4 lots
J. H. Brewster, 4 lots
O. C. Baker, 4 lots
Daniel Long, 4 lots
H. Swigart, 4 lots
E. H. Warner, 4 lots
D. H. Stevens, 4 lots
James Kiem, 4 lots
D. McLaughlin, 4 lots.

These persons would seem to have been late arrivals, as their names, with the exception of that of Lowry, do not previously figure in the local annals of the closing months of that year. Having made this deal, Nichols had set out for Lawrence, Kansas, with his tale of woe to his "St. Charles" associates. He returned with the others the next spring and later engaged in mining. In the spring of 1862 he went back to his native place in Coshocton county, Ohio, entered the one Hundred and Eighty-third Regiment Ohio Volunteers as a Captain, and died in hospital at Clifton, Tennessee, in January, 1865. Although called "old Charley Nichols" by his acquaintances here, he was at his death only forty-two years of age.

Without date, but next following the foregoing entry, is one recording agreements made with a large number of persons, "to build Hewd log houses by the first of March next, with good roofs, not less than 16 feet square," on donated lots. As a rule each person was to receive two lots and to have the right to as many more when the company distributed lots in its "drawing." This list of names was evidently added to far into the next year, and it is in a badly kept condition; a fault which runs through the book, as in some places entries of transactions six months apart appear irregularly. Among the names of those thus entered are those of a few men who had arrived here prior to December 1st; the others are of men who appear to have been here in that month:

Samuel Mayer,
N. H. Rice,
W. Wallace Smith,
—— Roberts,
Rev. G. W. Fisher,
D. D. Cook,
J. T. Davis,
—— Parke,
F. H. Crouse,
Patrick McDonough,
Julius Smith,
Wm. Irish,
D. C. Collier,
Capt. W. G. Preston,
A. O. McGrew,
—— Wilson,
Wm. McDuff,
E. Karczewsky,
P. McPherson,
Daniel Knight,
James Knight,
J. R. Reedy,
W. A. Smith,
Frederick Howe,
Henry Murat,
S. B. Stagg,
Wm. J. Crawford,
George Abby,
Christian Kelber,
F. G. Wade,
C. M. Gilmore,
G. W. Peterson,
—— Waggoner.

Some of these names are so badly written that we are not sure that all in the foregoing are correctly given. As we have stated, the list is an extended one, but the larger portion of it was entered in the following year, when immigration set in with such a rush. Therefore we have not considered it necessary to present more of it.

The first record of a special donation, made December 9th, runs as follows; but the beneficiary was not the William Smith of the "St. Charles" Town Company:

"The Denver City Company have given the undersigned one lot 25 feet front on Larimer Street where the foundation is now laid between C & D Street South side and to also give him three more lots in the drawing of the company, for which said undersigned is to build a hewd log house 16 by 24 feet with pine roof, to be completed on or before the 1st day of April next, and further to give his influence to the town Company in the present survey as made by Curtis & Lowrie
9th Decb 1858 Wm A. Smith."

The streets indicated in the foregoing do not agree with the street designations later decided on, as C. and D. streets, according to the plat finished late in 1859, did not intersect Larimer street.

In what has been said in the preceding pages we have incorporated all details of interest appearing in the Denver Town Company's record up to the close of 1858; for others we have had to obtain information elsewhere.

The name of the new company and the new city was bestowed in honor of Governor J. W. Denver, fifth Territorial Governor of Kansas, the organizers and promoters of the new enterprise having been his admirers and partisans, and three of them

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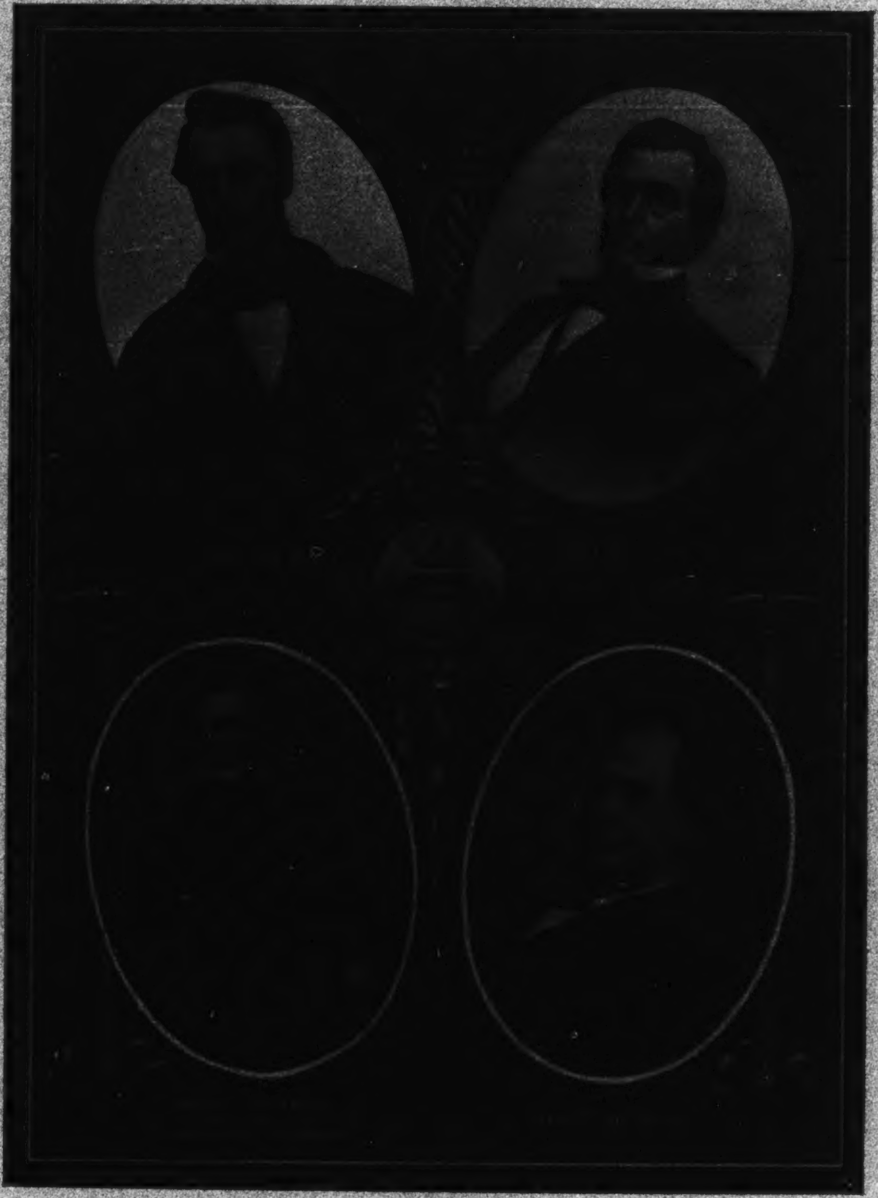
General James William Denver, descendant of an old family the history of which would take us back to times preceding those of William the Conqueror, was born at Winchester, Virginia, October 23, 1817; his father having been Patrick Denver, who served as a Captain in the American army in the war of 1812. In 1830 Captain Denver removed to Ohio and settled on a farm near Wilmington, Clinton Co., where the subject of this sketch lived the life of a country boy until he attained his majority. He then went to Missouri, and after a short stay there, to Kentucky, where he became a school-teacher and law student. Later he entered the Cincinnati Law School from which he was graduated in the spring of 1844.

For a short time thereafter General Denver practiced law, and edited "The Thomas Jefferson," (a Democratic newspaper), at Xenia, Ohio, and then returned to Missouri, first locating at Plattsburg, and later at Platte City, where he remained practicing his profession until the outbreak of the war with Mexico. He recruited Company H, of the Twelfth United States Volunteer Infantry, and of which he was commissioned Captain, April 9, 1847; and served with distinction in General Scott's army and in all the battles in which it was engaged. After the war he returned to Platte City, where he bought and published the "Platte Argus" newspaper. His stay there was brief, for he became one of the California Argonauts in the spring of 1849, crossing the plains and thence by way of Salt Lake. Remaining in Sacramento until the spring of 1851, he then engaged in trading between Humboldt Bay and the mines. In 1852 he was elected to the California State Senate, and while a member of that body was placed by Governor Bigler in command of an expedition for relief of a large party of emigrants snow-bound and destitute in the Sierra Nevada mountains. Edward Gilbert, editor of the "Alta California," editorially criticised the Governor's preliminary management of the expedition, and General Denver became involved in the controversy. Gilbert challenged Denver and in the encounter rifles were used—weapons with the use of which Gilbert ranked as an expert. After the first fire, Denver, who had discharged his rifle into the air and had been unharmed by his adversary, expressed a willingness to shake hands with Gilbert. But the latter was hot-headed, and apparently desired and intended to kill General Denver. At the second fire Gilbert, who was an able and brilliant man, fell a victim to his wounded pride.

Public opinion unanimously sustained Denver in the part he bore in the unhappy affair. The General successfully led the expedition to the relief of the emigrants, and in the spring of 1853 was elected Secretary of State, a position he filled until the autumn of 1855. In the autumn of 1854 he had been elected by the Democratic party to the Thirty-fourth Congress, the first session of which began in December, 1855, and of which Denver became a prominent and useful member. As Chairman of the Select Committee on Pacific Rail-



Four Portraits of General James W. Denver.

came here armed with commissions as county officers which bore his signature. For a great city to bear the name of an individual is a rare distinction. Washington, D. C.; Cleveland, Ohio—so called for General Moses Cleveland, of Connecticut; and Denver are the conspicuous ones in our country named for native Americans. The founders of Denver builded better than they knew, for it is not likely the visions of their wildest dreams ever pictured anything approaching the reality that is before us now. "Denver City" was in fact, a little frontier business enterprise in real estate, and was the first distinctive, successful movement of that kind on the South Platte; the Aurarian proceedings having had more of the brotherly love element in them.

Several lots were reserved by the Denver Town Company as gifts to the city's namesake, but it was not until 1882 that General Denver made his first and only visit to the city, and in the meantime he had given them no thought if, indeed, he had not forgotten that he ever had any claims upon such possessions. In the confusion of titles which occurred in the "Sixties" the lots intended for him were acquired by others, and their original assignment was overlooked or disregarded. In 1882 General Denver found that they had long before passed to innocent purchasers and, therefore, not caring to raise the question of title, he abandoned any claims he may have had upon them.

As with Auraria, there was delay in getting Denver City fully surveyed and platted. Curtis and Lowry whom the directors had engaged to survey and plat three hundred and twenty acres of the town-site, after they had located Larimer street, did not make satisfactory progress with their work. At a meeting of the Directors held January 22, 1859, the contract with Curtis and Lowry was cancelled and the work stopped until early in the following summer, when, on June 6th, E. D. Boyd was engaged to finish the survey, and plat the entire claim of the Denver City people, starting where his predecessors had stopped. A. J. Williams, of Blake & Williams, and William H. H. Larimer, carried the chain on a large part of the work. By that time it had become necessary to have the survey quickly and accurately completed. It was this actual survey in detail that was held to constitute the new company's chief binding claim upon the land, and which, in connection with its aggressive possession, and improvements, made a stronger and more defensible title to it than any the "St. Charles" people could set up against it.

Of one of the preliminary surveys Mr. E. P. Stout wrote us:

"I arrived in Denver, or at that time the mouth of Cherry creek, from Omaha on October 26, 1858, and a few days after, with the use of a pocket compass taken with me across the plains, laid out, or rather, staked off, the town site of Denver together with five or six other parties, among whom were John S. Smith and William McGaa, Indian traders."

This indicates that Mr. Stout had his plans

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road he reported a bill providing for the construction of three trans-continental lines; but a majority in Congress was against so wild a proposition as building even one at that time appeared to be.

Denver did not seek a re-nomination for Congress. At the close of his term he was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a position he was very capably filling when, in 1857, President Buchanan requested him to take charge of the strife-torn Territory of Kansas. Denver reluctantly entered upon his duties as Governor of Kansas Territory in December, 1857, and determined to hold aloof from all factions and do his duty as the law and his conscience directed him. The stormy events in Kansas in the years 1857-58 are familiar parts of National and Kansas history and need not be recounted here. Denver continued in his difficult and trying position until October 10, 1858, when he resigned; one of his closing official acts having been to commission the three "officers" for Arapahoe county, as elsewhere related. But in the meantime he had won the respect, esteem and confidence of all the factions, and had brought peace to the distracted Territory.

General Denver returned to Washington and resumed his former position as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in which he served until March 11, 1859, when he resigned and returned to California. There he became a candidate for United States Senator, but was defeated by two votes. Remaining in California until the outbreak of the civil war, he warmly espoused the Union cause. Without solicitation, President Lincoln on August 14, 1861, appointed him a Brigadier General of Volunteers, and he was placed in command of all the troops in Kansas to preserve peace on the border. He was soon transferred to a more active field. Placed in command of the Third Brigade of Sherman's Division, Army of the Tennessee, he ably participated in all the operations of that historic organization until April, 1863, when he resigned in consequence of an emergency in his private business affairs that compelled his resignation.

Subsequently General Denver engaged in law practice in Washington, having established his home at Wilmington, Ohio, where his boyhood years had been passed. In 1876 and again in 1884 his name was prominent among those of men mentioned as acceptable as the Democratic candidate for President. Six feet, two inches in height, of fine proportions, he was a man of commanding presence. Genial, dignified and urbane, he possessed peculiarly winning ways and the faculty of making men his loyal and enduring friends. He died at Washington on August 9, 1892, and is buried at Wilmington.

The foregoing is but the briefest outline of the brilliant career of the man whose name is borne by this metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country. To the writer there seems to be much in the life-history of General Denver to make his name especially fitting to the city founded here by Colorado's pioneers in 1858. J. C. S.

made for utilizing the site of "St. Charles" before the arrival of General Larimer's party, with which he at once became associated.

In the meantime French and his comrades had continued on their journey, and when they got home immediately gave the affairs of "St. Charles" the attention needed at that end of the line, in accordance with their plans when they left here. On November 15th, two days before their town-site was "jumped" by the founders of Denver City, their record states that they held a meeting at Lawrence at which they devised plans for apportioning most of their town lots among the members of the company according to the plat Hartley was to prepare from the notes of his survey. The record of this meeting is as follows:

"At a meeting of the Association held in Lawrence K. Ter. Nov. 15th 1858 the following business was transacted the meeting was called to order by the President, and upon motion of Mr. Hartley the following plan of distribution for the town lots was adopted. to wit. The names of the members to be first written down on paper. then commencing with the first name, place the first numbered lot opposite & proceed in like manner until a lot shall stand opposite the name of each member, when again commencing at the first written name. place opposite the next lot in rotation, and proceed in the same manner until the whole number of disposable lots shall have been distributed"

"No other business being presented, the meeting adjourned"

After this meeting the Lawrence men busied themselves in attending to the various details of their preparations, with which they thought they were getting along finely. They remained several weeks in ignorance of what had happened here, and it was not until Nichols appeared that they were first apprised of the misfortune that had befallen "St. Charles."

The "St. Charles" was the only one of the pioneer Town Companies at Cherry creek that was incorporated; but that availed it naught. A few days after the Denver City Town Company was organized on November 22nd, E. W. Wynkoop, the "Sheriff," was sent back to the capital of Kansas Territory to have the new company properly and legally incorporated, to have stock certificates printed and to procure such other things as a town corporation would need in its business. When he arrived there he found the Lawrence men had a bill pending to incorporate "St. Charles." Wynkoop procured assistance and vigorously endeavored to have the "Denver City" bill substituted for the other, but in vain. The Lawrence men succeeded in convincing the Legislators that they had been first on the ground, that they had organized themselves, surveyed the land, and intended to establish a town on it; and that Wynkoop and his associates had come in in the meantime and "jumped" the town-site. When Wynkoop saw that he could not get the "Denver City" bill converted into a law, he proposed peace and persuaded the "St. Charles" men to admit General William Larimer, Jr., Charles Lawrence, and himself into the "St. Charles" close corporation. Prior to this, Charles Nichols had put in an appearance, and reported what had happened to the "St. Charles" town-site and also the agreement he had been forced to make with the invaders. Under these circumstances, in their anxiety to get their bill through, and knowing that they could among themselves control the organization, the "St. Charles" men consented, and admitted Wynkoop, Lawrence and Larimer, though the latter two were not present; Wynkoop speaking for them and urging their desirability as members of the "St. Charles" Town Company. So, the following was enacted by the Territorial Legislature and became a law on February 11, 1859:

AN ACT Incorporating the St. Charles Town Company.

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

Section 1. That Adnah French, Wm. McGall, Theodore C. Dixon, Frank M. Cobb, Charles Nichols, Edward W. Wynkoop, William Larimer, jr., Chas. Lawrence, William Hartley, jr., Loyd Nichols, and their associates and successors, are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, under the name and style of the "St. Charles Town Company," and by that name and style, shall be competent to make contracts, sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded in all matters whatsoever. Said Company is authorized to have and use a common seal, and change the same at pleasure, and to make such by-laws as may be necessary for the government of said company and the management of its affairs.

Sec. 2. The corporation hereby created, shall have power to purchase hold and enter, by preemption or otherwise, any quantity of land not exceeding nine hundred and sixty acres, where the town of St. Charles is now located, as surveyed by William Hartley, being on the east of Cherry Creek, in Montana county, Kansas Territory, and to lay off the same into streets, blocks and lots, and convey the same, by deed or otherwise.

Sec. 3. The said company shall have power to pass by-laws providing for the election of such officers at such time or times as may be necessary to carry out the business of said company; and all conveyances of real estate of said company, shall be signed by such officers of said company as said by-laws shall designate, which conveyances shall be duly executed and acknowledged, and, when so executed and acknowledged, shall be deemed good and valid conveyances.

Sec. 4. The stock of said company shall be deemed personal property and the company may, by by-laws, prescribe rules for the issuing and transferring of said stock by each individual stockholder.

Sec. 5. That said company shall, also, have power to maintain courses, sluices, ditches and other contrivances for conducting water from

Cherry Creek and the South Platte to be used for mining purposes, and may sell and dispose of interests in the same. Said water privileges are only granted on lands held by the company.

A. LARZALERE,
Speaker of House of Representative.
C. W. BABCOCK,
President of the Council.

Approved February 11, 1859.
S. MEDARY,
Governor.

In a statement Colonel T. C. Dickson recently made to the writer, and concerning this admission of General Larimer, Lawrence and Wynkoop, he said that if he and his associates had better understood the whole situation and had fully known the Denver City Town Company's plans and purposes, they would not have thus fraternized in their "charter" with the three Denver City men. He also said that it was the understanding with Wynkoop that nothing of consequence was to be done on the "St. Charles" town-site until after the return of the "St. Charles" men to Cherry creek late in the spring of that year. Wynkoop started back to Cherry creek soon after the enactment of the "St. Charles" incorporation, and the "St. Charles" men did not see him again until after their return here in the following June.

Loyd Nichols, named in the act as one of the incorporators, was not at Cherry creek in 1858. He was a brother of Charles Nichols, and was in eastern Kansas in the winter of 1858-59. After the "St. Charles" promoters returned to Lawrence in November of that year, they placed his name on the original "constitution" that had been signed here in the previous September; and this accounts for its presence in the copy of the "St. Charles" record in possession of our Historical Society. They also made him, as stated in the act, one of the "St. Charles" incorporators. He did not figure here in pioneer times. Late in the "Sixties" he came here to look after the property interests of his then deceased brother, but we did not learn that he ever became a citizen of Colorado. It may be remarked, in passing, that Charles Nichols' property had been in the later period the object of proceedings most discreditable and that diverted it to those having no just claim upon it.

As the reader will have learned, Wynkoop's failure to get a "charter" for the Denver City Town Company from the Kansas Legislature that winter did not in the least deter the "Denver City" people from going ahead with their town and their plans. The company was never incorporated. E. P. Stout says he and his associates talked afterward about getting a "charter" at the next session of the Territorial Legislature, but when the time came nothing was done about it.

President French and his associates remained at Lawrence and did not return here until the following June, when the excitement over the gold discoveries by Gregory and Jackson was at its height, and when surveyor Boyd was engaged in finishing the survey and platting of Denver City. They found the invaders in full possession of their town-site, and as they had approached it in the last stage of their journey they could hardly believe their eyes. Instead of the unoccupied land they had left they saw a busy town crowded with excited people, with hundreds more streaming in every day.

Of course, there was an outcry and a protest against the acts of the Denver City people, but the fact that "St. Charles" had disappeared could not be disputed; nor was there any available remedy. But the "St. Charles" people did not immediately abandon their organization, though there would seem to have been little utility in maintaining it. It appears that they kept it alive until the following autumn, when, on October 24th, Adnah French resigned as President and John A. Churchill was elected to succeed him. The minutes of this meeting, which constitute the last entry in their record book, and terminate their recorded history of "St. Charles," read as follows:

Nichols' Unfinished Cabin.

October 24th 1859

"At a meeting of the St. Charles Company held on the Town Site, the meeting was duly called to order by the President. On motion Mr. Cobb was chosen Secretary to act at said meeting in the absence of Mr. Dickson. Mr. French then handed in his resignation as President of the Company. On motion of Mr. Nichols Mr. Churchill was chosen President (pro tem) until an election Should be held. The members then proceeded to ballot for President Mr. Churchill having received a majority of all the votes cast was declared elected. no other business being presented the meeting adjourned."

The progressive men who had "jumped" the town-site, had, as we have stated, considerately reserved under their bargain with Nichols, some shares in the Denver Town Company for the absent promoters of "St. Charles," and these were finally accepted by French and his immediate associates who had borne the burden of trouble and expense growing out of their unlucky undertaking. Of the circumstances leading up to this arrangement Frank M. Cobb has given us the following account:

> "We returned to the mouth of Cherry creek in June, 1859. The members of the St. Charles Town Company, with two exceptions, did not have the nerve and courage to fight for their rights under their charter, and the St. Charles Town Company soon ceased to exist, nearly all of its members becoming merged into the Denver City Town Company. I became owner of 130 of the lots but lost title to 92 of them. Some of the others I sold or traded off before I left, and the rest I sold at what I thought fair prices when I returned after the war."

Among the preparations for business made by the "St. Charles" men after their return to Lawrence, in addition to application for a "charter" for their company, was the printing of stock, or lot, certificates, some of which they at once filled out for themselves and for Nichols, Smith, and McGaa; believing the last-named two to be loyally identified with their enterprise. They had desired to specially recognize the prominence and utility of William McGaa, and the irony of fate led them to prepare for him as a shareholder in the "St. Charles" Town Company, certificate Number One, dated at Lawrence, Kansas, December 1, 1858. Their plan for dividing their lots resulted in assigning to him Lot Number One in Block Number One, beside others, according to a plat they had made from Hartley's survey; thus giving him the honor of first place in the real estate records of their corporation.

The projectors of "St. Charles" have been unjustly accused of having been slip-shod and inefficient in their methods. They undertook to follow about the same lines on which Auraria City and Denver City were afterward successfully organized, though they allowed themselves much more time than their competitors expended. Their outline survey of their land, which did not definitely locate streets or lots, and their failure to make any proper structural improvement, exposed them to attack; though nobody could then obtain legal title to land in this part of the country. But it is doubtful if a good tenanted cabin on their land would have held it against the Leavenworth men. The great blunder made by the Lawrence men was that of going away for the winter, as the two outsiders they had admitted to fellowship did not, as we have seen, prove loyal to the pioneer town enterprise to the welfare of which they were supposed to have been primarily committed. Though Nichols would appear to have had the harder time in connection with the undertaking, T. C. Dickson, Adnah French, and Frank M. Cobb were the men who conceived it. French, who originally came from Brandon, Vermont, died poor in Santa Fe in 1872.

McGaa, as the reader will have noticed, figured prominently in the organization of each of these Cherry creek town companies. He was a smart, fairly educated man, and represented that he was a son of an English Baronet. Charles G. Chever, who knew him well, said McGaa was a Scotchman, had been a sailor and drifted across the country to these plains from the Pacific coast. George R. Brown, a son of McGaa's widow by her second husband, and who is now an United States Indian Trader at Rosebud Agency, South Dakota, in response to inquiries from the writer, said:

> "McGaa was the son of an English nobleman, and when quite a young man ran away from his home. Later he wanted to return to his parents, but his father thought he had by his conduct disgraced the family. So McGaa set out for America and finally made his way into the far west."

William H. H. Larimer.
(From a recent photograph.)

McGaa professed great friendship and admiration for Governor Denver, and as one of the organizers and officers of the Denver Town Company claimed to have been one of those who urged and decided that the company and town be named for the Governor, and that the latter be presented with a share in it. But it was not as an organizer of the town companies that he derived his greater pioneer distinction here. That fame grew out of his paternal relation to the first child born on the site of Denver, not considering exclusively Indian products. He loyally named his son William Denver McGaa.

McGaa, like several other men conspicuously identified with the pioneer town companies, did not long remain here. In the spring of 1861, with his wife and little son, he located at Laporte, near the present city of Fort Collins, and at which place he made his home until his death. The Denver Town Company had named one of its streets for him, but in 1866, after he had fallen into very dissipated habits and lost most of his earlier standing, the street's name was changed to that of Holladay, in honor of Ben Holladay, of overland stage-line fame. McGaa had frequently come to Denver from Laporte, and after the street name was changed he grieved over the rebuke implied by the change; and this, it was believed, accelerated his downward career. Upon one of his visits here, in the summer of 1868, he drank heavily, and was placed in the town prison to recuperate. The prison was a miserable, unventilated old building, and McGaa, who was then about forty-five years old, died in it during the following night. Charles G. Chever said it was the common belief at that time, that McGaa died from suffocation in the little box-cell in which he had been placed. So ended the life of Denver's most picturesque pioneer.

Charles A. Lawrence (Deceased).
(From an old "card" photograph.)

McGaa was usually called "Jack Jones" by his associates and other acquaintances here. Mr. Brown has given us the following explanation of the origin of that nickname, or alias; but as an offset to this statement all of the surviving pioneers of 1858 say McGaa was known here as "Jack Jones" from the beginning of the Denver settlements:

"After McGaa became prominent in the organization of the Denver towns and had acquired, as he supposed, considerable real estate, he thought it a capital idea to write home to learn if his parents were still living and to let them know how he was prospering in America. The letter was written on the printed letter paper of a prominent Denver business firm, and was to this effect: 'There is a bright young man in my employment here who says he is your son. I have tried to get him to write to you, and as he seems determined not to do it, I concluded I would write myself and let you know his whereabouts.' McGaa signed this letter 'Jack Jones.' In due time came a reply from England from John McGaa urging 'Jack Jones' to persuade the young man to return home, as he would soon inherit the property of his parents, who were growing old and wanted to see him again. 'Jack Jones' was invited to accompany the young man to England where, the elder McGaa said, neither would ever want for anything. Dominic Bray, now at this Agency [Rosebud, S. D.] read 'Jack Jones'' letter and John McGaa's reply to it, Bray having been in Denver at that time."

The pioneer town of Highland across the Platte and opposite the towns of Auraria City and Denver City, was a different enterprise from the later independent village of Highlands which was subsequently annexed to the city. Old Highland has little historical record and affords meager material for the local historian. Exact dates and precise details are lacking because of the absence of the Highland Town Company's records, if there ever were any. If they survive, their whereabouts are unknown. Of the enterprise Dr. L. J. Russell says:

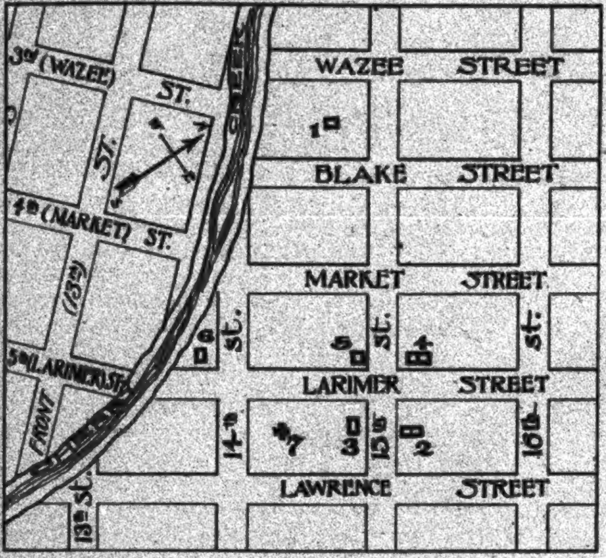
"The City of Highland, or the Highland Town Company, across the Platte, was organized in the summer or early in the fall of 1859. Henry Allen, W. M. Slaughter, W. D. McLain, myself and some dozen or two others constituted the company. We did not attempt to incorporate it. Some portion, if not all, of the site was surveyed and staked off, and a 'claim' was filed, or was to be filed, in the Kansas Land Office, but whether we heard from it or not I do not now recall. We didn't count much on Highland at that time."

To introduce Highland at this point is somewhat out of chronological order, but probably it does not matter, as we are now dealing with pioneer towns. A majority of those identified with Highland were Auraria City men, the names given certain of its streets indicating who some of them were — Byers, Foster, Pollock, Wing, Wooton, Wallingford, and Murphy. But the old streets and their names mostly disappeared long ago. Henry Allen was elected President of the company, and William M. Slaughter, Secretary. The plat of the town appears on our reproduction of the Fosdick and Tappan map published late in 1859, but all the streets and lots were not actually staked out. That side of the Platte attracted no attention in 1858, and hardly any in 1859. Of its condition in those times, E. P. Stout says:

"So far as I can remember there was not a single 'improvement' in 1858 on what was afterward called Highland, across the Platte from 'Denver City.' A town was surveyed there, or partly so, by the 'Highland Town Company' in 1859, but I never paid much attention to the parties who were in it. I am quite confident that there was not a shanty built on their town-site as late as the fall of 1859, though I think there were two or three farther out."

After the gold discoveries in 1859 some of the immigrants, on their way to the mountains camped there, but the Highland Town Company did not succeed in making their speculative enterprise a successful one. The site was a fine one on account of its elevation, and topographically very attractive, but it was several years before the locality really had the beginning of its present development.

In pioneer Highland there was no such competition for settlers who would build, no contention with its neighbors, and no jealousies and animosities, such as characterized Auraria and Denver for a year or so. One reason for this may have been because its projectors and sponsors were all residents and interested partisans of Auraria, or Denver City. Indeed, Highland may be said to have had no strictly pioneer history of its own; as it was in 1859, and in 1860, too, not much more than a silent spectator of the activity and strife present on the opposite side of the Platte. Its primitive history consists nearly altogether of events happening among its neighbors on the banks of Cherry creek. Further along in our narrative some account will be given of its development.



Map showing locations of pioneer structures on eastside of Cherry creek—Denver City. (1, Nichols' unfinished cabin; 2, the Moyne and Rice cabin; 3, Larimer cabin; 4, Lawrence and Dorsett; 5, Hickory Rogers; 6, E. P. Stout. Figure 7 marks the spot where the St. Charles men started their survey where the first town-site stake on the site of Denver was driven.)

When he published his book, "Army Life on the Border," in 1866, Captain Marcy had become a Colonel in the United States army. He was then inclined to the belief that the delay of his command at the mouth of Cherry creek, in the early days of May, 1858, was incidentally influential in the founding of Denver. Referring to his man who washed out some gold in the creek at that time, he said:

> "Soon afterward he was discharged and went to St. Louis, and in a short time the miners commenced flocking to the locality, and laid out a town which has continued to flourish ever since, and at this time contains several thousand inhabitants. It is called 'Denver City,' and I feel quite confident that the representations made by our discharged teamster in St. Louis and other places, were the origin of the location and establishment of a new city and Territory."

Unfortunately for the Colonel's theory, the pioneer parties of miners, or prospective miners, had started, or were preparing to start, across the plains on their way to this locality to dig for gold, before his later dismissed teamster had found anything of value in Cherry creek.

The teamster who washed out that gold, George Simpson, had then been in this part of the country several years. Later he became a trader and stock raiser, having settled on a ranche near Trinidad, where he died some twelve or fifteen years ago. In compliance with his last request, his body was buried on the top of a butte or small mountain near by, and which then received its present name, "Simpson's Rest."

In the autumn of 1858 the foot-hills, gulches and mountain slopes around here were thickly overgrown by the native forests. The trees were pine, spruce, and balsam fir, with some aspens scattered among them. They were not of a size to be called monarchs of the forest, but were of fair proportions. The South Platte and its tributaries were fringed with cottonwoods and willows, and altogether the local landscapes were most pleasing to the eye. The settlements at Cherry creek and the subsequent mining operations were followed by great havoc in the timbered areas. Logs for cabin-building and wood for fuel called for the destruction of many trees, and when the saw-mills got to work among them, trying to supply the insatiable demands for timber and lumber for building and mining purposes, the forests were eaten away with amazing rapidity, the growths of centuries disappearing in a few years, leaving the country around Denver in its present comparatively deforested condition. The inroads made the first autumn and winter for cabin-building material and for the huge wood-piles thought necessary for the fuel supply, made large openings in the standing timber in the general vicinity of the towns.

When the Auraria and Denver City Town Companies were organized, the pioneers who were sojourning at "Montana" began to lose faith in the future prospects of their little hamlet. Before winter set in about half of them had moved themselves down here, most of those who made the change that autumn becoming members of the Auraria Town Company. They also moved the useful material of their "Montana" cabins and used it in building houses here. In the following spring the rest of the Montanians came to Auraria and Denver City, leaving their town-site to revert to a state of nature, and their town of some seven months' antiquity to become a historical memory. That is all it is to-day, for in a few years not a vestige of it remained to show that once there had been a little frontier "city" there.

CHAPTER XXIII.

"First" House-Building—Some of the "Early Settlers"—Pioneer Street Names—First Cabin—Other Early Builders in "Auraria City"—Beginnings of "Denver City"—Its First Cabin, and Subsequent Pioneer Improvements—Mercantile Pioneers—First Christmas Celebration at Cherry Creek—First Masonic Meeting—First Clergyman—Pioneer Women—Rivalry Between the Two Towns—Condition at Close of 1858—Their Common Heritage.

Over the question of who was entitled to the honor or credit—or both—of having "built the first house in Denver" there have heretofore been many controversies and other manifestations of divided opinion. In the history of most cities, especially of those which had a rapid development, there is usually some conflict of claims to this distinction. It is not strange, therefore, that here, where the initial circumstances were so extraordinary, and where the developments have been so amazing, there should have been a little of such confusion in reminiscences of the first house-building in the feverish days when the foundations of Denver were laid.

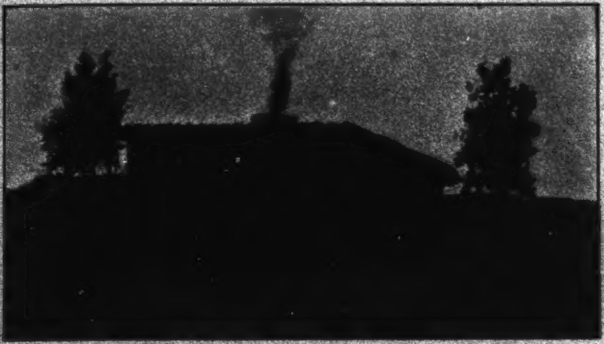
This uncertainty has attached to the beginning of both Auraria City and Denver City, but with the new light that may be thrown upon the subject by the circumstantial details we have fortunately been enabled to present in this volume, perhaps a satisfactory and accurate conclusion may be reached by the reader.

It has frequently been stated that the Indian trader, John S. Smith, was the first "settler" at the mouth of Cherry creek. We have shown how he came to "settle" here. It was not in consequence of his identification with "St. Charles;" and as an associate of "the Russell boys" he was no more the "first" one here than any other member of that company. Notwithstanding his connection with pioneer "St. Charles," and with the other two town companies, he can hardly be said to have at any time been here with the intentions of a settler. Had it not been for the extraordinary circumstances due to the intentions and determination of others, the objects and incidents of his roving and preferred occupation would have required him to move on again in the following spring. His business involved directly neither gold-digging, "settling," farming, nor town-building. So, to the many distinguished achievements of John Smith, that of having been Denver's first settler may not be added.

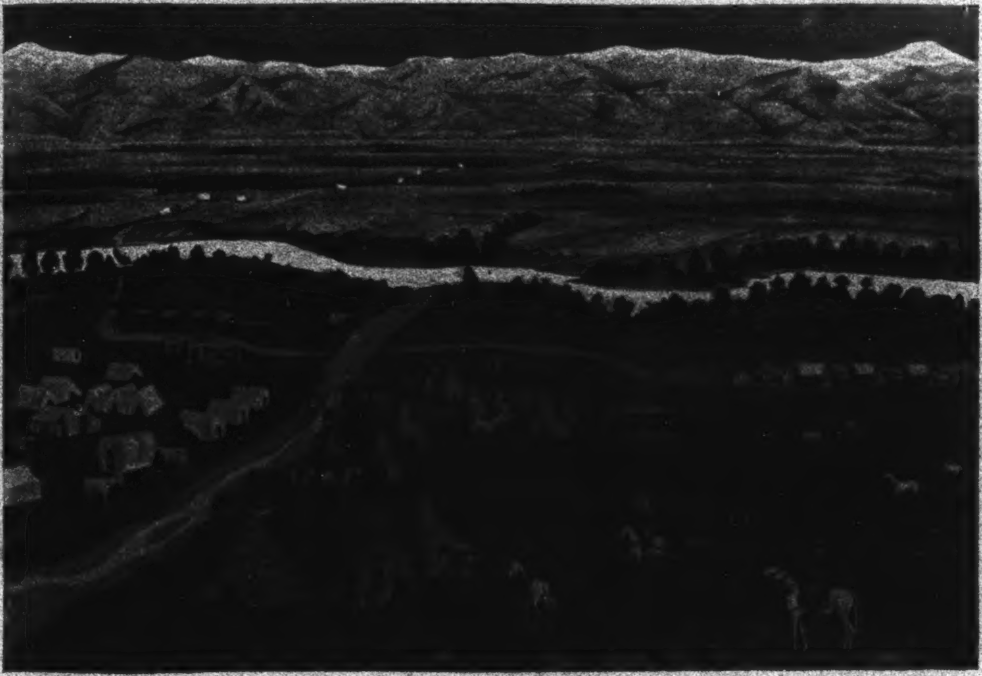
An outline of Smith's career before his coming to Cherry creek in the autumn of 1858, has already been given. After the business of the American Fur Company, as an employee of which corporation he came into the west when quite young, declined, he lived with the Indians. Later he began business as a trader and in which he was engaged when our pioneers first encountered him. He was then between fifty and sixty years old and, of course, was called "Old John." He had a good-looking, though somewhat portly, Sioux squaw for a wife, named Wa-po-la, and the two had a full-grown son, who also put in here in October, 1858. "Old John" remained here until 1860, when he went down on the Arkansas. Later he was interpreter for Chivington in the Sand creek campaign. At that time "young John" was associating with the Indians and was with the Cheyennes at Sand creek. He managed to slip away and get among Chivington's troops after the fight. When he was discovered he was shot and killed by one of the soldiers, who was said to have long had a grudge against him. After the Sand creek affair "Old John" went away again and resumed his roving life, as he was in his ways about as much Indian as white man. In later years a report reached Denver that he had died in 1871 or 1872 somewhere in the northern country, but no one knew just where. Wa-po-la survives and is with her tribal people in South Dakota.

There were several other frontiersmen with their Indian wives camped at the mouth of Cherry creek late in the autumn of 1858, but they were migratory and had little or no identity with the settlements. One was William Rowland, a white man whose wife was a Cheyenne; both are now living in South Dakota. Another was Jose Merrival, a Mexican, whose wife was a Sioux Indian woman; he is dead but she is living. A third pair consisted of William Simanole, a Sioux half-breed, and his Sioux wife. They are now in South Dakota. Still another was Alphonse La Rocque, a Frenchman, with his Sioux wife, to whom we shall again refer.

Then, there was that shifty pioneer, William McGaa. His son, William Denver McGaa, who said he derived his information from his mother, informed us that this picturesque pioneer of Denver had been in the Rocky Mountain country "a number of years" before this city was founded; but, a year or so before that event had met and married a handsome young half-blood Sioux, of which proceedings the son was one of the consequences. Some further details of this pioneer Denver family will appear on succeeding pages.



William McGaa's Cabin.
(From a sketch by the late Judson H. Dudley.)



Primitive conditions at the mouth of Cherry creek.
(From an old drawing purporting to represent "Denver in 1859." Its only value is in its topographical suggestiveness and its hints of what were general conditions early in November, 1858; many details of the latter being wholly inaccurate.)

After his participation in the organization of the "St. Charles" company McGaa retired from the mouth of Cherry creek and did not again appear here until the latter part of October when, according to Dr. Russell and others, "he came in from somewhere down about St. Vrain's," with his wife, and with a group of Indians trailing after him. Soon thereafter he built a "shack" or picket cabin on the bank of the Platte, in Auraria, and which constituted part of "Indian Row." He finished it just before "the Leavenworth men" arrived, in the meantime occupying a tepee, or wigwam. His "lodge," as he called it, was of two rooms, made of posts or pickets set upright in the ground, and stood next to the Russell-Smith establishment. It was "chinked" with mud, had a thatch and earth roof, a chimney and fireplace. The interior walls of the house were hung, and the earth floors strewn, with pelts and robes; and altogether it was not an uninviting domicile.

To return for a moment to the question of Denver's "first settler," it is to be said that there is no definite basis from which to point out any individual as having had that distinction. It is apparent that "the Russell boys" who came in with John Smith to build the double cabin did not come as settlers. They then expected to move on when spring opened. While the way is not entirely clear to a conclusion, it would seem that Major D. C. Oakes' 10th of October party might be considered as the first group of "settlers" on the site of Denver. But none of the first half-dozen cabins built was put up by any member of that party.

It is to be remembered that these pioneer immigrants of that autumn of 1858, "camped out;" that those who had no tents found shelter, when it was needed, in their canvas-covered wagons; and the few that had neither tents nor wagons made fair shift to live in the open, awake or asleep, and were little the worse for it. The founders of Denver had choice of these three ways until they had provided themselves with other and more substantial accommodations. Cabin-building was not a difficult task, as plenty of logs of suitable size could easily be obtained from the adjacent timber which lined the streams.

Inasmuch as the street names and designations in the old Auraria district were all changed in later years, the subject matter of much of this chapter will be more readily understood by remembering these changes on that side of Cherry creek, which are stated in the following:

Old 1st street is now Wewatta.
Old 2nd street is now Wynkoop.
Old 3rd street is now Wazee.
Old 4th street is now Market.
Old 5th street is now Larimer.
Old 6th street is now Lawrence.
Old 7th street is now Curtis.
Old 8th street is now Champa.
Old 9th street is now Stout.
Old Front street is now Thirteenth.
Old Cherry street is now Twelfth.
Old Ferry street is now Eleventh.
Old St. Louis street is now Tenth.
Old Cheyenne street is now Ninth.
Old Arapahoe street is now Eighth.
Old Washington street is now Seventh.
Old Adams street is now Sixth.
Old Jefferson street is now Fifth.

On the eastward side of the creek the changes were not so many, the present numbered streets having been designated by the letters of the alphabet, and their cross streets by names which have mostly been retained. Much detail relative to the original plats and street arrangements in the several towns will be found in another chapter. For convenience in designating the locations of pioneer structures we will assume that the present Larimer and parallel streets run east and west, and the present numbered streets in the old part of the city, north and south. We will ask the reader to bear in mind that all locations of the pioneer structures mentioned in this and succeeding chapters are stated according to the present names of streets.

It has been in dealing with the pioneer improvements that the controversies have been waged these many years, and apparently without any good reason. The beginning was made in Auraria City; and of the beginning, Dr. Russell who, more than any other one man, was the founder of that "city," and who was Secretary of its Town Company in the beginning and for a year afterward, states:

> "Beyond the shadow of a doubt the first cabin erected at the mouth of Cherry creek was that double log-house jointly put up by "the Russell boys" and trader John Smith in the first and second weeks of October, 1858. This is as certain as it is that W. Green Russell and his party went from Georgia to the Pike's Peak country in 1858! The next cabin built and occupied was Hutchinson's [Hutchins'] and Easter's, and after that were Rooker's, Barker's, Henry Allen's, Sagendorf's, and then a number of others all pretty much at the same time, for I do not recall the exact order of their building. I built a separate one for myself early in November. The cabins all went up rapidly while the logs were convenient at hand."

The Hutchins and Easter Cabin.
(From a drawing by John Easter.)

Several October pioneers are recorded as having said that upon their arrival here they camped at "Smith's ranche." But as the Russell-Smith double cabin was put up as winter quarters by its builders who did not anticipate that it would, that autumn, become the nucleus of a town, and who expected to go forth the next spring undetermined as to where their next stopping place would be, it can only in relation to ensuing events be regarded as the actual beginning of Denver. It preceded all immediate prospects for establishing a town at the mouth of Cherry creek, and as the pioneer cabin on the site of Denver its position in our local history is unquestionable; for the "St. Charles" proposition, as a building enterprise, depended upon future developments.

Roswell Hutchins and John Easter, who were of the Lawrence party, and who had been at "Montana," where Easter had built a cabin, came here immediately after the arrival of the Oakes party. As soon as the camp talk turned to the conclusion to organize a town company and lay out a town, they began cutting and preparing logs for a cabin which they erected on what became the east side of Twelfth street, between Wazee and Wynkoop streets. Giles Blood, Joseph Brown, William Regan, and James White jointly started one a few days later, and when the survey was finished it was found that these men in their hurry had got their cabin on the line of Twelfth street between Wazee and Wynkoop; from which site it was later removed. Much of the ground in that neighborhood is now covered by railroad tracks. The formal organization of the Auraria Town Company was not completed until November 6th and, therefore, the pioneer "Auraria City" could be technically said not to have existed before that date.

Judson H. Dudley's Cabin.
(From his drawing.)

Dr. Russell, as we have seen, says Hutchins and Easter were the first to build after a town had been decided on—the first of the town's builders. Mr. W. N. Byers, who, though a later comer, took pains to acquaint himself with these historical details soon after his arrival, says he was repeatedly told that Hutchins and Easter built the first cabin erected on the site of Denver after it was determined to locate a town here. Andrew Sagendorf and E. A. Willoughby, each of whom, with their partners, built cabins in November of that year, confirm the priority of the Hutchins-Easter cabin, both as to completion and occupation about the first of November; making it the second completed structure on the ground. The late Judson H. Dudley, who was at that time Vice President of the Auraria Town Company, said that while a written record would usually be considered fairly conclusive, anything contrary to the foregoing would not state a fact. W. G. M. Stone in a little pamphlet published several years ago containing some of Denver's pioneer historical data, says Hutchins and Easter first occupied their cabin on November 10th. Hutchins, who is now living in Mercur, Utah; and Easter, who is living in Goldfield, Colorado, agree in their statements to us that they had it finished and occupied on the first of November; and in this they are well sustained by their surviving pioneer associates.

With such evidence as this—and all of it is not presented here as being new—the case would seem to have been unequivocally settled in favor of the Hutchins-Easter house having next followed the Russell-Smith cabin. But, when the old record of the Auraria Town Company was deposited with our Historical Society a few years ago by Andrew Sagendorf, an entry was discovered in it that gave precedence and preference to John Rooker as a claimant for the honor, and incidental profit, that might accrue to the builder of Auraria City's "first" house, and started anew the controversy that had practically been settled in favor of Hutchins and Easter before it had almost worn itself out. The old record shows the following resolution to have been adopted at a meeting of the Directors of the Auraria Town Company on May 27, 1859:

> "Resolved, That in consideration of John Rooker having built the first house in the City of Auraria, there is hereby donated to said John Rooker three shares in addition to his former Share, making in all Sixteen lots."

We sent a copy of this resolution to Dr. Russell with a request for some information concerning its presence in the town company's record, if he could recall the circumstances to which it relates; he having been Secretary of the company at the time it was adopted and having made the entry. In reply he stated that he recalled the incident principally because of the worthless character of the man mentioned in the resolution, and said that Rooker was not much of a builder, nor anything else but a rascal; that he managed with the help of his father to get up a little shack of a cabin that was the first one to be occupied by its builder after the final organization meeting of the Auraria Town Company, and practically simultaneous with that event; although there were a dozen or so other cabins in various stages of progress when it was completed, and it was only in a technical sense that Rooker's was the "first" one. Dr. Russell adds that Rooker, on that ground, persuaded some of the Directors that he ought to be awarded in some way; and says further that a donation of three shares on such a provocation would have been a most extravagant one and that there may have been some misunderstanding or deception in making the reward of that magnitude.

The Sagendorf and Lebow Cabin.
(From an old sketch.)

An "original share" in the Auraria Town Company covered sixteen lots; an ordinary "share," four lots. The old records of deeds at the Court House contain no entry that appears to directly apply to the John Rooker donation; but on page 323, Book E, Arapahoe County Records of Deeds, is an entry recording the transfer of lot number five in block seventy-seven, from the Auraria Town Company by J. H. Dudley, Vice President, and L. J. Russell, Secretary, to Rebecca Rooker, (John's mother) on July 8, 1859, for the nominal consideration of one dollar. It would seem probable that this entry indicates, as suggested by Dr. Russell, the extent of John Rooker's reward. Another entry records the sale of several lots by John, the "Indenture" for which bore "his mark;" but record of his title to them was not found. These may have been those he acquired as an original shareholder. Each of the two town companies had a "lot-book" in which ownership of lots was entered, but Auraria's long since disappeared. When R. E. Whitsitt took general charge of the "Denver City" company's affairs in the spring of 1859, he instituted systematic records of real estate for all the towns, but in the meantime there had been many transfers by mere indorsement of "lot certificates." Book E, above mentioned is one of Whitsitt's records of which some further particulars appear in our historical account of Arapahoe county.

John Rooker was the son in the Mormon family of that name which, as we have stated, came to the South Platte on August 30th, and had remained in this vicinity in the meantime. It was the first immigrant family that located on the site of Denver. The Rooker house was built near and in line with the Russell-Smith double log-cabin, and upon its occupancy Mrs. Rooker, John's mother, became the first white woman housekeeper in the settlement. From the circumstance of other cabins soon being built there in line with these, and from others associated with some of the dwellers in them, the chain of improvements which became a continuous array was known as "Indian Row." The "Row" was along the northward side of Wewatta street eastward from Eleventh. The ground is now occupied by railroad tracks and the line of that part of Wewatta street is obscured. Just back of the site of "Indian Row," and also to the west of it, may still be seen traces of the river's old channel. The accompanying map indicates the location of the more noteworthy improvements in "Auraria City," in 1858, and of one in 1859.

A. H. Barker (Deceased).
(Photographed 1894.)

The late A. H. Barker was one of those who built early in these pioneer proceedings. In a manuscript account which he prepared before his death he stated that having arrived on October 24th, he decided to build a cabin without delay, and on November 1st began cutting and hauling logs for it; that W. S. Foster had then begun the Auraria survey, and that immediately upon completion of the first plat of a block, having his logs on the ground, he hastened the work and was the first to complete a cabin on a platted part of the town-site. He confirms the priority of the Hutchins and Easter cabin, and of Rooker's, which he says were built before the Auraria Town Company was fully organized. "I moved into my cabin," he goes on to say, "November 4, 1858."

A. H. Barker's Cabin.
(From his familiar picture.)

The accuracy of his memory as to this last-named date is open to doubt, as it allows but four days for cutting, hauling and preparing the logs, and erecting them into a cabin, in which work he does not mention having had any assistance. Furthermore, it does not agree with the date assigned by all other pioneers to the occupancy of the Rooker cabin which, as it was occupied on November 6th or 7th, must have been finished after Surveyor Foster began his work.

Our engraving of the Barker cabin is from a photograph of a drawing he had made from memory several years ago. The house stood on the northeast corner of Twelfth and Wynkoop streets, but the picture does not exactly conform to the survey, nor to the locality's topography at that time.

In that first week of November, 1858, preparations for building many other cabins in Auraria were under way. William A. McFadding, President of the Town Company; Judson H. Dudley, and several others beside those already mentioned, had begun within a day or two after the first meeting held to organize the company. Henry Allen, a leader among the "Auraria City" pioneers, built on the southwest corner of Eleventh and Wynkoop streets. E. A. Willoughby and M. A. Avery built theirs on the northwest corner of Wynkoop and Thirteenth streets, on the same block with Barker's. A. C. Wright was assigned a lot by the Town Company, on the northeast corner of Larimer and Tenth streets. He cut and hauled logs for a cabin, and then traded the lot and logs to Joseph Brown for an old mare, and Brown later put up a house on that lot. The order of erection and occupation of the improvements was no longer noted as of special interest to any except their owners, and the dates of their completion did not possess particular significance or importance as historical events. About the close of the year, however, Jack O'Neill, a noted and somewhat notorious citizen, came in and built a cabin on the northwest corner of Eleventh and Wewatta streets; and afterward made himself very conspicuous.

On the "Denver City" side of Cherry creek the first structure, though it was left unfinished by its original owner and was later reduced to the useful rank of a blacksmith's shop, was the cabin which S. S. Curtis and his comrades built for Charles Nichols, the poverty-stricken custodian of "St. Charles," early in November, 1858. But, as "St. Charles" went no further than that, the history of its buildings may be regarded as ended.

The beginning of "Denver City" was made at the intersection of Larimer and Fifteenth streets, and the first four cabins of that town were built there—one on each corner. Before any settlement was thought of anywhere here, the old military trail from Santa Fe, Fort Union, and the trading posts on the Arkansas, north to the trading posts above the site of Denver and on to Fort Laramie, passed through the site of "Denver City" along the general line of Fifteenth street; crossing Cherry creek at the intersection of Blake street, and the Platte river at the foot of Eleventh (old Ferry) street.

The four cabins were, respectively, General Larimer's on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, Moyne and Rice's on the southeast corner, Hickory Rogers' on the northwest corner, and Lawrence and Dorsett's on the northeast corner. In appearance they were much alike, excepting that Moyne and Rice's and Lawrence and Dorsett's were double ones.

With respect to "first" buildings in "Denver City"—that is, aside from the Nichols cabin—there is a little tangle; but it does not in any way disturb the priority title of that historic structure. Previously published accounts have generally stated that the first cabin was built by General William Larimer, but they have located it at various places along the right bank of Cherry creek; a confusion arising, no doubt, from General Larimer's temporary occupation of the Nichols cabin while his own was building. His son, William H. H. Larimer, in letters to us, most positively asserts that his father's cabin was the first one built under the "Denver City" jurisdiction. But E. A. Willoughby, Secretary of the Pioneer Society, declares that the first structure completed and occupied by "Denver City" men was the cabin-shop of Moyne and Rice, carpenters and wagon-makers; that he as a carpenter worked on the building; and that General Larimer did not finish his cabin until a day or two afterward. The fact that William H. H. Larimer recalls that Moyne and Rice whip-sawed some planks for the door of the Larimer cabin might indicate that they were then located across Fifteenth street as aserted by Mr. Willoughby.

The building of Moyne and Rice was erected on the southeast corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets. They had two lots there and built a double cabin on the line between them, back toward the rear of the lots, which fronted on Larimer street. One part of the cabin was used as a dwelling and the other for shop purposes. William Graham, the pioneer druggist of Denver, shared the cabin of Moyne and Rice during part of that winter.

General Larimer's cabin stood well back on the lot on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, and its site is now covered by the Granite Building. The house was sixteen by twenty feet in ground dimensions, one story high, had a "dirt-roof," the soil for its floor, and fronted on Fifteenth street. It had a glazed window, the first one in "Denver City." It was of four panes of glass, eight by ten inches, which General Larimer had brought along from Leavenworth. The first glazed window in any building at the mouth of Cherry creek was in the cabin of Sagendorf and Lehow. They brought with them a small, glazed sash, which they used in their double cabin completed in Auraria City before the middle of November. The window does not show in the engraving, as it was in the other end. General Larimer's cabin was begun immediately upon the organization of the "Denver City" company by the election of its officers (which occurred November 22nd,) and was finished early in December; but the exact date of its completion and occupation is not certainly known. It had a door, says Mr. W. H. H. Larimer, made of boards sawed out with a whipsaw by Moyne and Rice, and they were the first boards cut in this part of the country. Our engraving of the cabin was made from a drawing sent us by W. H. H. Larimer, who says: "The original picture of the cabin was made by Surveyor-General Case, in 1861, just before it was torn down, and is almost perfect."

Lawrence and Dorsett built on the site of the present Pioneer Building on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, their cabin fronting on Larimer. Hickory Rogers built his on the northwest corner—the "Riethmann" corner—and it also fronted on Larimer street. Both of these were built at so nearly the same time that it would have been difficult to decide at the time which was third and which fourth, in the order of pioneer improvements at the intersection of those two streets. It is not known where Whitsitt first built.

General Larimer's Cabin.

E. P. Stout, President of the Denver Town Company, built a cabin at the northwest corner of Fourteenth and Larimer streets, the site of the present City Hall, which he finished about the first of December. Of it he has given us the following account:

"It was 16x20 feet in size, of hewed pine logs, one and one-half stories high. It was first roofed with two large tents that I took with me across the plains; afterward, late in the spring of 1859, I had shingles rived out in the pineries and some lumber whip-sawed, with which I roofed it with shingles and put in a rough board floor overhead. The shingle nails I had the stage-driver buy for me of a trader at O'Fallon's Bluffs, and they cost delivered in Denver 50 cents a pound. That was the first shingle-roofed house on the "Denver City" side.

The "dirt roofs" with which nearly all of the pioneer cabins were provided did not always do satisfactory duty. The earth was sometimes put on to a depth of a foot or more, but after a heavy rain the water would soak through and keep dripping down inside for a day or two.

E. P. Stout's Cabin.
(From a drawing by Mr. Stout.)

The right of General Larimer's cabin to the distinction so long accorded to it has been still further disputed. It has been claimed that David C. Collier built a house in Denver City before him, but we have not been able to ascertain its alleged location, or that there is any foundation in fact for the statement. Collier, as W. H. H. Larimer states, helped to make the window sash for General Larimer's cabin, and therefore did help to build that structure; and from that incident it is probable that the story had its origin. He and William Clancey built a frame house in 1859 on the north side of Larimer street between Stout's cabin and Cherry creek, and his claim may have originally been that he and Clancey built the "first frame house" on the east side. Collier was one of a party of thirty which left Leavenworth in September. He drove an ox-team across the plains at a most leisurely pace, for he did not arrive at Denver City until December 1st. It would not seem probable that he could have put himself as a house-builder in advance of Larimer and the other men directly interested in "Denver City," who, as original shareholders, had pledged themselves to build immediately. "First" things, as we have already seen, often have more than one claimant, but in this instance there is no support. Collier was the first lawyer who offered his professional services in Colorado, and afterward became very prominent in affairs.

In some accounts John J. Riethmann has been represented as one of those who "built the first cabin in Denver." Mr. Riethmann makes no such claim. In a note to us he says:

> "Our first cabin was built on ground a little below the present Omaha & Grant Smelting Company's works about October 27th or 28th, 1858; our second cabin was located in April, 1859, on Larimer street, facing south, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets."

The distance of Riethmann's first cabin from the Cherry creek settlements was almost as great as that of the pioneer town of "Montana," and neither was directly a part of the beginning of Denver.

The Larimer, the Moyne and Rice, the Lawrence and Dorsett, the Rogers, and the Stout buildings were not alone in taking form and coming into being. Other shareholders in the Denver organization, and recruits who had cast their fortunes with the energetic men from Leavenworth, were at work upon their cabins, several of which were completed so near the same time that their finishing was practically simultaneous.

The most pretentious domicile built in "Denver City" during that winter of 1858-59 was the log dwelling of H. P. A. Smith, Governor Denver's "Probate Judge" of Arapahoe county. It was erected on the south side of Blake street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, and was burned in the fire of 1863.

The original shareholders in the Denver Town Company were under agreed-upon obligations to build cabins on their several allotments within ninety days after the company's organization, and a majority succeeded in doing so in less than a month. As in the case of Auraria, in preparations for the winter the rude structures suited to the necessities of the situation were hurried forward by all who had decided to stay, and made ready for use with great diligence; and priority of completion and occupation were no longer incidents of the special interest which attached to the initial achievements.

The mercantile pioneers were not far behind the pioneer gold-seekers and the pioneer town-builders in establishing themselves at Cherry creek. Some men who did not intend to become miners left the Missouri river with merchandise, bound for the Pike's Peak country, but a few months after the departure of the advance guard of prospectors who were destined for the same region.

In considering the early business undertakings here, our old friend John Simpson Smith must again receive a little left-handed attention. He has been set forth as "Denver's pioneer business man," and has been made to figure as "the first trader at Denver." Such statements are wholly misleading, and give him a place in the annals of this city to which he was not entitled. It is true that as an Indian trader he was a "business" man, but he did not establish himself here as a merchant, nor did he transact any mercantile business here of any consequence. His merely incidental coming here and the general character of the business in which he was engaged must preclude him from any serious consideration as a pioneer merchant of Denver.

At the close of October, 1858, the first intentional business men, the first who came bringing a stock of goods, and with the purpose of establishing themselves here, arrived at Cherry creek. This was before the Auraria Town Company had been organized, and before Denver City had blasted the hopes of "St. Charles." They were Charles H. Blake and Andrew J. Williams—the firm of Blake & Williams, from Crescent City, Iowa. They had a train of four wagons each drawn by four yoke of oxen, and it was an imposing caravan as it drew into the Auraria camp. Each wagon was loaded with merchandise, and the cargoes made a fair stock of general goods adapted to the wants of miners and other frontier customers. There was then no building in the camp the use of which they could get for a storeroom, so they put up a large tent they had with them, and in the temporary quarters it afforded opened their goods and began business on November 1st. They lost no time in building a large double-cabin which stood on the north side of Wewatta street, near the foot of Twelfth street, and was a continuation and enlargement of "Indian Row," and in which they were living and transacting business before the first of December.

Charles H. Blake (Deceased).
(Photographed 1892.)

When the Leavenworth men arrived and prepared to organize the Denver Town Company, Blake and Williams joined them in the enterprise. Those promoters saw that the enterprising business firm was composed of men of consequence, and lost no time in winning them over to an alliance with their future metropolis. Blake and Williams actively identified themselves with the new "city," but did not transfer their business to the east side of the creek until the following spring.

A week after the arrival of Blake & Williams another business establishment reached Auraria from the Missouri river, ending the long journey on the 3d of November. It was that of Kinna & Nye, bringing a small stock of hardware, some sheet-iron, and tinner's goods. It was in charge of John Kinna, who was the practical man of the firm, his partner and financial backer, John Nye, not coming here until the following spring. The Auraria survey was far enough along for Kinna to take a lot on Eleventh street near the northwest corner of Market and that street, where he soon built a cabin and began business. This establishment also yielded to the blandishments of the energetic Denver City men, Kinna joining the company. In the following spring when Nye arrived they moved the business across the creek into Denver City. It was no more than natural that the Aurarians lost their tempers under the persistent encroachments of their rival neighbors.

A. J. Williams (Deceased).
(Photograph, 1878.)

Early in December, the exact date being unknown, J. D. Ramage, a jeweler, and repairer of watches, arrived in Auraria and established himself on the east side of the present Eleventh street near the southeast corner of that street and Larimer—the third business man, and the first to engage in his line of business anywhere in this part of the country. There is no account of the Denver men enticing him over to their side, though it would probably be quite safe to say they tried. Their policy was to let no new man escape if they could prevent it.

Christmas, of 1858, was a notable time in Auraria City, and famed in the annals of that metropolis for many a day. Though Auraria was the more direct beneficiary of the events that made it long remembered, Denver City shared in the joys of that holiday. Richens L. Wooton, with a couple of wagons, laden with frontier merchandise, a large portion of which was contained in barrels, arrived in Auraria early in the morning of that day. He had come hither from Fort Union, New Mexico, and brought his family with him—which was a welcome addition to the few domestic organizations then at Cherry Creek. The goods being placed on sale, the third mercantile establishment was in existence; that of watch-repairer Ramage not being classed as a merchandising one. Wooton's narrative of his life and adventures says he occupied a vacant cabin upon his arrival, but all the survivors of that period now living in Denver, say that he set up a large tent alongside his wagons, on Twelfth street near Wazee, in which he began business; and that after New Year's times he was given a full share in the town company, and in addition thereto the ground on which he soon began the erection of his famous hewed-log, "two-story business block," which he completed very early in the spring of 1859. In his story he was not very particular about the accuracy of details.

The arrival of this new business enterprise and with it the coming of another family to the little community, were not the only events growing out of Richens Wooton's advent in Auraria that were calculated to make that Christmas time memorable all around the mouth of Cherry creek. Among the stores with which the welcome train was laden were several barrels of whiskey. Wooton concluded that he would make a favorable impression and a speedy acquaintance among his new associates by one sweeping appeal; and no method could have been more popular and effective in attaining both ends, than the one he adopted. He got out one of his barrels, and opening it, invited his callers to help themselves in tin cups to all they wanted of its contents. Of course, all Auraria promptly called; and tidings of the extraordinary dispensation spreading with the speed of the wind through Denver City, the inhabitants of that energetic town were soon, to the last man, trooping across the creek. Before nightfall Richens Wooton was "Uncle Dick" to every man in both towns. The flowing contents of that barrel submerged for the day the last vestige of rivalry and animosity between the "cities" separated by Cherry creek; and also a number of worthy citizens.

As to the quality of that whiskey the opinions of two of Denver's pioneers do not agree. In an address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Colorado Pioneers held in Denver, December 13, 1898, Mr. A. E. Pearce said:

> "On Christmas 'Uncle Dick' gave the whole town a free blow-out. The principal refreshments consisted of one or more barrels of whiskey; the heads being knocked in, every one helped himself freely, using tin cups. The liquid was what was in those days termed 'Taos lightning.' It came from Taos, New Mexico, and was warranted to kill at forty yards. It is needless to say that the whole camp got hilarious."

In those times "Wallipete" was another common name for a New Mexico whiskey. The noted frontier trader, Colonel Ceran St. Vrain, had located at Mora, New Mexico, and engaged in merchandising and milling. To his enterprises he added distilling, building a small distillery at the little Wallipete pueblo near Mora, and from that circumstance the liquor derived its name. It was distilled from wheat, there being no sufficient quantity of corn, and was as clear as spring water and very fierce. More than one Denver pioneer lost his balance and bearings under the impetuous influence of "Wallipete."

In his entertaining but somewhat apocryphal book, "Uncle Dick" records his opinion of the contents of his barrels:

> "I moved into a log cabin, and without waiting for any such thing as shelving or counters to be put in, I commenced business. I had several barrels with me which I rolled along-side of each other and used as a counter. What was in the barrels doesn't matter, but it was something every well-regulated store kept on hand in those days. I think there are a few highly respected old gentlemen still living in Denver, who will remember what it was, and would be willing to testify that it was a good article, if it did 'come high.'"

Wooton relates that he was induced to locate in Auraria more by the circumstances of a day than by any meditated intention; that when he left Fort Union with his train-load of goods his purpose was to make one more trading trip among the Indians, with the expectation of afterward going back to his old home in Kentucky and staying there the rest of his days; and that he came in the direction of the mouth of Cherry creek because he expected to trade with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes.

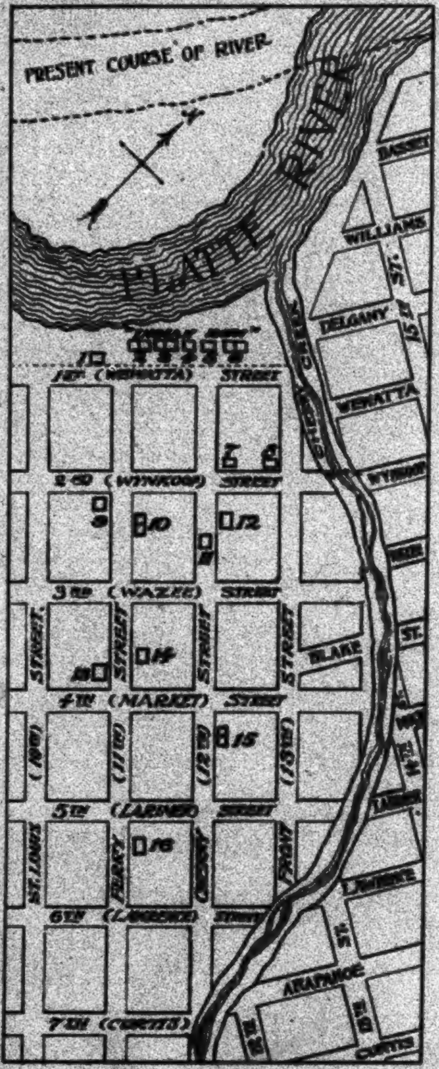
When he arrived he saw his opportunity, and was readily persuaded to go no farther, but to unload and begin business. In his book he claims that the Auraria Town Company, as an inducement for him to become a permanent citizen gave him one hundred and sixty acres of land, on their side of Cherry creek, "most of which is now solidly built over." The recipient narrates "they were short of money, but had plenty of land," which had little or no value at that time, and which he furthermore states, "did not bring a very large amount of money, when I sold it four years later."

Wooton romanced extravagantly in his narrative, and this was one of the flagrant instances. All the land claimed by the Auraria Town Company was, or was to be, staked off into lots; and while the company was donating a few of them to some people, it was not giving away quarter-section tracts, because it did not have them to give. The amount of land mentioned by Wooton was equal to one-eighth of the whole projected townsite.

In the address referred to above, Mr. Pearce also included the following interesting bit of detail of the local history of that first year in the Cherry creek settlements:

> "It may be of interest to some to note that the first Masonic meeting was held in a log cabin owned by Sagendorf & Lehow, December 10, 1858. In the same place a banquet was served to commemorate St. John's day. There were present at this meeting Andrew Sagendorf, O. E. Lehow, 'Jim' Winchester, 'Bob' Willis, James Ramage, Dr. L. J. Russell and 'Jim' Pierce. Possibly one or two others whose names I have not obtained."

This meeting was an informal gathering of Masons, as were the others held in the same cabin, and in that of Dr. L. J. Russell, in the closing weeks of 1858. Russell's cabin stood on the east side of Eleventh street between Wazee and Wynkoop streets; and that of Sagendorf and Lehow on the east side of Twelfth street between Larimer and Market, where these two pioneers owned lots which joined, and had built a double cabin with its middle on the dividing line. In January, 1859, a lodge was regularly instituted under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Kansas, and its meetings were held in the cabin of Sagendorf and Lehow.



Map showing locations of Auraria City's Pioneer Cabins.

(1. Jack O'Neill's; 2. Russells' and Trader Smith's; 3. McGaa's; 4. John Rooker's; 5. Judson H. Dudley's; 6. Blake and Williams'; 7. A. H. Barker's; 8. Willoughby and Avery's; 9. Henry Allen's; 10. Dr. L. J. Russell's; 11. Blood, Brown, et al.; 12. Hutchins' and Easter's; 13. Kinna and Nye; 14. Wooton's Building; 15. Sagendorf and Lehow's; 16. J. D. Ramage's. Numbers do not indicate order of erection.)

Among those who crossed the plains late in that autumn was Rev. G. W. Fisher, a minister of the Methodist church. He reached here early in December, and during that month held a series of meetings in the little hamlets, the first public religious services here on the South Platte river. There was, of course, no church building in either of the towns at that time, these meetings usually having been held in the cabin homes that were opened to them. At this time there were but five women, Mrs. D. M. Rooker, and her daughter; Mrs. H. Murat, wife of the "Count;" Mrs. Smoke, and Mrs. Wooton, in the two towns, which were not especially cheerful places that winter, though the weather at times was exceptionally mild and pleasant. Christmas, of 1858, was like a day in June.

The reader will have seen that, notwithstanding the industry and perseverance of the Denver City people, the close of the year 1858 left the other "city" distinctively ahead in material progress. Auraria had twice as many cabins as Denver, twice as many people, and all of the commercial establishments that had ventured to Cherry creek. Still, Auraria was uneasy and feared the men who had charge of her rival's destinies, and anxiously awaited events.

With characteristic energy the Denver City men persisted in their endeavors to persuade Aurarians to move over to the east side of the creek, and succeeded in getting a number of them to do so. That autumn was a fine one, and small parties belated in their expected progress kept coming in through December. These divided their numbers unequally between the two towns, Auraria getting the larger share.

The proselyting of Aurarians was a sore grievance to the founders of that town, and other aggressive manners of the Denverians added to it, brought on a feeling of rivalry that soon developed into one of great animosity, which encroached upon social, business and political relations. Men who were not disposed to participate in the verbal hostilities were called upon to take sides and declare themselves Aurarians or Denver men. For several months this rivalry was intense, and did not subside until toward the close of the next year, when the more conservative citizens first saw their way to a consolidation of the towns.

But few of the Aurarians knew anything about the "St. Charles" enterprise, and cared less. Smith, and McGaa, said little about it, and if they ever regarded it as of any importance, their interest in it had disappeared upon the organization of Auraria. Those who had some knowledge of the undertaking of French, Cobb, Dickson, and their associates, from Nichols, had ridiculed the idea of locating a town on the eastward side of the creek. When the Leavenworth men came in and occupied the "St. Charles" land the Aurarians had affected great indifference toward their active rivals. They smiled at the Leavenworth proceedings and declared that nobody would take as a gift a lot in a town on that side of the creek; that it stood to reason that Auraria was and would continue to be the only "city" here; and this unnecessary "Denver City" never could and never would be a competitor of Auraria, no matter what its projectors tried to make of it. These views seemed to be sustained by current circumstances, for a large majority of the incoming people had located on the west side. This had placed the Auraria settlement far in advance of any other in the Pike's Peak region.

After Denver's usurpation of the site of ill-fated "St. Charles," Auraria was also disposed to take on airs because of her great antiquity as compared with the youthfulness of her energetic neighbor on the east side of the creek. As a known place with a definite name she was held by her partisans to be venerable; for, when Denver was first laid down on paper was not the founding of Auraria an event dating all of two or three weeks back in the misty past?

As we have, in a preceding chapter, specifically accounted for the name "Auraria" having been bestowed upon the west-side settlement, it may be well at this juncture to be more specific than we heretofore have been with regard to the naming of Denver City. In many published reminiscences the honor of having chosen our city's name has been claimed by perhaps a dozen different pioneers, and the narratives have been accompanied by much and apparently trustworthy circumstantial detail, especially as to controversies at various times over a choice from numerous proposed names. These tales are wholly fictitious. No other name was ever suggested, and there was no controversy in deciding upon the one given. The name "Denver City" was immediately formally approved at the first meeting—November 17th—by all the leaders in the enterprise. It was the choice of all the members of the Leavenworth party, and no one more than another was entitled to credit for having selected it. That it was adopted on November 17th is told by E. P. Stout, the company's first President; confirmed by S. S. Curtis; and the fact is of record in the minute book of the company under date November 22, 1858, wherein it is stated that the "Denver City Company [previously formed] adopted the Constitution," and elected officers on that day. In that entry the further statement is made that a committee, "previously appointed," had already staked out land for a town-site "called Denver City."

At the close of 1858 Auraria contained about fifty cabins and Denver about twenty-five; and all hands believed that the Cherry creek settlements had made fair beginnings, though as to which were the better place depended entirely upon the location, with respect to the creek, of the man who formulated the opinion. Everything considered, a great deal had been done in eight or ten weeks, and much more was already planned for the immediate future.

The rivalry between these sorry little metropoles standing here in the winter loneliness of the great plains, was genuine and deep-seated, though it may appear comical and absurd to the reader who is of this day and generation. The two forlorn groups of squatty cabins built of cottonwood logs, roofed with grass or earth, and chinked with billets of wood reinforced outside with plastered clay against the winds that were expected to blow and blow, put in much of their spare time that winter making faces at each other across Cherry creek.

Turning from this rude and wrangling pair of ambitious frontier hamlets, the spectator's thoughts were lifted away from the petty contentions of human existence. The one thing that Auraria and Denver had in common was the magnificent setting Nature had given them. Over the grandeur and beauty of all that lay around them, the heritage of each and the glory of both, there could be no differences, no dissensions, no strife. A writer of that period thus described the view from the front range, back of Golden, and the impressions it made upon him in one of those autumn days in the beginning:

"All the region from Long's Peak around by the Cache-a-la-Poudre, Beaver, and Bijou creeks to the summit of the divide between the Platte and the Arkansas, and back past where I stand 'to the place of beginning,' lies spread out at my feet like an unrolled map. West is a vast sea of dark green mountains, sweeping away and upward into the clouds, tipped in the distance with the whitest of snow, now more or less agitated by the storm spirit. These be the everlasting watchtowers of the continent. But the first is the lovely part of the picture. There, spread out like a carpet, glowing in the rich splendor of the autumn sunlight, lies the brown, swelling plain, cut in various directions by wood-fringed streams—a magnificent sight. Columns of blue smoke rise calmly and float leisurely away from Auraria City, from Placer Camp, and intermediate camps, along the river. The American has come to this hitherto unknown region, and the sound of the rifle and the axe, the lowing of stock and the falling of timber around the smoke columns, are sounding the death-knell of the wild beast and the wilder man of the soil—are proclaiming the fact that their restless and encroaching enemy has set himself boldly down in their midst, to scatter them like chaff, and to possess and improve the Talent they have so long had buried in the ground."

CHAPTER XXIV.

EFFECT IN THE EAST OF "PIKE'S PEAK STORIES" IN WINTER OF 1858-59—GREAT INVASION IN THE SPRING OF 1859—REFLEX OF PANIC OF 1857—CHARACTER OF IMMIGRANTS—HARDSHIPS OF THE JOURNEY—RECKLESS ENTHUSIASM OF THE HOST—LEGENDS ADORNING WAGONS—DAILY ROUTINE AND INCIDENTS—DELUSIONS OF EMBRYO MINERS—MASS OF IMMIGRANTS NOT OF UNWORTHY MEN—PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING COLORADO'S SETTLEMENT.

Through the winter of 1858-59 the "Pike's Peak fever" spread over the Mississippi valley and even down the Atlantic slope. The reports from the west, ranging all the way from the most grotesque fabrications, down to occasional but almost downright contradictions, with each kind apparently having some sort of foundation, put the Missouri river towns into a babel of excitement, and then proceeded farther east expanding as they went along. To the restless, mercurial portion of the inhabitants of what was then the frontier, the optimistic accounts were by far the more acceptable, and nearer like what they thought they ought to be, and what they wanted. To the stranded, impecunious, idle boomers of the Kansas and Nebraska paper-balloon "cities" submerged by hard times and rank growths of prairie grass, these golden stories came as special messages from a pitying Providence; to the gamblers and adventurers of the Missouri river region, joint sufferers with the forlorn town-boomers and from the same causes, these rumors were comforting invitations to new fields of usefulness; to the bankrupt, the weary, and the disgusted, they held out a promise of better things, and stirred their hearts with new hope; to the sturdy, honest, ambitious, adventurous element, which was by far the larger portion of the eager multitude, Pike's Peak became the landmark around which they would find fortunes large enough to last them all their days; and so they started in a heedless, headlong rush across the plains toward the new land of gold.

The following incident of the popular excitement along the Missouri river in these times, is recorded by Hollister:

> "A German in Council Bluffs was observed gathering up a large lot of meal-bags. He was asked what he was going to do with them. 'Fill them with gold at Pike's Peak,' he replied. O! he could never do that, they said. 'Yes, I will,' returned he, 'if I have to stay there till fall.' It is a matter for congratulation that people have become well cured of such charming infatuation."

Thousands in other parts of the country had made preparations to move forward to this land of promise, and in the spring of 1859 there was a great multitude of hardy, hopeful people stringing across the plains with vehicles of all sorts, from the huge prairie schooner drawn by a half-dozen yoke of oxen, down to push-carts to which sanguine souls hitched themselves and trudged along for weeks before the whitened summit of Pike's Peak in the hazy distance, gladdened their eyes. On the southern route, a young man, who certainly deserved well of fortune, trundled his belongings—provisions, clothing and tools—all the way from the Missouri river in a wheel-barrow, arriving at Denver in good condition, and with a cash capital of ten cents in his pocket. He was a printer by trade, and afterward won greater prominence in the affairs of the community. Some carried all their possessions on their backs and cheerily made their way through the long journey, in company with some better equipped friend, or a newly-made acquaintance. There was an almost endless procession of white-covered wagons, from the modest outfit drawn by two mules or oxen, to the huge freighter moved by a dozen or so of animals. In the heydays of the rush they were nearly always in sight of each other, and usually they went in groups and caravans.

Early in the spring some disquieting rumors had been put in circulation to the effect that the small amounts of gold sent east the previous year had not been found in the vicinity of Pike's Peak, but had been brought from California. This caused some, already a few miles on their overland journey, to turn back; and kept others who had not yet left the Missouri river, from attempting the trip. Many of these dismayed embryo pioneers returned to their former homes and stayed there the rest of their days. In that excitable frontier assemblage hope and enthusiasm would hold full sway for a brief season, and then give way to some doubt, and uncertainty of purpose.

Nevertheless, after all the wavering had been left behind, the hitherto unfrequented trails, known best by the buffalo and the Indians, were soon lined with sanguine emigrants and their outfits. At night their camp-fires made strands of beacon lights that stretched along the new thoroughfares, from the Missouri river to the Rockies. The stampede to California ten years previous was repeated on a larger scale, by this host of hopeful, eager, would-be hunters of gold. The dark side of the California story, its privations, sufferings, and bitter disappointments, were all forgotten in the excitement and hopeful enthusiasm of these times.

When it is properly considered that all these people—every mother's son of them—were coming to this little-known country that was still in full possession of the Indians, hundreds of miles from the advance line of civilization, upon the mere unconfirmed but glowing class of rumors that had reached them in their distant homes, the extraordinary character of the movement may be more intelligently understood. There is no parallel to it in the history of this or any other country, for the occasional unfavorable reports appeared to have had but limited effect. The break for California ten years previous was in some important features not comparable to it; not in numbers of those who participated, nor in conditions, nor in circumstances. Up to the first week of May, 1859, when Gregory found his lode, and Jackson's work had been done, no gold had been discovered here in amounts worth considering; yet, before the date mentioned, all of these people had made preparations for their long flight, and probably two-thirds of them were actually on their way hither; and all induced to the great undertaking by the flimsiest stories from unknown sources, spread broad-cast by reckless and irresponsible agencies.

It is probable that had conditions in the States been different at that time, there would have been no such streams of eager, visionary humanity flowing across the plains to a region in which fancies, growing out of these fabulous stories, had pictured golden fortunes lying await for everybody who would or could come here and take possession of them. The year 1857 had brought financial disaster on individuals, corporations, municipalities, counties, States, and even the Nation. The panic of that year had torn over the country, from the Missouri river to the Atlantic sea-board like a tornado, spreading wreck and ruin everywhere. The flimsy, stupid, trouble-breeding financial and banking system of the country—if such a weak and makeshift fabric might properly have been called a system—was chiefly responsible for the memorable financial revulsion of that year. Back of it and depending upon it were inflated credits, wild speculations, the "booming" of unnecessary "cities" in impossible places, and all the other castles in the air that usually precede, and also usually precipitate, a financial collapse of far-reaching evil consequences.

State banks with their offspring branches, corporate banks trying to stand alone, and private banks galore, had flooded the country with their trashy "currency," and when the strains passed the breaking point, these concerns tumbled down aheap, and most of their promises to pay could have been used for cigar-lighters without loss to those who held them. Public credit and resources suffered with those of individuals. Treasuries were empty, and nothing in sight, worth having, to replenish them. The weak government of the Nation was about as badly off as the rest, and in its impotency was unable to either help itself or anything else.

The hurricane strewed the country with wrecks of personal fortunes, and so littered the paths of all enterprises with broken rubbish that they came to a standstill. Through all the avenues of business and occupation the paralysis made its way, until almost every man felt its grisly effects. Thousands were out of employment; thousands were out of homes; thousands out of business, and bankrupt beyond hope. There was neither money, credit, nor opportunity after the storm of that year had swept over the country.

The wide-spread consequences of the blast were sorely felt in 1858. Indeed, it may be said that the full effects of the disaster were not comprehended until that year by the masses of the people. Signs of even partial recovery were few, and slow in making their appearance. While this depression ruled the land, came the false accounts of marvellously rich discoveries of gold at Pike's Peak—tales magnified a hundred fold in their telling and retelling. Thousands who could rake and scrape means enough together to provide what was necessary for a journey to the distant region, made preparations to set out for the new country where they hoped to retrieve their broken fortunes.

To these unhappy circumstances of 1857-58 the presence of many hundreds who helped to swell the host of men who went trudging across the plains in the spring of 1859, was due. Scores of them were bankrupt men, hopelessly unable to pay their debts, but that did not imply that they were not honest men; the fact that they were on their way here proved that they were courageous, hopeful, willing men. In innumerable instances all the worldly possessions of individuals, who but late had had much more, were represented by the outfit they were taking across the plains to the hoped-for land of gold.

In 1858, the central plains were comparatively lonely places for white men. The Indians and the buffalo were the most conspicuous of the moving objects seen by those who came to the mountains that year. There were occasional straggling parties of people still connected with the disappearing fur business, and some caravans of freight wagons bound for Fort Laramie or some other remote military post, or to Salt Lake, with a sprinkling of emigrants headed for California or Oregon. The

Salt Lake stages made their semi-occasional trips along the Platte valley, rounding up the list of movements over the plains in this direction at that time. Fort Riley, in Kansas, and Fort Kearney, in Nebraska, marked the western frontier, with little between them and the other side of the mountains except Fort Laramie, and a few scattered outfits of traders gathering up the odds and ends of what had once been a great business.

The following year saw all this vastly changed. Before midsummer of 1859 there was, not a mere succession of emigrant trains, but practically a continuous train from the Missouri river up the Platte valley to Denver, that being the route followed by most of the people. But the Smoky Hill route, and that along the upper Arkansas river, were thronged, though by lesser numbers. No emigrant had reason to complain of lack of company on the plains that year or in the next one. He could hardly get out of sight of others bound on errands similar to his own.

Over the Plains in 1859.
(From an old engraving.)

With the exception, to repeat a statement already made, of the movement to California in 1849-50, nothing approaching the like of this hegira was ever seen before, nor will it be seen again, in this world. The California tide at its highest in its progress across the plains, never assumed the remarkable proportions of the great stream that made 1859 so memorable a year in the history of the west. All sorts and conditions of men were represented in the hurrying multitude. This driver of an ox-team was a former banker from the land of sunrise; that one a doctor without a practice in the place he had left; the other a lawyer whom clients had deserted. Bankrupt merchants, decayed politicians, gamblers and adventurers—all plodding along in the almost endless throng, which included a goodly sprinkle of individuals who had left the States for urgent, if not pleasant, reasons.

But the general character of the mass was far from being an unworthy average. The majority of the men were there because they were cast in a different mold from those they left behind them. Thousands of them were the kind of men that have led the way in every pioneer movement in this country. Many of them were directed to the isolated and laborious life of a Rocky Mountain pioneer, by circumstances; but the fact that they had the energy and determination to do what they were doing, hastening to the hardships and privations of the plains and mountains, showed that they were made of pretty good material. Every New England State, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Missouri and its borderland; France, Germany, England—all were contributors to that hopeful multitude. City men from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis were among the masters of ox-teams, the cooks at the camp-fires, and the scullions and helpers in the daily life of the long journey.

It was not a holiday outing. To nearly all it brought trials, privations and hardships; to some it meant all of these with sickness and death added. The Indians were not seriously troublesome at that time, yet some of them occasionally made attacks when good opportunity offered, and more than one isolated unfortunate had his dreams of fortune and his life ended together at their hands. Some of the impatient ones, eager to get through at a faster pace, turned off the beaten trail into new and untried routes, only to suffer untold misery. Their supplies gave out, the new ways led through dry, grassless stretches, their animals perished from exhaustion, and themselves not always escaped death from hunger and thirst.

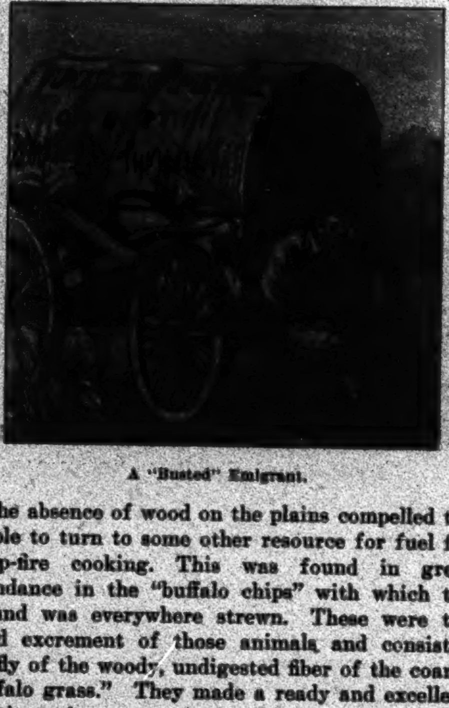
Three brothers from Missouri, named Blue, starting by the Leavenworth route, wandered into a dry and grassless region. Their cattle died and they subsisted for a few days on the carcasses. Later one of the men died of starvation and the other two ate of his flesh. Then another died and the third repeated the practice of last resort, but was a maniac when discovered by others who had also left the established route. Many of the thoughtless or ignorant people started with an inadequate supply of provisions and became dependent on the generosity of their more provident fellow-travelers, before the journey was half completed. Others set out early in the season, before winter had given way to spring, and frozen limbs made cripples of some of them for life.

The buffalo and antelope had by that time learned that the great, serpent-like train of wagons and people, winding its way through their domain, was a most dangerous thing to them, and were inclined to keep away from it. Therefore, to obtain additional food supplies from this source a halt would often have to be made and a hunt organized; and unnecessary stoppages were no part of the programme contemplated by that hurrying throng, the progress being slow enough at best. Upon occasion and in many places there was little trouble in shooting a buffalo or an antelope, while at other times the animals kept at long distances, and in some instances were entirely out of reach.

Some emigrants who came by way of the Smoky Hill trail in the dry season were obliged to drive their teams of patient oxen continuously for stretches sometimes reaching sixty miles between water points. Both men and animals suffered extremely, many of the animals perishing from thirst and exhaustion. These, however, were exceptional instances.

But through it all, and in the large majority of that patient, toiling host, there was the sanguine, buoyant, determined spirit characteristic of the American; often reckless and always hopeful. To most of them the experience was entirely a novelty, and the plains and mountains as new to them as the landscape of the moon would have been. More than half of them were from offices, shops, retail stores, and farms east of the Missouri river, and a large proportion from east of the Mississippi. They had never seen the plains, had never seen the mountains, nor wild Indian, nor buffalo, nor lode, nor placer, nor a grain of gold in its native situation, nor anything belonging to the new country of their destination, nor anything associated with the practical methods of accomplishing their one great purpose—digging gold at Pike's Peak. On they went, usually finding safety in numbers, and trusting to luck favoring them in regions which were the remote abodes of wild beasts and still wilder red men.

Many of the emigrants embellished the white covers of their wagons with mottoes and legends indicative of the purpose of the journey, or of the determination of the individual proprietor. An Ohio man on the Leavenworth route in the spring of 1859 had emblazoned on his wagon in large letters, "Root, Hog, or Die!" An Indianian had a picture of a sharp, needle-like peak which stuck through the clouds and far above, under which he had confidently paint-brushed, "I'll Get there." On another wagon, and probably the result of experience, appeared: "Jordan am a hard road to travel." The favorite inscription was the simple announcement "Pike's Peak;" that conspicuous outpost, in the absence of an official name for the gold region, standing for all the country from which it was visible. Some resolute souls added to this the words, "or Bust;" and one whose cattle had died, leaving him without motive power, amended his proclamation so that it read in full: "Pike's Peak, or Bust! Busted, by thunder!" This conception was imitated by others upon whom like misfortunes had fallen. When the eastward panicky stampede set in later in the spring of 1859, this legend in full on many wagon-covers, unreservedly proclaimed the experience and conclusions of their owners. One cheerful individual had sketched with charcoal as large a figure of an elephant as the canvas cover of his wagon would admit and beneath the rude drawing was written: "What we saw at Pike's Peak."



A "Busted" Emigrant.

The absence of wood on the plains compelled the people to turn to some other resource for fuel for camp-fire cooking. This was found in great abundance in the "buffalo chips" with which the ground was everywhere strewn. These were the dried excrement of those animals and consisted chiefly of the woody, undigested fiber of the coarse "buffalo grass." They made a ready and excellent substitute for more substantial fuel, but the great demand for them soon caused a scarcity along the main lines of travel.

The daily routine of the immigrants while on their way across the plains, is thus described by a writer who made the journey with a team of oxen drawing his loaded wagon:

"The majority of the travelers left camp about 7 o'clock in the morning and would travel until about noon unless the day was sultry, when they would turn in at 11 and rest until 2 o'clock. Then they would proceed until 6 o'clock, when they would encamp for the night, provided fuel and water were at hand. The first duty of the morning was to loose the cattle and turn them out to graze. The next was to provide breakfast. When this was dispatched the tent was struck, the bedding folded, the camp furniture gathered and all was packed away on the wagon. Then the cattle were driven into camp and yoked and the start was made. After traveling eight or ten miles the party stopped for lunch. After an hour or two the journey was resumed and we continued until 6 or 7 o'clock, having travelled a distance of eighteen or twenty miles. At times it was necessary to continue for twenty-five or thirty miles in order to reach water."

The emigrants were well supplied with arms, mostly rifles and revolvers. Many were killed or injured by carelessly handling their weapons while on the journey or after reaching the mining camps. A fruitful source of trouble was their habit of drawing their rifles out of the wagon by the muzzle end. Standing their guns against the wagons to have them knocked over by accident, or frequently scrutinizing their new revolvers, often brought fatal consequences to themselves or bystanders. It is probable that more lives were lost by these accidents than were saved by possession of the firearms. But every man regarded his weapons as essentials to his outfit, and quite as necessary as his pork and beans.

One of the more pretentious caravans of this period is thus described by a writer who saw it encamped for the night:

> "It comprised six or seven heavy wagons, mainly drawn by oxen, with a light traveling carriage and pair of horses conveying the patriarch's family; some two or three hundred head of cows, steers, and young cattle with three or four men on horseback driving and keeping the herd. Girls were milking; women cooking or washing, children playing—in short, here was the material for a very fair settlement, or quite an imposing Kansas 'city.'"

Such a scene would recall the life of Abraham, of old, with his kindred, his flocks and herds gathered around him, on the plains of western Asia.

The emigrants made it a rule to cross a stream immediately upon reaching it, if it were possible to do so and if their way was across it. They would not camp until they did so. The Platte and some of its tributaries had an eccentric and troublesome fashion of suddenly rising to flood tide and making fording a risky undertaking for several days; and occasionally delaying the weary, impatient travelers a week or more, when this rule had been disregarded. Reckless attempts to ford the swollen streams caused many a disaster to the driver's worldly possessions. But the streams out farther did not so often bother them in this way. In the summer months there was more frequently a famine of water than a feast of it in their beds.

In the advance guard women were scarce, but they soon appeared more promisingly among those who followed it, and with them came children of both sexes, all sizes and ages. Some of these, now in the afternoon of life, are living in Denver in enjoyment of the favors fortune has brought them. With the coming of women and children came, also, the graces of life, better social order and conditions, an increased regard for the amenities of existence, and consideration for the rights of neighbors.

As soon as the new-comers reached the streams which put out from the mountains, the eager ones would jump in and begin looking for gold, probably turning over dirt and sand that had been previously and fruitlessly searched by far more experienced men. Occasionally they were rewarded by a very little gold in a great deal of sand, but far more frequently they were not. Most of them acted as if the recovery of gold was one of the simplest undertakings, and that the metal was to be gathered up anywhere and everywhere in the creeks and rivulets; nor had many of them any knowledge of the great amount of the hardest kind of labor that placer mining demanded. They soon learned that they had to throw away the golden fancies that had cheered them while on their journey across the plains, and this new wisdom added to the bitterness of the disappointment that subsequently came to most of them.

Prairie Schooner at Anchor.

What we have said in the foregoing is more especially with relation to the movement of 1859; yet, it applies with almost equal force to that of 1860, when nearly as many people crossed the plains to the mountains here, re-enacting the same scenes, presenting the same individual characteristics, entertaining the same visionary expectations, and undergoing the same experiences and practicing the same follies after they got here—Fortune smiling on the few and frowning on the many. After the civil war broke out, the movement was checked, and for two or three years remained of comparatively slender proportions.

As a whole, the circumstances under which this region was peopled have no parallel in the history of this country. Some of those, as we have said, presented by the settlement of California ten years previous, were similar. But the example of that State did not equal, in many respects, the remarkable experience of Colorado. There was no such pouring in of people there as this flocking of thousands and tens of thousands here in 1859 and 1860—most of whom trooped away again—and all the conditions were radically different. The means of reaching California were better, and considering everything, were cheaper, to those who went there by water. While many made the journey overland, those who voyaged to the isthmus and thence by water again were in the great majority, and could make the trip with comparative comfort. Furthermore, they were not pressing into the midst of an wholly unsettled region, infested by warlike Indians, and remote from a ready highway of travel available for mechanical transportation.

Colorado had no gentle tide of immigration like that which slowly and steadily occupied the territory of the older States. When it set in it came as a tidal wave, carrying with it the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The pioneer, as Ohio, Missouri, or Kansas knew him, establishing himself on virgin soil from which he cultivated the means of his subsistence, and on which he built a cabin home for himself and his family, was unknown in the settlement of this country. Those who had been scattered through it before the summer of 1858, were mere roving adventurers, here for a transient purpose, neither thinking of nor caring for permanent, civilized, expanding occupation and development.

It cannot fairly be said that as a rule those brought in by the great tidal wave of 1859 were led on by motives much different or better than those of the trapping and trading adventurers. The common desire for gold was first and last in the thoughts of all, and the accepted beliefs that the new country was inhospitable and undesirable for any purpose save that of satisfying this craving, made almost every man, whether by calculation or chance, keep a feeling about himself and his enterprise, that he was only to be a sojourner here who would return to his old home as soon as he had basked a while in the smiles of fortune.

These winding trains, these trailing caravans, and these trooping foot-soldiers of fortune were not bound for a region in the west far beyond the distant horizon, where it was hoped to found a new empire, to subdue a wilderness, convert it into fruitful farms and blooming gardens, and to establish happy homes for declining years. These men had no such purposes in view as those which brought the Pilgrims to the rocky coast of Massachusetts; no such patriotic impulses as those which led to the French settlement of Canada and Louisiana—the honor of their King and the glory of France; no such motives as those which inspired the Jesuit fathers to carry the word of their Master to the savage people in the American wilderness.

They did not expect to stay a great while in the country to which they were bound; they were not particular about finding a place where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; they were quite willing that the administration at Washington should attend to the honor and glory of the Nation; and they had not the slightest interest in the spiritual welfare of the western red man.

There was little of that anticipated identity with the new country that usually comes into the thoughts of men going to new places and scenes to work out the purposes of their lives. It was a great army of fortune-seekers, pure and simple, to be turned this way or that by the capricious grimaces of the goddess of their cause, that came streaming across the plains in 1859 and 1860. The plans of nearly all were held subservient to the chances or changes of a day, and every one of their calculations centered around the single purpose to quickly acquire a fortune and speedily return to civilized parts. Nothing could have been further from their intentions than the founding of a beautiful city, the building of a great State, and their permanent detachment from their former homes.

Indians Attacking Emigrants.

A popular but altogether erroneous belief concerning the general character of these hosts of men, is that they were the refuse of the older communities whence they came. This statement has been made, and repeated so often in books and newspaper letters telling, or trying to tell, of these old times, that something like a conviction exists in the minds of many people, that the pioneers of 1859 and 1860, in the Pike's Peak region, were mostly scoundrels, of but varying depths of dye. As an example of this misrepresentation, an average statement, is that of McClure in his book "Three Thousand Miles in the Rocky Mountains." He said, referring to the great movement of 1859:

"Nine tenths of those who came at first were either fugitives or adventurers. In one mingled mass came the honest bankrupt, the fugitive from justice, the gambler and the loafer."

This was not so. In one sense they were all adventurers, but to assert or imply that as a whole the mass was composed of bankrupts, criminals, gamblers, and loafers, is stupid, ignorant nonsense, formulated from the stories it was once common to relate of many places in the west. There were gamblers and other criminals a-plenty; but as to the loafers, this country was probably the most uninviting region in the world for them. The truth is that while many had been bankrupted, and many others impoverished by the collapse in 1857, in the main the men who came here in the pioneer times were of average honesty, and of more than average enthusiasm and heedlessness. They were inspired by no worse motive than one to better their worldly condition, and to do it in one or two summer seasons.

In those days the appearance of the average person here was not what would fulfill our present conceptions of a presentable man. Those who had wives back in the east waiting for their lords to return treasure-laden, would not have been recognized by their distant spouses. The miners were bearded and begrimed, tanned the color of sole-leather by exposure to the sun and winds, and clad in a motley and often patched or tattered outfit of garments. The three imperative demands upon their time—working, eating and sleeping—left none for personal adornment, even if the inclination to it had not, practically, disappeared. The new arrivals daily trudging into Denver by hundreds, as heavy of movement as their weary slow-going teams of oxen, were no better. They were hideously hairy and unkempt, sun-browned, recklessly ragged, some of them bare-footed, and all dust-covered and begrimed. The addition of goggles, worn to protect their eyes from the glare of the prairie sun, gave to many a mild-mannered, peaceful man a dangerous and, to some individuals, a ferocious, aspect.

In what we have said here of the transitory character and purposes of these people, the application is intended for the great mass of the multitude. In a few instances new-comers partly realized the possibilities of the country, or thought they did, and acted upon the impulses thus aroused. It is exceedingly difficult to reconcile events with the theory that the men instrumental in bringing them about were endowed with unusual wisdom, and extraordinary ability to foresee things. It is not probable that those who platted and named the embryo towns at the mouth of Cherry creek in the autumn of 1858, ever dreamed at that time that either, or both combined, would become a great city, or even an important town. But the fact that they did propose a permanent settlement and occupation of the country, separated them in thought and purpose from nine out of every ten men around them.

In most instances the founding of American cities was the out-growth of pre-existing necessities; or of the presence of some commanding local natural advantages fully understood beforehand; or of some other motives in which calculation, preparation and intention were likewise involved. Sites were deliberately chosen with especial reference to the previously known natural advantages of locality and surroundings, immigrants came with the purpose and expectation of permanent personal identity with their chosen places, and the infant settlements were patiently nursed and coddled by their projectors and partisans.

It was not so with Denver. Her founding was an accident of circumstances at a time when even the circumstances bid fair to be transitory, and when advantages and resources may be said to have been unknown. In her infancy she was the temporary objective point for thousands who cared nothing for the country, nothing for the town; who had no intention of permanently identifying themselves with either, and with but the one thought of getting what they came for before somebody else got it, and then getting away again. It was not until the rare beauty of the accidental location, the grandeur of the region, the charms of the climate, and the enormous permanent resources of the country became fixed in the minds of the people, that these alien feelings and purposes disappeared.

CHAPTER XXV.

Progress of Cherry Creek Towns—New Business Enterprises—First Hotel—"Count" Murat—First Ferry—First Birth in the Settlements—Career of the First-Born —Isolation in that First Winter—Further Improvements and Business Enterprises—Arrival of Saw Mills—Political Movement—Pioneer Newspapers—Transactions of the Town Companies—Homicide—First Stages to Denver—Progress Made by Midsummer of 1859.

That winter of 1858-59 had been neither an idle nor a resultless one in Auraria and Denver "cities."

Thomas Pollock who had arrived from New Mexico on December 29th, opened the first smithery here on January 10th. It was an Auraria enterprise, located at the southwest corner of Market and Eleventh streets. Pollock was handy and effective with a gun or a revolver and became a most worthy and useful citizen. At the same time Kasserman, Luttrell and Hemphill set up a log carpenter's-shop in Auraria—the first of its kind in that settlement—at the southwest corner of Lawrence and Tenth streets, where they later built a two-story dwelling. Simultaneous with these events Henry Reitze, from Omaha, and E. Karcsewsky, from Chariton, Iowa, began the first bakery business, which was hailed with the utmost satisfaction by the population which was, with a few exceptions, wholly masculine, and had long been enduring the makeshift results and unhappy consequences of their own bread-making. This pioneer bakery was located on the east side of Eleventh street, between Market and Wazee streets—at present number 1427 Eleventh. In this same month of January, John Ming brought out a stock of groceries which he installed in a cabin he built as an addition to "Indian Row," which was now becoming quite an array of business establishments.

The first saloon at the mouth of Cherry creek was opened by Rice & Heffner in January, 1859, in a cabin which stood on the northwest corner of Market and Eleventh streets, in Auraria. The house and business afterward passed into the hands of a man named Duncan, and from the character of effects produced by Duncan's liquor, the establishment became commonly known as "Hotel de Drunk."

On the 1st of February one of the Aurarians, David Smoke, opened his cabin as a public house, the first at Cherry creek. It was a one-story cabin, like all the others, had the soil for a floor, and stood on the southeast corner of Larimer and Tenth streets. To this hostelry he gave the name "El Dorado Hotel" and felt that he had done well his part.

Subsequently associated with Smoke was a queer genius, a Frenchman named H. Murat, who was commonly called "the Count," and who claimed to be a nephew of Bonaparte's King of Naples. The Count shaved men's beards and his wife did laundry work—occupations more useful than those in which noble personages usually engage. Little was known of the origin, identity and history of this couple who had drifted to this far country in those primitive days. They were of the large party from Missouri, eastern Kansas and southeastern Nebraska which arrived here October 24, 1858, and represented that they had come "from the upper Mississippi." Notwithstanding his charge of one dollar for shaving a customer, the Count in later years became an invalid inmate of the Arapahoe county infirmary, and died there. His widow still survives and resides at Palmer Lake.

When Mr. Greeley was here in the summer of 1859 the "Count" served as his barber. The exaction of one dollar for each shave and the charge of three dollars for Mrs. Murat's services in laundrying a half-dozen pieces of linen, led the noted editor to remark that the country harbored at least one man determined to make the best of his opportunities.

Mrs. Murat is frequently mentioned as having been the first white woman in the Cherry creek settlements. She was not the first, but the third; Mrs. S. M. Rooker and her daughter, of the Mormon family we have mentioned, were respectively the first and second; giving the mother precedence, though both came at the same time. The Murats soon after they arrived here went to "Montana" where they built a cabin. In the spring of 1859 they located in Auraria, where they remained until the spring of 1860 when they moved over to Denver City into a cabin they had built on the ground now occupied by the Chamber of Commerce building. Mrs. Murat claims to have made in 1859 the first United States flag fabricated in this region and which she floated from "El Dorado Hotel." She is now far advanced in years, but the other women at Cherry creek in 1858 are dead.

Early in February—about the 7th—William McGaa, Charles Nichols, L. W. Smith, Josiah T. Hinman and an associate named Morrow received from the Kansas Territorial Legislature a "charter" to run five years, to operate a ferry across the South Platte river at the mouth of Cherry creek; Nichols having procured the "charter" upon his return to eastern Kansas. The reader will recall that for the "benefit" of John S. Smith and McGaa the ferry privilege had been accorded and reserved to them by the Auraria Town Company when that organization was effected. John Smith gave it no further attention, and it appears that these "charter"-holders did not exercise their privilege; for Thomas Warren, a Kentuckian, at that time began operating the ferry from the foot of Eleventh street which, in anticipation of such a public convenience, had originally been named Ferry street. The new enterprise was a "rope ferry" contrived by stretching a heavy rope across the stream and making it securely fast at both ends to convenient trees. From the ends of a flat-boat other ropes reached to the thwart-stream one and were attached to pulleys running along on the cable. By lengthening one and shortening the other of these connecting ropes, the boat would be set at such an angle that the current impacting upon its sides, would send it across the stream. So, operating expenses were light and profits heavy. The ordinary charge for ferrying a wagon and team was one dollar, though Richardson, who was here in June, 1859, says his party paid two dollars and fifty cents. The ferry did a great business after the Clear creek gold discoveries, was far more profitable than the average mining, and called for little of the hard labor required in the mountains, gulches and bars.

William Denver McGaa.
(From a recent photograph.)

Another important "first event" came to pass in this period of Denver's development; one which afforded proof of enterprise and substantial progress, and which, because of its occurrence on the east side of Cherry creek instead of the west, was hailed as a most favorable and significant omen by the partisans of "Denver City." It was the birth of a son to Mr. and Mrs. William McGaa—the first birth at the mouth of Cherry creek aside from what may have previously happened in strictly Indian society. Hitherto published mention of this interesting event accords to it the date of March 3, 1859; but the descendants of this pioneer mother, including the principal figure in the domestic drama, say in letters to the editor of this work, that the date was March 8th.

At that time William McGaa was living in a shack or wigwam on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets, where the old Methodist Episcopal church building now stands.

The mother was not an Arapahoe, as has so frequently been stated in published accounts, but a half-breed Sioux. She was a daughter of a white frontiersman named John Adams and a full-blood Ogallala Sioux mother, who later became, after the frontier fashion, the wife of Alphonse La Roque, a French trader, and is still living in South Dakota, aged eighty-eight years. They were at Cherry creek in the autumn of 1858.

Mrs. McGaa, a few years after William's death, married Joseph Brown, a Denver pioneer of 1858 and a shareholder in the Auraria Town Company. Brown is still living, at Pine Ridge Indian Agency, South Dakota. Mrs. McGaa-Brown died by drowning in the Cache-a-la-Poudre river at Laporte, Larimer county, in 1877, and is buried there. This information came from her sons, William Denver McGaa, and George R. Brown, the latter of the Rosebud Sioux Agency, South Dakota.

William Denver McGaa, Denver's first born, worked as a cow-boy in Colorado and Wyoming from the time he was old enough to ride until he was twenty-one. He then entered the government service at Pine Ridge Agency as Indian census-taker, herdsman, scout, guide, and interpreter, serving in those capacities about twelve years. In 1892 he was appointed Assistant Farmer at Pine Ridge, and taught the Sioux how to farm, and rear and care for cattle. In 1894 he became Indian Trader at Pine Ridge. He is now a prosperous stock-raiser in Pennington county, South Dakota, and has a most creditable record at Pine Ridge Agency and among the Sioux Indians. In one of his letters to us he said:

> "I am now in the cattle business and have over one thousand head of cattle; and quite a herd of fine, well-bred horses. Am married and have six children; the oldest, a boy, is named after myself,

William Denver McGaa, as I am proud of the name 'Denver,' and I want to have it remain in the McGaa family forever."

The inhabitants of the two towns had passed through the winter with a fair degree of comfort in their log cabins. They had plenty of fuel, and had prepared their houses to withstand severer blasts of the Frost King's icy breath than they had received. For most of them it was a first experience in a region where the winter winds might be expected to come sweeping and howling out of the wilds and solitudes of the great mountain ranges rising far above them close by in the west. It was fear of winter's rigors that had prompted some who had come out the previous summer and autumn to go back to their former homes with the purpose of returning in the spring, rather than brave the conditions of winter's sojourn here—conditions which many imaginations had surrounded with most appalling frosty terrors. But the winter had proved very mild, and far less rigorous than those from corresponding latitudes in the east had ever experienced there. The autumn had been a delightful one, merging far into the first winter month, and spring opened upon the communities before the people realized that they had actually passed through a Rocky Mountain winter without having been frozen to death or blown away, or both, as they should have been to have kept in line with the old stories they "used to read about."

Mrs. William McGaa.
(Photographed in 1874.)

Through these times and up to the first of the following May, when the stage-coaches began their trips, the people of the Cherry Creek towns had to depend mostly on chance opportunities for getting their mail and for sending their letters away. The nearest two regularly established postoffices were at Forts Kearney and Laramie, to which places messengers were occasionally sent on postal errands. This was not only a tedious way of doing, but an expensive one. The cost of getting a letter through was usually fifty cents, and as newspapers were so much more bulky, the expense was practically prohibitive to them and few were seen in Denver and Auraria. No feature of life here during the winter of 1858-59 was more trying, more wearing to those who bravely went through the experience, than this isolation; and in no way was the isolation more sensibly felt than during the long waiting for letters from friends beyond the plains. The intense feeling of homesickness it engendered led some of the heart-sick into lives of recklessness through a desire to escape the depression that wore upon them.

Therefore it was with great rejoicing that the people of both towns welcomed the trains containing the local outfit for the first overland stage and express line to Denver, which arrived late in March—on the 28th, in charge of Beverly D. Williams, who soon became a man of much worthy prominence and influence in the community. Auraria expected that the office would, of course, be located with her, but she was doomed to a bitter disappointment. Williams temporarily located the stage office in a building on Larimer street near Fifteenth, but soon afterward built a frame structure on the north side of Blake street between the "Denver Hall" and the northeast corner of that street and Fifteenth, on ground adjoining, or very near, the later site of the building in which the First National Bank began business in 1865. The alert Denver Town Company had promptly attended to that. Fossett, in his "Colorado," says the stage and express company—the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak—was given 1,460 town lots by the Leavenworth men as consideration for establishing its headquarters in Denver City; which would appear to have been a pretty heavy subsidy if town lots were worth anything. However, Fossett was

Mrs. Alphonse LaRoque.
(From a photograph.)

greatly in error in the number of lots in the subsidy. The express company was given fifty-three lots scattered over the territory between California street and the Platte river. The company also became the owner of nine shares in the Denver Town Company on the same basis as individuals, and on which it paid assessments the same as other shareholders. William H. Russell, President of the Express Company, personally became a shareholder, and as an addition to that interest six lots were donated to him. Referring to this transaction between the Denver Town Company and the express company, Colonel S. S. Curtis has well said:

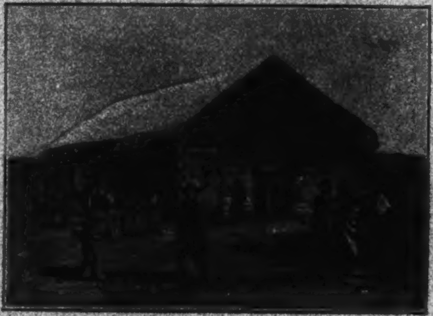
> "To my mind it was the vital move in the making of the city, as I believe that being the terminus of the stage line, thus compelling everybody to come or send to it for their letters, was what made Denver the commercial and financial center of Colorado."

Improvements in Auraria were fast moving forward, and that town was still much in advance of Denver City in population, notwithstanding the latter's encroachments upon her business circles. Many of the newcomers of this spring had, temporarily at least, halted there. A considerable number of people had arrived early in March and the increase in population was shown by an election—the first one—for "county officers" which was held on March 28th. Auraria cast two hundred and thirty-one votes; Denver, one hundred and forty-four; and there were three hundred and ninety-nine cast outside at five different voting places in the region round about, of which two classed themselves as "cities." Some details of this election appear elsewhere in this volume.

Early in the year Wooton had begun the erection of a business house in Auraria, that town's first business palace. It was built on the east side of Eleventh street between Market and Wazee, on the ground now represented by numbers 1413 and 1415 Eleventh; of hewn logs, and was two stories high; or, to be more exact, one and three-quarter stories. It was twenty by thirty-two feet, roofed with clap-boards or rived shingles, and had glazed windows, the latter being generally regarded as giving it a decidedly metropolitan aspect. The second story was reached by an outside stairway, and its floor was made of whip-sawed boards, the first planking, according to its owner's story, used in a Cherry Creek business house. Whether the building was finished before the large building of Blake & Williams, in Denver City, is questionable, as both were built at practically the same time; but Wooton's account says it was the first building in either town intentionally erected exclusively for business purposes.

As spring opened many new mercantile enterprises were advancing across the plains to the new metropolis of the far west. Some of these had set out the previous autumn, but hearing disturbing reports of Indian depredations, had gone into winter quarters on the Platte, in eastern Nebraska.

Several noteworthy business changes and expansions occurred at this time, notwithstanding the depressing effect which the delay in locating the gold-bearing lodes in the mountains had on the two communities. Blake & Williams left Auraria with their stock of goods and established themselves in Denver City. They had erected a log building on the north side of Blake street on the fourth and fifth lots from the corner of Fifteenth street. Constructed by the pioneer carpenters, Willoughby and Avery, it was a structure thirty-two by one hundred and ten feet in ground dimensions, and one story and an attic in height—the largest in either town. The accompanying engraving which is a reproduction of one of Richardson's sketches does not show the building as large as it was. In the absence of other adequate material it was roofed with canvas which served through that summer. Blake & Williams occupied part of it with their stock, and the remainder was used for "hotel" purposes, and in that capacity it was Denver City's first hotel. It was commonly known as "Blake & Williams' Hall," otherwise "Denver Hall." A short time later its owners moved their goods to another location, and soon afterward quit merchandising to engage in other enterprises. The building continued to be used for hotel purposes, with the usual drinking and gambling accessories, through the summer and autumn of 1859. It then degenerated into a "resort" of a vile and dangerous character, and still later became the "Elephant Corrall" headquarters, for which purpose it was used until it was destroyed by the fire of 1863. The building was the pride and headquarters of the town in 1859, and the favorite place for holding public meetings. Elbridge Gerry, a frontier trader, came to Denver City and assisted Blake & Williams in the management of their business. Both members of this firm became and long remained prominent and influential men in the community and throughout this section of the west.



The "Denver House," 1859.

Following Blake & Williams, the hardware men Kinna & Nye, left Auraria and located themselves on the east side of Fifteenth street, between Blake and Market streets, and on the southward corner of the alley. Their stock included some sheet-iron, and from this they fashioned the first stove made in what is now Colorado. It was a large affair for heating Blake & Williams' Hall, and they were paid one hundred and fifty dollars for it—a price that was most encouraging to the enterprising pioneer stove-makers.

About the first of April two saw-mills arrived from the Missouri river; one was brought by N. S. Wyatt and Hiram P. Bennet, and the other by D. C. Oakes, who had first come here in the previous autumn and had returned to his former home in Iowa for the winter. The Bennet and Wyatt mill came a few days before the other and was operated by an associate named Cooper. Oakes' mill was set up on Plum creek, about two miles south of what later became known as the "old Coberly place," and some thirty miles south of the mouth of Cherry creek; the Wyatt-Bennett mill was put in operation on Running creek, in that same general locality, where there was a good supply of standing timber suitable for saw-mill purposes. The mills were welcome additions to the resources of the towns, and immediately began sawing lumber for improvements. The first lot of it came from Cooper's mill and was delivered on April 21st to R. L. Wooton and Thomas Pollock, who built frame houses in Auraria; Wooton's a small dwelling, and Pollock's a two-story building at the southwest corner of Eleventh and Market streets for a hotel. Wooton claimed that his was finished first, which gave Auraria the credit of having the first frame dwelling, with Pollock's hotel as the second frame building at the mouth of Cherry creek. Subsequently Jones & Cartwright established a store in the Pollock building. Of his dwelling, Wooton says in his book:

> "After I completed my log store-building, I built a frame house for a residence, which by the way is still standing, and was the first frame building put up in Denver."

This pioneer structure is standing on the rear of the lot next north of the "Milwaukee Brewery," on the west side of Tenth street, between Larimer and Market streets; and is now used for a stable.

Soon after the first two mills were established another was brought out by a man named Little, and he was followed by Whittemore with the fourth one. The demand for lumber for the construction of new and better buildings in the towns was greater than the supply, and the output of the mills was absorbed as fast as produced, at prices ranging around the extravagant figure of one hundred dollars per thousand feet.

Amid all the confusion of the incoming troops of gold-seekers, the opening of stores, the racing up and down, the despondency over the elusiveness of the real cause for all of them being here, and the drinking and gambling, a few of the people found time and inclination for attention to politics. They declared that a new commonwealth must be organized at once. The particulars of what they did at this time and how they did it appear elsewhere in this story.

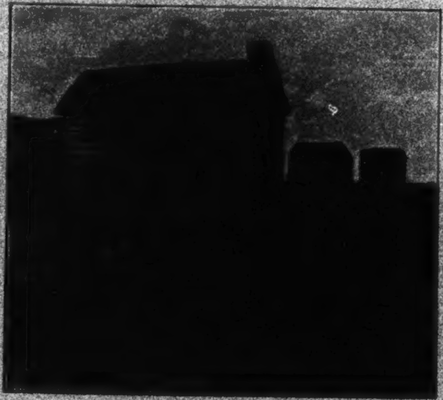
Among these would-be State-founders were ambitious and, let us say, clear-sighted men, intent upon the immediate creation of a new State here in the west, who pointed out that before three years could pass there would be in the Rocky Mountain country between Fort Laramie on the north and Taos on the south, a white population of more than one hundred thousand people, and that the sooner a State were organized the better it would be for everybody. They urged that this army of men in the full vigor of their prime, separated by many miles of Indian country from the existing States, should not be obliged to rely on their own resources, practically each for himself, for self-protection and protection of their rights and property, however able they might be to take care of themselves in an unorganized state of society. The Territorial jurisdiction of Kansas in this remote locality was a mere theory, and for all purposes of practical government and authorized enforcement of law the country might as well have been under the nominal jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They gave too wide a limit to their prophecy, for within a year after their first convention met there were one hundred thousand people, and more, too, in the region above defined; but it was a good many years before the hopes and ambitions of those pioneer statesmen were finally fulfilled.

On April 13th John L. Merrick arrived in Denver City with the first newspaper printing office outfit brought to Cherry creek. It was a small equipment with a small press, but it was capable of printing a little newspaper. Notwithstanding that Merrick's material reached here on April 13th he did not issue the first newspaper published here. Right behind him were the men who did that, for Merrick in the meantime had been indulging his somewhat convivial habits.

They were William N. Byers and Thomas Gibson, who were accompanied by John L. Dailey, an experienced practical printer man, and several others. They had started across the plains from Omaha early in the spring with a printing equipment, and upon coming to Fort St. Vrain, Dailey and Gibson halted there with the wagons while Mr. Byers went forward to Cherry Creek to see what prospects for their venture might exist here. Mr. Byers arrived here on April 17th, and quickly decided that Auraria was the place for them, whereupon the newspaper outfit was brought up, and drew into town on April 20th. Auraria was delighted by this important acquisition and by the fact that she had been chosen by its proprietors as its abiding place, instead of the boastful Denver City over on the other side. But her enthusiasm experienced a slight chill when the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News appeared bearing at its head the date-line legend "Cherry Creek, K. T.," instead of "Auraria City, K. T." But she had the newspaper, and her feelings soon warmed up again.

The outfit had been speedily installed in the second story of Wooton's "business block"—and this, by the way, made that structure the first "office-building" here, the herald of the magnificent edifices now gracing the city—and on Saturday, April 23, 1859, the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News was taken from the press that had traveled so far to perform that historic service.

On April 22nd, the day before the first issue of the News, the Auraria Board of Directors, without waiting for a printing press to have been maintained for a year before giving it a lot subsidy, as provided in their resolution of the previous autumn, met and adopted the following:



Wooton's Building; first of two stories at the mouth of Cherry creek.

"Resolved, That there be donated to Byers & Co. four Shares in the Auraria Town company for the establishment of a Printing Press; also that there be donated to Messrs. R. L. Sumner, E. C. Sumner, Thos. Gibson, and E. M. Byers [Mrs. W. N. Byers] one share each."

In the meantime John L. Merrick had established his outfit and was hastening to issue his Cherry Creek Pioneer before his rivals could place themselves in front of him with their News. In this he was about a half-hour too late. The Pioneer's issue of April 23, was its first and last appearance. Merrick traded its mechanical outfit to Mr. Gibson, of the News, for a little stock of provisions and some other things needed by a miner, and went up Clear creek on a prospecting expedition. Late in the summer of that year he returned and went to work as a compositor on the News, remaining with the paper until the outbreak of the civil war.

In an address recently (December, 1899,) delivered at a meeting of Colorado pioneers Mr. W. N. Byers gave the following circumstantial account of his coming to Denver and bringing his newspaper plant with him:

"The discovery of gold in Colorado was the signal for a considerable influx of adventurers this way. My home at that time was in Omaha and I saw a good deal of the people who were going back and forth to the West. Some of those who were returning carried with them samples of gold dust in goose quills. I naturally took an interest in the new country. One day in the winter of 1858 and 1859 some gentlemen were in my office in Omaha and the suggestion was made that it would be a good idea to bring a printing press to this country and print the news of discoveries from the point where the discoveries were made. I was instructed to go ahead and purchase an outfit. I went to Bellevue and bought a printing press and brought it up to Omaha, where the machinery was set up. Some of the type was set up and two pages were printed. Everything was in shape so that it was easy to get out a paper as soon as we arrived in this place.

"We left Omaha on the 8th of March, about the time the frost had begun coming out of the ground. We encountered a great many difficulties, but on the last day of March we reached the banks of the Platte river opposite Fort Kearney. I was wagon boss, and I used a little ingenuity in distributing my train along the road, apprehending that my party might object to crossing the stream —which was then running high—if an opportunity to confer was given. So, I got the first wagon into the water before the drivers of the others had a chance to protest. I had learned never to camp on the near side of a stream. The others were very indignant, but I pushed them all in successively without giving them a chance to compromise; whereupon each became still more opposed to the proceedings. The heaviest wagon got into a sink-hole of quicksand and we did not reach the other bank until dark. There was no road on the other side, but we managed to get through the night. If we had not crossed the river that evening we would have been, as matters turned out, delayed several days; for the next morning the river was full of floating ice that did not disappear for nearly a week.

"We located a camp at St. Vrain so as to give some of the men a chance to prospect. I then went on in advance and reached here April 17, finding the people were a good deal more anxious about the arrival of the newspaper than had been reported.

"At the beginning of the second day I sent a messenger on horseback to hurry up the train, and two days later it arrived. One of the wagons stuck in Cherry creek—at Blake street, so we did not get across until after nightfall. I immediately drove over to the little office I had secured. Old Uncle Dick Wootton had built a log cabin which contained a little attic and this he had offered to me. There we set up our press and began setting type. I have here the first sheet that was printed.

"We improvised a shelter under the roof to protect the press. This was a sort of tent. The clapboard roof of the building was covered with snow, which, as it melted, ran through upon us. Before the first issue of the paper was made a little dodger was struck off for a man who had lost a horse and a dog. This was the first printing done in this territory.

"Now, there was another paper came out that same evening called the "Cherry Creek Pioneer." When I was at Fort Kearney I heard that a man named Merrick had preceded us by some days. He did nothing until we arrived and then he became very anxious to print a paper too. He got a log cabin and started to work. The result was to get out a paper the same evening. The citizens constituted themselves a committee to see which of us got out first. The consensus of opinion was that we came out twenty minutes ahead of the other. This paper of Merrick's was issued only once. The next day he hunted up my partner and sold his outfit for some flour and bacon."

We shall, of course, go much further into Denver newspaper annals, but at this juncture will only add the following from the narrative of the gossipy Wooton:

"The first newspaper published there was started in 1859 by W. N. Byers—who still lives in the city he has done so much to build up—and was printed in the second story of my log 'business block.' It wasn't a very pretentious sheet, and was published under great difficulties. Sometimes the publishers were able to get hold of the right kind of printers' supplies, and sometimes they failed to get hold of anything better than fools-cap or wrapping paper, upon which to print an issue of the old 'Rocky Mountain News,' now a great metropolitan newspaper keeping pace with the growth of the city and this rapidly developing western country. The difficulty of procuring printers' supplies was not the most serious with which the publishers of this pioneer newspaper had to contend. * * * About the first question Byers asked of an employe in those days was whether he could handle a gun to good advantage, and a printer who was handy in this respect, stood well with the proprietors of the paper, even though he had a multitude of shortcomings as a compositor."

Wooton does not mention another serious difficulty encountered in publishing the News in those days. The sale of liquor constituted a large part of his business, and frequently his customers would become boisterous, and very reckless with their weapons. Some of the newspaper men slept in the printing office, and as a safeguard they found it expedient to lay an extra thickness of planks under their beds to intercept stray bullets which, fired at short range, could pass from below through the single flooring of the room. Wooton's establishment became a rough one, and later it had a bowling-alley attached to it. Subsequently, after having been put to so much better uses, the vacated second story became a noted gambling room.

The managers of the Town Companies were not idle during those winter and spring months of 1859. On January 14th the Aurarians made a sort of "lot dividend," as provided for in the following, adopted by their Board of Directors:

"Resolved, That each and every Original Stockholder be entitled to one choice lot for each Original Share he may own, said lots to be selected by the Stockholders out of any lots in the City that have not been selected or otherwise appropriated by the Board; but in no case allowed to select more than two corner lots."

At this meeting the Directors also "granted E. Karczewsky privilege of selecting a lot for the purpose of building an ice house."

On the 17th of January these Directors resolved that "there be and is hereby Donated to the Masonic and Odd Fellows' Associations one lot each." Their generosity did not end with this, for, at the same meeting, they resolved to give a lot each "to the first four Religious Societies" that built churches in Auraria.

Rocky Mountain News' office, second story of Wooton's Building, 1859.

The hotel projects which had been given lot subsidies in the previous December do not appear to have promised well, for the Auraria Directors at this meeting of January 17th, adopted the following:

"Resolved, That there be Donated to Messrs. Dudley and Russell twenty lots to construct a Hotel of the following dimensions, to-wit: to have a combined front of two hundred feet on two streets, two stories high, to be finished for the reception of guests by the first day of July, 1859; they to have the privilege of selecting the lots."

On the 18th of February they donated one share in the Auraria Town Company to General William Larimer of the Denver Town Company, as an official courtesy. They also appointed a committee of three "to confer with a like Number of the Several Town Companies for the protection of Town Sites from mining operations."

A large part of the business before the Auraria Directors in the first four months of 1859 was that of donating lots to persons who agreed to build on them. Such donations were made to James Knight, and Daniel Knight; two lots to H. Murat provided he built two houses, each twenty by one hundred feet in size, one and one-half stories high of hewed or sawed lumber—which he did not build; to R. P. Smith, R. L. Wooton, Thomas Pollock, "Mr." Boughton, William Hilliard, "Mr." Foster (the surveyor), "Mr." Ming, Jarvis Richardson, and Heifman and Brauner; to 'Jessey' Heismar, one share; one share to "Messrs. Gilman, Edwards, Thompson and Putman—one lot each;" to William Parkinson six lots on which he was to build three houses, one forty by eighty, and the others twenty by thirty feet; to D. W. Griffith, G. F. Griffith, W. H. Bassett, and R. H. Lusby, one share each; a lot to Wooton "for the purpose of building a store-house;" a lot each to H. P. A. Smith, N. G. Wyatt, J. W. Cooper, John J. Riethmann, "Marshall" Cook, James Winchester, P. Halsey, W. J. Boyer, H. E. Hunt, and J. T. Younker; to D. D. Cook, Allen Ira Town, and L. M. Beall one share each; and to Governor S. W. Beall four shares.

Many of the original "stockholders" in the Auraria Town Company did not build on the lots assigned them, and a large number of the donation lots were not improved. On January 14, 1859, the Directors had 'rescinded' most of the donations made in the previous two months, and scolded the derelict original "stockholders" for their delay in making improvements. Indeed, the record shows that through that winter and spring the Directors were almost continually threatening and haranguing the laggards, and frequently declaring donations to have become void. It was an exceedingly paternal form of town government in which "the Board" claimed jurisdiction over everything. "Improvements must not be made without the Company's approval," is one recorded fiat of this period. Judson H. Dudley sold a lot to a newcomer in the spring of 1859, but "the Board" denied his right to do so and resolved that "we hereby cancel said sale," after which the Directors generously donated the lot and three more with it to the pioneer would-be investor.

Then they had a rumpus with John S. Smith and William McGaa who were claiming more than "the Board" thought they ought to have, which led to the adoption of the following on April 1st:

"Resolved, That in the contract with William McGaa and John S. Smith for their claims it was distinctly understood by the Auraria Town Company that the said William McGaa and John S. Smith, their heirs or assigns, were to have all the lands laying north of front street and south of the Platte river; commencing at the North East corner of said town, thence running westwardly along the line of Front Street to the Platte river, thence following the meanderings of said River down to the mouth of Cherry Creek. The Said Town Company claiming and reserving the right of way through the said lands for Streets and Alleys."

This was followed on April 8th by Smith's resignation as Treasurer and his declaration that he would have nothing more to do with them. The Directors elected as his successor, John Scudder by whom in an encounter with P. T. Bassett of the Denver Town Company, a few days later, the latter was killed. Scudder left the settlements, and on May 18th Thomas Pollock was elected Treasurer "to fill vacancy occasioned by the absence of John Scudder."

The intense rivalry between the two towns indirectly gave rise to the causes which resulted in Bassett's death. He had been a Missouri river steam-boat Captain, and was of an arbitrary disposition. As was afterward shown, he had defamed Scudder in consequence of some personal differences and feeling that had arisen between the two. On the morning of April 10th they met at Bassett's cabin, on the south side of Larimer street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, when some words about the reports circulated by Basset ensued. Bassett at first denied them, but becoming angry said he was responsible for them; and seizing a pick-handle, according to the later testimony, made at Scudder, who then fired and mortally wounded him, death ensuing before the next morning. Scudder left Denver and went to Salt Lake, where he remained nearly a year, engaging in the meantime with William H. Russell in preparing for and outfitting the Pony Express. In the spring of 1860 he voluntarily returned to Denver and asked to be tried for his act. A People's Court was organized with Charles A. Lawrence as Judge, and the trial took place on April 18th. The testimony presented proved his act to have been in self-defense and he was unanimously acquitted. In the trial his case was presented by H. P. Bennet, and John C. Moore; while the prosecution was in the hands of W. P. McClure. Scudder subsequently engaged in mining operations with William H. Russell, with whom he was associated many years. He is still interested in mining and is now a citizen of Denver.

The Directors of the Denver Town Company were also employed during these times on about the same lines as those followed by the Aurarians. The major portion of the entries in their record are concerning "grants" and "donations" of lots; the grants being for some unusual and important improvement, and the donations for the ordinary consideration of houses being built by the recipients. As in Auraria, many donations in Denver City were "rescinded," and with all the doings there was also much menacing scolding of the non-progressive citizens. It is plain to be seen that the managers of the pioneer towns did not always lie on beds of roses.

At a meeting of the Denver City Directors held January 22, 1859, William McGaa made a proposition "to build a building 300 feet long with houses not less than 16 feet square, to be completed on or before the 1st of June next; the buildings to be hewed logs, and good, merchantable dwelling houses, or stores, or offices, for which Mr. McGaa asks one-half block, or Sixteen lots together. Said lots to be selected by Wm. McGaa, assisted by the donating agent, and at a point not now taken by individuals, and in the direction of the Court House."

This proposition was accepted, but William McGaa never went any further with his ambitious enterprise, with its three hundred feet of stores, offices, and "good, merchantable dwellings."

At this same meeting the Directors expressed their dissatisfaction with the progress of the town survey by resolving that the Treasurer be instructed "not to pay over any more funds on surveying to Messrs. Curtis & Lowrey until further orders from the Board." This was not a great hardship to the surveyors for the poor men were getting in driblets only a little "funds" for their work.

In common with their neighbor officials on the west side of the creek, the Denver City officials were having continued bother over improvements on donated town-lots. Buildings were not erected by some according to stipulations, and the Donating Agent was not always making himself agreeable to the Board. On January 29, 1859, the Directors resolved that that officer be instructed "to stop donating lots; that all donations, if any, be referred to the board of directors hereafter." According to their record the Denver City Directors did not meet again until the 8th of the following May.

In April, Recorder Bassett was succeeded by Richard E. Whitsitt. who also acted as Donating Agent, and general manager of the company's affairs. The duties of this first-named position, as we have stated, were to make assignments of lots to all who would engage to build on them within a stipulated time. Whitsitt made provisional "deeds" for these lots, and when conditions were complied with saw that the company's "regular deeds" were given. In making lot donations the Denver Company was careful to so assign them that their improvement would enhance the value of those it retained.

While General William Larimer was a leader among the energetic and forceful men who organized the Denver Town Company, his immediate associates in that enterprise possessed a full share of requisite qualities. This was conspicuously so of Richard E. Whitsitt, who was a man of ability, decided force of character, and fairly educated. He had operated in real estate at Leavenworth and elsewhere in eastern Kansas during the then recent era of mushroom "boom cities" in that section, and his experiences accumulated there probably suggested the course he and his associates followed here. Indeed, the party included none who lacked energy and fertility of resource. After the death of Bassett, Whitsitt had practically full control of the Town Company's affairs.

A great tide of immigration was now rolling in bringing with it many new and important business enterprises, and the towns were in a turmoil. The discovery of the mother lodes had not yet come, and the streets were crowded with noisy, discontented men lamenting their folly in coming to such a country and denouncing everything and everybody in it. But the long night of waiting, and groping, and hoping was about ended; and the golden sunrise was nearly at hand.

The most important event of these times in the history of the two towns, aside from the great gold discoveries, was the arrival of the first coaches of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company which had been making its preparations throughout the spring. On May 7th two of the company's coaches swung gaily up to the previously located stage office in Denver City, nineteen days from the Missouri river. A construction train accompanied them, and it was because of work that had to be done along the way, that the initial trip took so much time in covering the distance from Leavenworth, which by odometer measurement was six hundred and eighty-seven miles. These coaches and their accompanying trains, which were in charge of B. D. Williams, made the first tracks on the greater part of the route, which was by way of Fort Riley and the divide between the Solomon and Republican Forks, to the Republican river between the one hundred and first and one hundred and second meridians. Thence following that stream to near its source, thence across Beaver, Bijou, and Kiowa Creeks, through the pineries to Cherry creek, and thence along that historic alleged water-way to Denver City.

Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Stage office, 1859.

The late Henry Villard was the only passenger on that trip. In a reminiscent paper which he recently prepared and deposited with the State Historical Society, and from which we have derived valuable information, he states that his fare was two hundred dollars. This must have been a special price for the regular fare was soon fixed at one hundred dollars.

With the advent of the stage-coaches communications by mail became regular, and, as compared with previous conditions, very expeditious, with half the attendant expense. But the miners in the mountains had either to come here for their mail or have it carried out by the makeshift local expresses which began operating irregularly to and from the town. When the regular stage-lines became established between Denver and the mining camps, the carriage of mail at twenty-five cents a letter grew into a large and profitable part of their business. Most of them had pretty rough roads to travel. In going up Eight Mile canon on the way to Mountain (Central) City, the stage crossed the little canon creek fifty-eight times in the course of that eight miles.

By the middle of June many new buildings had been added to both towns, and the saw-mills had been instrumental in making a number of the later ones of a much better character than the primitive constructions of unhewn logs, though some of the newest ones were of hewn timber. Auraria was much in advance of Denver City, both in the number of her edifices and in population, having upward of two hundred and fifty buildings to the approximately one hundred and fifty of her rival. The two places contained about one thousand more or less permanent inhabitants. With the great inrush of people bound for the "gold diggings" any way and every way, but how and where they did not exactly know, there were many who were predestined in their calculations to stop in the Cherry creek towns to engage in business, to engage in speculation, to engage in anything that might happen to turn up; and more than were necessary, who came hither to engage in hook and crook. In this great tide additional individual enterprises in new business undertakings were lost sight of from a historical point of view, and the greater number of them can no longer be separated into their chronological order, even if it were desirable and important to do so.

But neither of the towns had flung away ambition to over-shadow, outstrip, and eventually absorb the other and wipe it off the face of the earth, in name, at least. The softening, soothing influences of that open-headed barrel of Christmas whiskey did not outlive the holidays, and the jealousy and rivalry were now as great as ever. About this time Auraria, among her other accessions, attained the distinction of Pollock's new hotel built in two stories. This was also pointed to with much pride, and held out as further evidence, if that were needed, to justify her claims of superiority. At this moment Denver City had not gone more than one and one-half stories from the earth, except in the mental flights of some of her partisans; and this new, double-storied hotel building across the creek was reluctantly admitted by them to indicate some progress over there.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Depressed Conditions in the Spring of 1859—Their Causes—Slow Progress of Prospectors and Meager Results from Mining—Memorable Panic Among Immigrants—Vast Host of Gold-Seekers—Prospecting the Platte River—Discoveries in the Boulder District, and Operations Elsewhere—Work of Experienced Miners—The Great Discoveries on Clear Creek in the Mountains.

In the spring of 1859, notwithstanding the progress they had made, the settlements at the junction of Cherry creek and the Platte river had sat holding their heads in discouragement that was as near despondency as it was safe to be. Some gold had been found, it was true, but it was disappointing. There was a little here and a little there, but all of it put together was nowhere near enough to pay the expenses of finding it. By the middle of April there were more than a thousand people in Auraria and Denver, and as many more scattered around within a radius of twenty-five miles, the large majority of them the heralds of the army that was then stretching across the great plains from the Missouri river, in several different lines, but principally up the Platte valley; and there were indications of a panic at Cherry creek.

Though the season was not far advanced, many people who had early arrived that spring had left the district in angry disgust after their brief stay of a few days; and many more were profanely talking about pulling out from the scenes of their misplaced confidence and withering hopes. Town lots were cheap, and getting cheaper every day; and it was a simple sum in arithmetic to figure out and fix the time when their lessening value would finally pass away, like a pool of water evaporating under the rays of a summer sun.

One-fourth of the cabins began that spring on both sides of the creek had been left unfinished by their projectors; another fourth were now vacant, or about to become so; and the remainder were mostly occupied by dispirited souls who thought they saw their dreams fading away in the pure, crystal air of the mountains. True, many of the absentees were off prospecting, climbing over the ridges and delving in the creeks and gulches; but if things continued as they were then drifting, what would become of the twin towns, born of hopeful enthusiasm, laid out with due consideration for the main chance, but now hanging on the edges of several unwelcome probabilities? Immigrants were arriving daily, but they had been somewhat disheartened by the tidings heard on the closing stages of their journey, and now were still further downcast as they more fully comprehended the situation.

This depression which prevailed among the majority of those congregated around the mouth of Cherry creek, was not without cause.

Gold had not yet been found in amounts to justify any excitement, notwithstanding the previous anticipations that the spring months would bring great developments. However, the experienced miners on the ground were still of the belief that it was here in great values. Very few of the new arrivals knew anything of surface indications, or of the methods of mining. They stood in need of a course of schooling, but until mining had begun in earnest they could learn nothing. Other employment here, at that time, was out of the question; there was comparatively little for anybody to do that each could not and would not readily do for himself. If gold failed, every man would have need for every resource he possessed, in getting out of the country.

There are men living in the Denver of to-day who were here in the Denver of that day, and who stayed here through the years that lie between. Their experience is one which falls to the lot of few in the brief interval set apart as man's lifetime. They have seen those poor, dejected little hamlets of the spring of 1859, hundreds of miles from the nearest civilization, become a great city noted all around the world for its beauty, its wealth, and its prosperity.

In every community of men, large or small, there are certain hopeful, sanguine spirits to whom no difficulty seems too great to be overcome, no prospect one of unrelieved gloom; no misfortune can cast them down, no disaster appall them. Such as these were here on Cherry creek in the times we are considering, and never lost their faith in the existence of rich gold-fields in these mountains, nor in a brightening future for their sorry little settlements. Their confidence in the presence of gold in plenty could not be shaken, but the question was to find it.

A relatively large number of men had been engaged in the hunt along the Platte river and in its tributaries up and down from Denver. The sandy bed of Cherry creek had been literally clawed over for miles from its mouth. Some of these industrious workers, happening upon favored spots in the bed of the South Platte and of some of its insignificant tributaries, washed out several dollars' worth of dust each day; but such places were few, and their resources did not last long. The beds of the streams in this vicinity showed traces of gold nearly everywhere, but the great majority of the men toiling in them did not recover sufficient to buy their daily beans and pork. The work done in most of them in March and April, 1859, had not, according to the estimates of that time, realized an average of fifty cents daily to each of those who were engaged in it, while at the same time the cash cost of a man's food for a day was about one dollar, and he would have to limit himself to the plainest and cheapest kinds, at that.

It is doubtful if the total quantity of gold found in the entire Pike's Peak region, up to May 1st amounted in value to ten thousand dollars; yet, many times that amount had been expended directly and indirectly, by the hundreds engaged in the search—in preparation for coming here, in crossing the plains, and in maintaining themselves after their arrival. Notwithstanding these meager results the hopeful ones, unshaken in their faith, still told rosy stories in letters to their friends in the east.

The first tide of the spring flood of immigration was now pouring into the country, and those behind it made two or three streams of eager humanity flowing westward from the Missouri; great rivers of emigration rolling over the plains toward the Rocky Mountains. The reflux of the disappointed, the impecunious, the disillusioned, and the disgusted already made a fair-sized stream headed the other way. The crudest ideas of gold-mining possessed the great mass of these people. In only rare instances had any of them the slightest practical knowledge of the work before them. Very few of them knew how or where to look for gold, and few of them would have recognized it if they had fallen upon a lead.

They had left home with the most sanguine anticipations of speedily becoming owners of a bit of creek or gulch or river lowland, where they would quickly uncover a fortune or, in the remotely considered possibility of not doing this, in confident expectation of earning ten or fifteen dollars a day under those who had such gold-bearing possessions. Thoughts of failure and disaster had not accompanied those whose faces and footsteps were toward the west. Coming under such inspiring delusions as these, weary, dilapidated and weather-beaten by the long journey, the conditions here were an astonishing revelation to them. Finding only a small community of mostly discouraged men living in a few rude log huts, was amazing and sorely disappointing. Some who had arrived earlier in the spring, were so downcast by the situation that they had immediately turned around and quietly made back for home.

While "the gold diggings" were always associated with Pike's Peak by the swarm of immigrants, that lofty mountain was usually regarded as the central land-mark of a large region rich in gold. The first settlements by gold hunters in this favored country having been made at Cherry creek, this point had become the objective for the multitude of strangers in a land as strange to them as they were to it.

Before the middle of April, individuals and small parties, making a considerable number in the aggregate, had been daily starting back to the east, warning in tones of dejection, all they met on the way, of the futility of the westward journey; but without any exaggerated, panic-inciting embellishments, and without seriously alarming many of the sanguine west-bound host. After the middle of that month, however, the discontent here had much increased, and about seventy-five men had left Denver together, on the 16th, to make their way back to the Missouri river.

In camp at Cherry creek, spring of 1859.

The death of an immigrant named Biencroff, by violence, had occurred here about a week before, and some thieves had begun their work. The discontented ones reasoned that if robbery and homicide were to be added to the troubles they already had, the time had come to leave such a country. So, this organized party of malcontents started down the Platte valley, many of them on foot, without equipment or provisions for the long journey to the Missouri river, spreading the most extravagant stories of disaster and ruin in the region they were leaving.

Some of the immigrants they encountered and turned back by their alarming tales were almost in sight of Denver. These, added to the original party, soon made a panic-stricken throng headed to the east, which increased in size like a rolling snow-ball. Every man who was turned back added to the apparent weight of evidence, and by that power which crowds have to create a feeling of excited apprehension, a fast-increasing number was made to share in the panic, and join the flight toward the Missouri. So, back they went down the valley like a drove of stampeded cattle, with as poor an understanding of the real cause for alarm, as they had of the country from which they were fleeing, or of the business they had expected to do in it.

The panic-breeders declared that utter lawlessness was in command at Cherry creek, and that neither life nor property was safe there for an hour at a time; that many of the pioneers accused of having aided in "deceiving the people" as to the character of the country and that of the gold diggings, had been hung by the infuriated mob; and that Auraria had been burned by the enraged immigrants who had been misled into going there.

With the facility that bad news always makes its way over long distances, these evil tidings spread over the plains along all the routes of travel. It was estimated that one hundred and fifty thousand persons left the Missouri river for the Pike's Peak region in the spring and summer of 1859. Of these, not less than fifty thousand were turned back by the senseless panic that prevailed.

The men who started it found their reward in free transportation and free provisions for the backward journey, and their victims probably felt grateful to them, beside. The return began far up the Platte, and many whose wagons were loaded with merchandise for sale in the mines, and which represented the owners' fortunes, or with property for their own use, began throwing away the goods rather than tax their weary oxen to drag back the loads five hundred or six hundred miles to the river. The trail was strewn with stuff of every description for hundreds of miles, and no one knew the money loss represented by all this abandoned property lining the wayside. An aggregate of probably one hundred thousand people pushed on to the mountains that year, but far less than half of them remained. Some stayed but a few weeks, while many others held out until autumn, and then went home for good before winter set in.

A few men were vehemently execrated by those who inaugurated the panic and those who were persuaded to share it. William N. Byers and D. C. Oakes were especially the objects of this unfriendly feeling.

Major Oakes, the leader of the party that arrived here October 10, 1858, had returned east late that autumn to remain through the winter. While he was here he had, of course, learned from "the Russell boys" all particulars of the Russell company's operations through the summer, and of W. G. Russell's intention to return with a large company in the following spring. When Oakes reached his home in Mills county, Iowa, he published all he had learned that season of what had been done here—and perhaps a little more—in the form of a pamphlet under the title "Pike's Peak Guide and Journal." Beside the embellished accounts of gold discoveries, it contained such other information about the western country as was then at hand. Though it was printed in the little town of Pacific City, it was widely sold.

At that time there were many such publications circulated in the east; most of them written by men who were never west of the Missouri river, but this one was issued by a man who had been on the ground. There was a great demand for such books, and they were partly instrumental in causing a large emigration to set out for the mountains in the spring of 1859, as soon as the grass began to start, and even before. Oakes returned to Denver early that spring in time to hear some exceedingly frank criticisms of his book.

Mr. Byers reached Denver in April of that year with his newspaper plant. Early in the preceding winter he, too, had published a "Guide to Pike's Peak," which had been extensively sold to the emigrants. It was a compilation of current reports, instructions as to routes, localities and the like, and contained much needed information. The day before its author reached Denver he encountered the men who had left here on the 16th, and who, when they ascertained his identity, threatened and denounced him for having made statements in his "Guide" that were not borne out by experience, and for raising hopes and expectations that failed of fulfillment at Cherry creek; misfortunes for which he was in no way responsible.

But the burden of censure was put upon Oakes by these inconsiderate insurgents, because he had been first to represent "Pike's Peak" as a mining region. He was held in the greatest disfavor, and new expletives were invented for especial application to him and appropriate to the assumed enormities of his offense. General William Larimer and Henry Allen also came in for a liberal share of the blame.

Along the trails near Denver effigies of Oakes were pretended to have been buried in several places at the wayside. At one alleged "grave" a buffalo skull bearing these lines was planted:

> "Here lies the lies the bones of Major Oakes,
> The author of this God-damned hoax."

At another "grave" the following more specific statement of Major Oakes' alleged fate appeared:

> "Here lies the bones of D. C. Oakes,
> Killed for aiding the Pike's Peak hoax."

The stampeders when they left here vowed they would kill both Oakes and Byers if they could lay hands on them, but the gentlemen escaped destruction and became most useful citizens of Denver. Hostility toward them was cultivated all along the retreating line, by those who had exhibited as little common sense in their way of going back as they had in coming out. On the basis of unproved statements in countless rumors and many "Guides," their unbounded credulity had led them to put off pell-mell for the mountains to get into the front rank of the gold-seekers. Their accounts of the state of things here were ten-fold more exaggerated than any of the statements made by the guide-books they so bitterly condemned, apparently trying to balance one lot of mistaken representations by a larger installment of extravagant misrepresentations. They were successful in their undertaking even if they were failures in everything else they set out to do in the western gold country.

In these early days the South Platte river received much attention from the miners, if it be proper to call such a crowd of embryos, generally, by that name. It never proved itself worthy the labor and anxious hopes bestowed upon it, and never gave much in return for them. Many men conceived its bed to be, from the topographical necessities of the situation, a great depository of placer gold, and months of hard and comparatively fruitless toil was required to cure them of their error. Several of its small tributaries were far more generous, each giving up more of the yellow dust than the greater stream yielded from the beginning to the end of the placer mining in all the diggings around here. In its time it must have received from the mountains a prodigious amount of gold, and likewise in its time it must have scattered it far and wide for many miles down its broad valley, for it once was a mighty river with Capitol Hill as its eastward bank, while its waters lapped the base of the foothills on the west. But that was some time before the Leavenworth men jumped the town-site of "St. Charles," and re-laid part of the foundations of Denver.

The winter of 1858-59 had been a mild one and considerable prospecting had been done, and a few discoveries were made. A party that had settled itself on Boulder creek in October had been joined by several others later in the year. These men kept at their search. In January, James Aikins, I. S. Bull, Charles Clouser, William Huey, W. W. Jones, and David Wooley started to explore a canon near their camp, and after going about twelve miles found, on the 15th of that month, some gold deposits which later in the year were developed into important mines. From this circumstance they named the canon stream Gold run, and the place of their discovery Gold Hill. About the close of January B. F. Langley came upon some placer or bar prospects in a gulch on South Boulder creek in which there was a lot of fallen timber; and by that token the place was afterward known as the Deadwood Diggings. Langley took out some gold from his bar, but, like the Gold run discovery, the place did not open up at its best until the following summer when the country was crowded with people. A considerable company of men worked in Deadwood through the spring months making fair wages, but all the while it was evident that it was only a matter of a few months more before the Deadwood placers would be cleaned out.

Boulder creek, as its name suggests, was so called from the quantities of boulders of all sizes with which its bed was filled. This creek had received much careful attention from the prospectors up to this time, because it looked as if there ought to have been gold in it almost anywhere.

A few weeks after Langley's Deadwood discovery James D. Scott found a gold bearing quartz vein near Gold Hill, and named it after himself. The decomposed material yielded some good values in sluicing, but there was not enough of it to justify any enthusiasm at that stage of the proceedings.

The foregoing covers about all that had been accomplished on the Boulder up to the first of May, the rich and locally celebrated Horsfal discovery by William R. Bloro, David Horsfal, and M. L. McCaslin not having happened until the 13th of June. In that and the next season the Horsfal lode yielded about ten thousand dollars, and in 1861-62, the Gold Hill Mining Company, by improved methods, took from it upward of three hundred thousand dollars' worth of gold. It was out of these discoveries that the flourishing town of Boulder eventually grew.

In other directions even less had been done by the close of April, toward justifying the variegated rumors that had gone forth to tell of the riches of the Pike's Peak region, and which had been the inspiration for the army of fortune-seekers marching across the plains, with its advance columns already at the mouth of Cherry creek vainly and indignantly demanding to be directed to the gold mines without delay. Early in the spring, several men from Denver and Auraria found gold in Ralston creek. The place for a short time yielded in encouraging quantities, and then passed away from the possibility of possessing any permanent value. The gold was in the form of what may be described as flattened shot, or a kind of scale. From this it was correctly inferred that it had come from some distance up in the surrounding mountains, and had been flattened by tumbling around in the creek among the loose, smaller bowlders, when the stream became a torrent, as it frequently did. At Arapahoe—to which we shall again refer—a short distance east of where Golden is now built, some emaciated diggings had been opened and were being worked by a few men who were having a hard time to keep even with the cost of their daily supplies from the results of their labors. Several parties were trying to squeeze something more out of Dry creek with most indifferent success, and hundreds of men were in the mountains and along the streams laboriously hunting for that which they had not yet found.

This was the situation when the host of 1859 began to tramp into Denver by platoons and columns, in extravagant expectation of going to work next morning to begin piling up the fortunes they had come here to take from mother earth. It was a sorry feast of scant loaves and little fishes that Denver had to offer the fiercely hungry multitude that was sweeping down upon her. About the best that can be said of what had been done up to this time, is that it fully confirmed beliefs that great deposits of gold existed somewhere in the region round about.

The worst of the difficulties had been and still were the inexperience, the ignorance, of the people who had suddenly, over night, been transformed into alleged gold-miners. Ninety per cent of the men who then were crowding the few streets of the Cherry creek towns, would not have recognized the richest quartz as having value unless it carried gold in particles large enough to be plainly visible to the unaided eye; and even then the problem of extracting it would have been one beyond their powers of solution.

As the reader will have observed, practically all of the operations had been confined to the beds of the streams where, buried under the sand and silt, visible gold, in grains and small, very small, nuggets, had been found. About all the values that had, up to this time, been recovered, were taken from such uncertain places; and of these only a few had proved temporarily profitable to the limited number of men who had found them. But this was the kind of mining the multitude anticipated could immediately be done by everybody, with most lavish gains. It is not an exaggeration to say that the majority of the throng of the spring of 1859 expected to find a good place anywhere they might alight within sight of Pike's Peak, and that their labors would be limited to easy digging and shoveling, and sacking up the product.

So, we need not be surprised by the accounts of the prevailing and profane wrath, the cruel disappointments, the revilings, the self-reproaches that broke out among the thousands of new-comers that spring, when they realized the situation in all its grim aspects; or that the sickening truth should cause droves of these mistaken men to wheel about and forthwith go back the way they came, with bitterness in their hearts, and maledictions for the country on their tongues. It was a harsh awakening from their golden dreams.

But these conditions and circumstances bring out in bolder relief the courage and faith of those who did not turn on their heels and leave in hostile anger, and the fortitude and patience of others who had remained steadfast and hopeful from the days in which Denver and Auraria had been founded. Not all the heroes are developed in the din and horrors of battle, nor are all the great captains in the undertakings of men found in the armies for war. Peace hath her victories, but rarely a greater one than that which came to the pioneers of Denver, when needs were great and hopes had been long deferred. There were causes in plenty for the municipal despondency which, about this time, afflicted the rival settlements at Cherry creek, and should have brought to each a feeling of forbearance and sympathy for the other, as both were being dragged toward the valley of humiliation.

Blake street eastward of Fifteenth, spring of 1859.
(One of the Richardson sketches.)

Among those who were carefully searching the mountain streams and gulches for the precious metal, were a few men who had learned their business in other regions. With the great majority of the prospectors the work was a hap-hazard undertaking, made so to a great degree by their ignorance of placer or any other kind of mining; but to the self-trained men from distant fields who understood what they were doing, or trying to do, the task was less laborious, and far more likely to be rewarded by good results if gold really existed in profitable quantities in the eastern ranges of the Rocky Mountains. They were looking for the gold-bearing veins or mother lodes whence came the gold that had been found in the bars and creek-beds, and knew that until they were found the problem would remain unsolved and the future of the country continue in doubt.

By a "vein," as a geological or mining term in general, is understood an aggregation of mineral matter of indefinite length and depth, and of comparatively slight thickness, standing at angles to the line of the horizon, varying in all degrees up to a right or perpendicular angle, in the upheaved masses of the mountains, and differing in character from, and posterior in formation to, the rocks which enclose it.

Gold might be found within six inches of utterly barren sand and silt, or the barren spot might be worked in vain while the metal lay within a half foot of the disappointed miner.

All was different in the mountain prospecting. If the lodes were there, the experienced miners knew where and how to look for them, and with some approach to certainty. But in placer work he was but little better circumstanced than the novice. As finding and following the veins is the true mining, so would finding the veins in the mountain districts be the true discoveries of gold in this region—finding it at home, in its natural, original abiding place where it had remained through all the ages since the earth was young.

So, matters were going along in the fashion we have herein outlined, through that spring of 1859, many hunting and few finding the coveted metal, until May set in.

Larimer street eastward from Cherry creek, spring of 1859.
(One of the Richardson sketches.)

Therefore, finding gold in the bars, and in the beds of the streams, was not a true gold discovery; that had to be made in the mountains by locating the veins from which the vagrant metal of the streams had originated, and whence it was washed down by torrential rains, along with the meager soil, and the detritus of the decomposing veins and rocks, from the slopes of the gulches.

In placer mining everything was worse than uncertain. Workings in a bar yielding fair returns one day would be exhausted at a moment's notice the next morning. There was nothing to guide the prospector in the streams; no suggestions, no indications, for the gold was deposited here and there, as it came down from the mountains, by the whims and accidents of the eddies and currents. All the prospector could do was to laboriously search for it, and even that was often nullified by the caprices of the merest chance, unless everything and every place were carefully dug over and tested.

There was, and still is, a great deal of mica, or silica, scale in the Clear creek districts, as elsewhere, and it is related that a German from Pennsylvania, not knowing it to be "fool's gold," carefully washed out and secreted a large quantity of it, saying not a word to any one of the great bonanza he had uncovered, or of what he was doing. Upon learning that it was not gold, he quit the country in disgust, going back to his Pennsylvania home without delay. But there was something else beside "fool's gold" to be revealed in the mountains and gulches over there.

Under all these discouraging conditions the future of the "cities" of Auraria and Denver appeared almost as blue as the skies that bent over them. Their populations had received a sudden and tremendous relative increase, but it was mostly a turbulent crowd of men, swearing at the country, at their luck, at themselves for coming here; and concluding by calling for eternal destruction to fall upon them if they continued to be foolish enough to remain in such a region.

In the first days of May it became known that George A. Jackson, the experienced miner who, as we have stated, was one of the pioneer prospectors in this part of the country late in the autumn of 1858, and who had remained steadfastly at his work, had disclosed to a party of men, most of whom were from Chicago, a discovery he had made alone in the previous January, and which he had until this time kept to himself. The place was on one of the small tributaries of Clear creek, which Jackson had prospected in the previous winter until he made the discovery, when he covered up all evidences of his work, and waited for spring to open the way for its further development. The tributary was soon named Chicago creek, and the place Chicago Bar, or "Jackson's Diggings;" and Jackson's Diggings immediately revealed great riches.

In the meantime, a party headed by John H. Gregory, a Georgian, who had worked in the gold-fields of that State, made another mountain discovery, on May 6th, not far distant from that of Jackson, but on the North Fork of Clear creek; a high mountain ridge lying between them. It proved to be the richest lode ever found in Colorado, and one of the richest ever known in the world.

No wild-fire of the plains that figured in any of the old stories of prairie conflagrations under the impelling influence of sweeping gales, could have spread faster than did the news of these discoveries, after they had been disclosed. Denver and Auraria were electrified, and depression gave way to unbounded enthusiasm at Cherry creek.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Details of Discoveries by Gregory and Jackson—Gregory's History and that of His Discovery—George A. Jackson—Particulars of His Discovery—Rough Conditions of Pioneer Mining in the Mountains—Jackson's Subsequent Career and Death—No Memorial to Either Discoverer.

After all the disappointing waiting; all the running to and fro—the seemingly wasted efforts that justified the discontent of those who had imagined gold was to be gathered up like pebbles; after its fitful, tantalizing revelations here and there; the lifting up of hopes only to cast them down again; it was found at last, in measures which, if they did not equal the anticipations of the more ignorantly sanguine few, brought joy to the hearts of those who had patiently nursed their faith through the tedious months that had passed, and also set the eager mob wild with enthusiasm.

Tidings of Gregory's discoveries and of those of Jackson made their way along the routes of travel from the east, and in spite of the confusion caused by the stampeders, arrested part of the backward flow and the inclination to join it, to a considerable extent. Though these reports were denounced as new lies by many of those who were then leaving the country, and who knew nothing for or against them, they influenced others who were hesitating between going ahead and turning back, to keep on as they had started. The discoveries came at a most opportune moment, for the dismayed stampeders, had not been the only ones disturbed by the practically resultless efforts of the previous twelve months.

In a "History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valley," published in 1880, Gregory is described as "a lazy fellow from Gordon county, Georgia." The chances are that he was not a lazy fellow, because the occupation he engaged in here did not harmonize with anything but hard labor. Beyond the fact, as stated above, that he was from Gordon county, Georgia, little is known about him. The full story of his life and experiences would make a romance.

He left his Georgia home in 1858, intending to go to the then newly-discovered gold-diggings on the Fraser river of the Pacific slope, in what is now British Columbia, and some four thousand miles distant from his starting point. He made his way westward slowly, and in the summer was at Leavenworth, Kansas. After remaining there a short time he engaged as a teamster to drive a government team from Fort Leavenworth across the plains to Fort Laramie. In that capacity he reached Fort Laramie in the autumn of 1858 where he remained until the close of that year. He told Horace Greeley that he was "detained" there and prevented by circumstances from carrying out his expectation of proceeding from Laramie to his Fraser river destination.

His poverty was the cause of his detention at Laramie. He was unable to find opportunity to continue his westward journey in some such capacity as that which had taken him across the plains, and likewise unable to proceed on his own account. So he remained at Laramie doing such odd bits of work that he could find.

While thus employed he heard the rumors of gold discoveries at Pike's Peak, and determined to come hither. Some accounts have associated him with the Russell party from Georgia, but the reader will presently have learned that up to the spring of 1859 he had no connection with any other prospectors then in the Denver region. He related that he left Fort Laramie immediately after New Year's day, 1859, for, as he expressed it, "a prospecting tour on the east slope of the Rocky Mountains." That date would seem not to have given him time enough to travel the distances he covered, and to do prospecting on the way after getting well into Colorado, nor does the statement he made to Horace Greeley, appearing in a succeeding chapter, account for all his movements.

That winter, as we have previously remarked, was one of extreme mildness, except in the mountain districts, and very favorable to out-door operations. Gregory appears to have set out alone, for he never mentioned having had any associates at that time, nor was anyone known or heard of who claimed to have been with him. Following the story as he often told it, he began prospecting the creeks and gulches after passing the Cache-a-la-Poudre. In February he found himself up in the mountains, on Clear creek, and at that time discovered some gold on the North Fork of that creek about seven miles above its junction with the other fork and on the site of the present town of Black Hawk. This prospect not being satisfactory, he left the creek and started up a gulch which opened there. Where a little ravine came into the gulch he again began prospecting and again found some gold. He was almost upon the lode the discovery of which a few months later, made him fame and fortune, for the small ravine is situated just a little distance southeast of the main lode's outcropping. He found small quantities of gold in other places in that ravine, but a violent snowstorm setting in, during which he came near perishing, he was forced to abandon his search and leave his discovery to be taken up later. He was about out of provisions, and about out of means of getting a fresh supply.

Gregory went back down Clear creek to the "town" of Arapahoe which, as elsewhere mentioned, had been projected by S. S. Curtis about Christmas time in 1858, a short distance east of the site of the later-founded town of Golden. At Arapahoe he became acquainted with Mr. David K. Wall, now and for so many years an honored citizen of Denver, to whom he related the circumstances of his experience on Clear creek, and also his need for assistance in making further search.

Wall had been a California miner and ranchman from 1850 to the fall of 1854, and had come to Colorado very early in the spring of 1859 from South Bend, Indiana, with a small party from that town which went into camp at Arapahoe. In Wall's party were two brothers named Defrees, and another man named William Ziegler. Associated with these were William Fouts, from Missouri, and another, named Kendall, from Iowa. Gregory had been at Arapahoe several weeks, and in the meantime these and many other new people had arrived there from the east and had stopped to "look around." Mr. Wall, becoming interested in Gregory's account, and being impressed with the man's despondent earnestness, agreed to supply him with provisions for a new expedition to the headwaters of Clear creek. Gregory then related his Clear creek experiences to the Defrees brothers, Ziegler, Fouts, and Kendall, and they at once agreed to join him in a second expedition to the gulch. Of his encounter with Gregory at Arapahoe, which occurred soon after the arrival of the party from South Bend, Mr. Wall says:

"John Gregory heard of my being an old Californian, and came to see me. In our conversation he told me that he had been in the mountains and had found light prospects in which was some fine gold, in the little creek at the foot of what is now known as Black Hawk mountain, but not in sufficient quantity to induce him to think that it would pay for the toil of looking further. From his report I was induced to believe that it would be expedient and perhaps pay to have him return and make a new search, but he was rather despondent and refused to go, giving as the most important reason that he was out of provisions and that he had been living on venison for ten days. I told him that my commissary was at a low ebb and more precious than gold, but in this case I would supply his needs in that respect if he would return and take the South Bend boys with him and make a new search, which he finally concluded to do; more, perhaps, for the opportunity of filling his stomach than faith. The result of it was that one of the best, if not the best, gold leads that was ever discovered was done by the western eloquence that I gave him, and resulted in the early development of the mines of our great State. It was found by prospecting with a pan, and that from 50 cents to $5 to the pan could be washed out of the decomposed quartz, clay and gravel, right from the top."

The party set out on foot from Arapahoe about the first of May, going up Clear creek and up its north fork, without serious difficulty, though they encountered some bedded snow-drifts which still lay in sheltered places and through which they had to flounder, until they reached the scene of Gregory's winter operations. They arrived there on the 6th of May, and after making camp, at once began looking for gold. After a little preliminary prospecting in the larger gulch, they went up the smaller one in which Gregory soon settled upon a spot where he thought it would be well to dig and look for float gold. While the others dug he stood looking on and giving unimportant directions. A fair prospect was soon obtained and the diggers were encouraged to go on with their excavating.

Finally Gregory said to Wilkes Defrees: "Bring your shovel and come with me." They went about three hundred feet farther up the side of the gulch where Gregory, indicating a point on the ground, said: "Here's a good-looking spot; stick your shovel in there, Wilk." Defrees did so, overturning a few shovelfuls of earth. "Give me some in the pan," said Gregory again, and Defrees filled the pan half full of dirt, which his companion proceeded to wash at a little stream near by, that flowed through the gulch. The product of that half-pan of dirt was four dollars' worth of gold. The pan was filled the next time, its contents carefully washed, and the result was equally rich.

They then extended their investigations which still further revealed the richness of their discovery, and convinced them that they need search no longer. Gregory had found gold in its ancient home. The vein was definitely located and claims immediately staked off, with two for the discoverer.

Poor Gregory's good fortune unnerved him and he behaved like a half-crazy man. Through the night he could not sleep, passing the tedious hours in muttering to himself of what he would do for his family with the great wealth he believed had come to him. The discovery was made on what became claim No. 5 on the Gregory Lode, and after washing out forty more pans of dirt which yielded forty dollars, the men started back to Arapahoe to notify some of their chosen acquaintances, and to make preparations to duly organize a mining district and to immediately work their claims; in the doing of which they lost no time so far as they could control events.

The Gregory party thus took the precaution, before making their discovery public, to admit their friends on what would now be called "the ground floor;" and to organize their district with rules and regulations by which all future operations should be governed. Claims were defined to be fifty by one hundred feet, and there were just enough men in the Gregory party to own the whole lode, divided that way. Gregory, and Dr. Joseph Casto who was elected and acted as Secretary, pencilled a few rules for the district, and for the time being the thing was done. Dr. Casto was an Iowa man and one of the favored, "ground-floor," friends.

Primitive conditions in Clear creek canon.

A heavy snow-storm intervened and prevented active operations on the discovery lode for ten days. Gregory started a sluice on the morning of May 16th, and by the evening of the 23d, employing five men, had taken out nine hundred and seventy-two dollars' worth of gold. His two claims were Numbers Five and Six. After working them about two weeks, he sold them to two other miners, Henderson and Gridley, for twenty-one thousand dollars. The deal was altogether a credit one, as the purchasers were to pay over the money at the rate of five hundred dollars a week, as they took the metal from the earth. They appear not to have had any capital of their own, as Gregory had to loan them two hundred dollars with which to commence mining operations.

Their first day's labor, with one sluice, was rewarded with six hundred and seven dollars. During that summer they took out seventeen thousand dollars, beside accumulating a large pile of quartz, sluice headings and tailings, which they afterward sold for seven thousand dollars, making the total yield to them from the two claims for that summer's work, twenty-four thousand dollars. We will refer elsewhere to the subsequent history and operation of these claims.

Gregory stated in 1859, after he found his lode, that he "prospected almost every valley from the Poudre to Pike's Peak;" yet there are no details, either from himself or others, of his operations to the southward of Clear creek. That is, if he did so, nothing is known of when and where he went or of what he accomplished or failed to accomplish. He certainly did not have time to work down toward Pike's Peak.

In June Gregory was engaged in prospecting for other parties, and claimed he was receiving "about two hundred dollars a day" for his services. He is credited by the old Colorado Gazetteer with having located the celebrated Bates lode while thus employed by Bates and Tascher; but there is no more definite record that he did so. When he sold his discovery claims he believed he could easily find others for himself, just as good. In this he appears to have been disappointed, as there is no record that he again figured, on his own account, among the fortunate discoverers in that region which was so quickly overrun by eager men; nor was he again so conspicuous in the swift-moving events of those times.

Gregory left Denver on September 7, 1859, for his old home in Georgia, taking with him $25,000 in gold; having previously sent his wife $5,000.

In the spring of 1860 he came back with a party, and brought a small quartz mill which he and an associate named Reese erected on North Clear creek. It was they who bought Henderson and Gridley's quartz and tailings for seven thousand dollars. Gregory ran his quartz mill several weeks at a profit of two hundred dollars a day, and then sold it for six times its cost. Here he disappears from view and definite chronicle. How long he hung on to his fortune, or how soon he allowed it to get away from him, is unknown. Of him Fossett says "he was an inveterate gambler and finally brought up in Montana, where he died poor, sometime prior to 1865." Another story, one that was current here in Denver a couple of years after his final departure from the Clear creek country, was, that in the winter of 1861-62 he disappeared from a hotel in a town somewhere in Illinois, and was not seen or heard of again by any who knew him.

Fossett's statement would seem the more probable, but whichever is correct, or whatever was his fate, the obscurity only emphasizes the lack of knowledge concerning the personal history of the discoverer of the rich and famous Gregory Lode, which has yielded gold to the value of many millions of dollars.

The circumstances of this great discovery prompted Hollister to say:

> "The discovery of the lode called after himself, by John H. Gregory, would seem to rank among those great events whereby the race at large have profited. That in a section of broken mountains, extending the whole length and one-third the width of the United States, a man en route for a distant country, should have been diverted in the midst of his journey, two hundred miles to the south, should have proceeded directly to the spot—a ravine two or three miles in length—and in it and on its bordering hills have struck the heart of as rich and extensive gold, silver and copper mines as are known in the world, is indeed marvellous."

The circumstances of Jackson's discovery were, in some respects, similar to those attending Gregory's. Both men had been prospecting in this region some time before success rewarded their labors, though, as we have narrated, Jackson had been at it longer than Gregory. Both men persisted in their work in the inclement season, and each made what might be called a preliminary discovery in the mountains in the middle of the winter, and each was compelled to leave his discovery unperfected and await the coming of spring to make further and more conclusive developments. Furthermore, each had his headquarters camp in the same locality, from which, in the spring of 1859, the two companies went forth, each under command of one of the discoverers, to begin actual gold mining in the Pike's Peak country.

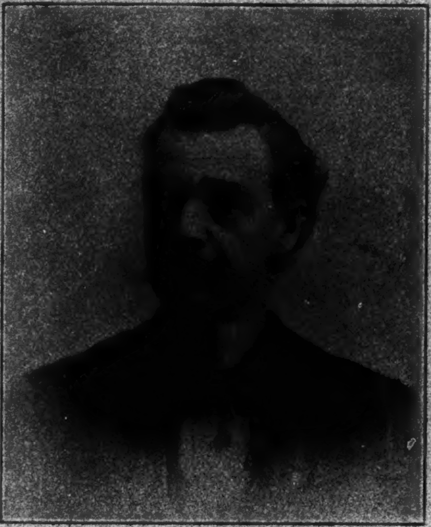
Of Jackson's previous career we have already given some account. He was not a successful miner in California, for the same reason that kept hundreds of men who came to this region in 1859, from becoming successful miners here. He found all the available working places occupied by men who had preceded him, and in the lottery of new locations, chance did not favor him with a paying claim. His California experience, which served him well here, was acquired as an employee of more fortunate miners there. Jackson was a more methodical man than the usual run of his contemporaries here, and kept a diary of his operations in that winter of 1858-59, which is now of greater value and importance than the average diary can ever hope to be. Because of this thoughtfulness on his part, the circumstantial details of his midwinter journey up Clear creek, and of his discovery on one of that stream's little tributaries, may be definitely related. Five years ago the State Historical and Natural History Society procured an authenticated copy of Jackson's diary—a document of great historical value, from which we copy several of the discoverer's entries covering the period of his memorable journey into the mountains.

As stated heretofore, Jackson and his associates, Golden and Sanders, had established their winter camp on the site of the present town of Golden late in the autumn of 1858, intending to prospect from it as circumstances and the weather permitted, and which they did. As December drew to its close they decided that the more distant mountain districts should be the next objectives of their attentions, and they arranged to set out on an expedition to them.

At this point in the narrative Sanders drops out, and is replaced by an individual named or called "Black Hawk," whose identity is not so clearly established as we would prefer to have it. Mr. R. C. Bonney, in an interesting article published in the Denver Times, September 9, 1808, refers to him as "the Indian Chief;" while General Frank Hall, in his "History of Colorado," mentions him as "a comrade who bore the aboriginal sobriquet of Black Hawk." Whether "Black Hawk" were Sanders under a frontier nick-name is not known. Within a few months after these events a white man known only as "Black Hawk" appeared in Denver and was subsequently hanged near the city for complicity in the work of a great organization of horse-thieves operating throughout the central west, and of whose taking-off we will later give some particulars. Several of our pioneers believe it more than probable that this "Black Hawk" was the man who went with Jackson and Golden when they left their headquarters camp for the mountains in the Clear creek region. The mining town of Black Hawk did not derive its name from the "Black Hawk" of Jackson's party, but was so named by the Lee brothers, miners in 1859, (who came from Rock Island, Illinois,) in memory of the noted chieftain of the Sac and Fox tribes of Illinois Indians.

Having made what would seem to have been rather scant preparations for such an undertaking, Jackson, Golden and "Black Hawk" started on their journey near the close of December. They entered the mountains through Mt. Vernon canon and passed into what later became known as Bergen Park. Here, on the second day of their journey, they came upon a great herd of elk which they estimated to include six hundred animals. They camped there, near Bear creek, and Golden and "Black Hawk," excited by the appearance of so much game, and considering hunting elk to be a more attractive pursuit than hunting gold, now concluded to abandon the original purpose of their expedition. They had followed the elk up to the elevation which later was named Jackson's Hill, where they overlooked the frozen reaches of Clear creek, the animals having taken off in another direction.

Jackson determined to do what he had set out to do, and the next day, January 1, 1859, started off alone, leaving his comrades to hunt the elk, and all agreeing to meet at their headquarters camp a week later. Jackson made his way down to the Clear creek level with great difficulty, the snow being from two to three feet deep most of the way, which is rough enough to make hard traveling in midsummer. Reaching the creek he went upon the frozen surface to Grass valley, where, as he afterward related these particulars, he was startled by seeing what seemed to be smoke ascending from a gulch which opened upon Clear creek. Fearing that he was on the point of stumbling into a camp of Ute Indians who would most likely bring his career to a sudden end, Jackson slowly climbed the steep hill that lay between him and the apparent source of the supposed smoke. The snow was as deep there as it was on his path descending to Clear creek, but he waded through it, and when he reached the top cautiously drew near to the other side, where he discovered the smoke-like mist which had caused him uneasiness, to be vapor coming from hot springs down below—the mineral springs of Idaho Springs. While it is probable that hunters and trappers of the fur-trading days had been there before him, Jackson was in one sense their discoverer.



George A. Jackson.
(Photographed about 1880.)

He went ahead, descending the mountain, which we now know as Soda Hill, and making camp at the springs. Here were assembled large flocks of mountain sheep, one of which he immediately added to his camp supplies. He remained there the ensuing four days and prospected the vicinity, but found nothing to encourage him to stay. On the morning of the 5th he moved his camp to what later became known as Chicago creek, on the bank of which he established himself, and where he soon thought he saw favorable prospects for finding gold. There, on January 7th, on the left bank of that creek, about three hundred feet above the line of its mouth, he made his noted and momentous discovery. The extracts from his diary, which follow here, tell in his own concise, forceful language, of these happenings after his separation from Golden and Black Hawk on the morning of the 1st of January.

"January 1, 1859—Clear day; my supply of 'states grub' short—two pounds bread, half pound coffee, half pound salt, plenty of meat for myself and dogs. So here goes for head of creek. Told Tom [Golden] I would be back in a week to our old camp above Table mountain. Off; good traveling most of the way; killed mountain lion to-day and camped at mineral springs near mouth of small creek coming in from the south. Snow all gone around the springs. Killed fat sheep and camped under cottonwood trees. One thousand sheep in sight, to-night; no scarcity of meat in future for myself and dogs."

The first part of this entry appears to have been made when he was about to leave camp in the morning, and the concluding portion after he had gone into camp in the evening. He had two dogs with him for company, and the subsequent misfortune of one of them in a fight with a wild animal caused the explorer a couple of days' delay in getting back to his headquarters camp on the site of Golden, which was the one meant by the reference to "our old camp above Table mountain."

"January 2—'Drum' and 'Kit' woke me by low growls at daylight; sheep all gone; mountain lion within twenty steps; pulled gun from under blanket and shot too quick; broke his shoulder, but followed up and killed him. Clear, high wind, and very cold. In camp all day; built bough house, and ate fat sheep all day; bread all gone; plenty fat meat; 'no wantum bread.'"

The reader may form an estimate of the intrepid character of the man by the foregoing entries. Starting with an inadequate supply of provisions, alone excepting for the companionship of his dogs, the "sheep all gone," mountain lions hanging around his camp, his situation does not seem to have been an inviting one there in the mountains in midwinter, a high wind blowing, and the weather "very cold."

"January 3—Still clear and cold. Sheep came down again; are very tame; walk up to within one hundred yards of camp and stand and stamp at me and the dogs; mountain lion killed one within 300 yards of camp to-day, and scattered the whole band again; went up the main creek to another tributary coming in from the south, a little larger than this one."

He had made camp on the day of his arrival, on Soda creek, and the other tributary of "the main creek" to which he here refers, was Chicago creek, on which four days later he first found gold.

"January 4—Pleasant day; made a long tramp to-day; followed up the main fork [Clear Creek] five miles; here the main creek forks; each one about the same width; followed up the north fork about three miles; canons and plenty of snow; got back to camp after dark; mountain lion stole all my meat to-day in camp; no supply to-night; d—m him."

Jackson's philosophical indifference for things he could not get did not cover theft of what he had. His bread supply having given out the day after his arrival at Soda creek, he concluded that he did not want any bread; but to have a mountain lion steal all his meat was quite a different matter. He and his dogs went to sleep cold and hungry that night but it does not appear to have in the least impaired his cheerfulness. His "long tramp" that day had taken him up to the mouth of Fall river, and it was up that stream he went three miles farther through "canons and plenty of snow," the round trip covering about sixteen miles, and ending in a supperless night in a "bough-house."

"January 5—Up before day; killed a fat sheep and wounded a mountain lion before sunrise; ate ribs for breakfast; drank last of my coffee; after breakfast moved up half mile to next creek on south side; made new camp under big fir tree; good gravel here; looks like it carries gold; wind has blown snow off the rim, but gravel is hard frozen; panned out two cups; no gold in either."

If early to bed and early to rise did not make Jackson healthy, wealthy and wise, he appears to have been benefited, at least. The early rising and the friendliness of the mountain sheep restocked his ravaged larder, and in moving his camp, his judgment, or chance, or fate, or the fortune which is alleged to sometimes favor the brave, led him to within a few feet of a rich deposit of gold.

"January 6—Pleasant day; built big fire on rim-rock to thaw the gravel; kept it up all day; carcajou [glutton] came into the camp while I was at fire; dogs killed him after I broke his back with belt-axe; h—l of a fight."

The faith and courage of this lone man there in that mountain wilderness, in the rigors of mid-winter, slowly thawing the deep-frozen gravel in search of that which if found, would surely bring a hundred fold more benefits to others than to himself, must command the admiration of every considerate reader who follows this narrative. However, he found his reward next day.

"January 7—Clear day; removed fire embers and dug into rim on bedrock, panned out eight 'treaty cups' of dirt and found nothing but fine colors; ninth cup I got one nugget of coarse gold; feel good to-night; dogs don't. 'Drum' is lame all over; sewed up gash in his leg to-night; carcajou no good for dog."

Beyond all question this was the first true discovery of gold in these Colorado mountains, from a historical point of view. Of its date and of the attendant circumstances there can be no doubt. Jackson's account is clear in details and conclusive in statements. His mountain discovery was the first in this region from which definite mining developments were made, and out of which permanent mining operations grew, and which have been continuous to this day.

"January 8—Pleasant day. Well, Tom, old boy, I've got the diggings at last, but can't be back in a week; dogs can't travel; d—m a carcajou. Dug and panned to-day until my belt-knife was worn out, so I will have to quit, or use my skinning knife. I have about a half-ounce of gold, so will quit and try and get back in the spring."

Jackson did not set out to do anything more than locate gold at or near some place where nature had brought it to the surface and where it had remained sealed in the original vein formations. It is true that this gold he took from the thawed-out gravel had come from disintegrated vein-matter and had been deposited there by the action of the elements, just as the vagrant metal had been deposited in the bed of Cherry creek, miles from its mountain home, and that the gold in that bed of frozen gravel was "placer gold;" yet Jackson's California experience and his well-trained judgment told him what its presence there in that mountainous district meant. This is clearly indicated by the positive confidence with which he declares "I've got the diggings at last," and is further confirmed by the developments which immediately followed active work right around his gravel bed, and which has not ceased from that time to this. He had no mining tools with him—neither pick, nor shovel, nor pan. He used his belt-knife instead of pick and shovel, and the "treaty cup" that did duty as a pan was an iron drinking-cup holding a little more than a pint, and such as the government furnished the Indians along with other supplies given those troublesome wards of the Nation; hence its name. Jackson continues his account—

"January 9—Filled up the hole with charcoal from the big fire and built a fire over it; marked the big fir tree with belt-axe and knife; cut the top off a small lodge-pole pine on a line from fir tree to hole, 76 steps from big tree in a westerly direction; all fixed now; will be off down the creek to-morrow."

This careful obliteration of evidence of his work, and the marking of trees in a way that would be unmistakable to himself but not significant to a chance visitor to the place, indicate that Jackson appreciated the value and importance of his discovery. There is, furthermore, something in the definite entries in his diary, respecting these matters, that suggests guarding against his discovery being lost should misfortune resulting in death overtake him before he rejoined his associates, at their headquarters camp.

"January 10—Storming like h—l; high wind and cold; in camp all day; 'Drum' can hardly walk around to-day."

"January 11—Cold; not snowing; still in camp doctoring my dog to-day. His leg is swollen until it is as large as my arm above my elbow; carcajou no good."

"January 12—Made a start down creek to-day on ice; traveled about five miles and camped; got balsam and put on 'Drum's' wounds to-night. He is very sore."

Thawing the frozen bed of gravel was a slow bit of work, and collecting the fuel of logs and branches from the down timber was a hard one. Jackson got only nine dollars' worth of gold from the dirt he thawed, and picked out with his knife, and washed in his "treaty cup," but under such conditions and with such tools, it is surprising that he recovered anything. The balsam appears to have put 'Drum' in condition for travel, and Jackson proceeded on his return without further delay. When he reached the headquarters camp where Golden town now stands, after an absence of two weeks, he found that "Black Hawk" and Golden had returned there more than a week before.

Recent view of locality of Jackson's discovery.
(White x in middle distance indicates the place.)

Jackson immediately told Golden of his discovery, and the two agreed to keep the matter to themselves for the present, which they did for a short time. Among those who arrived early that spring at Arapahoe was a party of men called the "Chicago company," because most of its men had come from Chicago. These men, becoming acquainted with Jackson, and learning that he had been a miner in California, and that he had been prospecting in this region since the previous summer, proposed to him to join them as their associate, guide and counsellor on a prospecting expedition into the mountains, and agreeing to furnish him with all provisions, supplies and essentials, from their common stock. Jackson accepted the offer, and the Chicago men began preparations for their expedition, without knowing anything of their new associate's secret. Jackson suggested to Golden that the party be told of the January discovery, but Golden objected, and when Jackson insisted, a quarrel between the two ensued which resulted in their permanent separation, and from which time Golden disappeared as a figure in the enterprise.

The Chicago party with Jackson and a few others who had been added to it, making a total of twenty-three men, started up Clear creek into the mountains on March 7th, Jackson withholding information of his previous discovery until the expedition was fairly under way, and until he had satisfied himself of the character of the men. They had a good outfit which, with the wagons to hold it and the teams to pull them, made a little caravan; and progress into the rough, untracked, mountain wilderness with loaded wagons, was exceedingly hard and slow. The bed of the stream was choked with ice and the gulches still laden with accumulated snow. These pioneers had to literally hew a way for their wagons, and in some places even that could not be done. So they unloaded their wagons, took them apart, carried loads and wagon-parts on their backs over the otherwise impassable places, put their wagons together, reloaded them, and went on, cutting and prying out a way for them until they encountered the next tedious and laborious portage.

In consequence of these hard and trying conditions it was about the middle of April before they reached the creek where Jackson had thawed the gravel and found the gold, and which, from the party name of the company, was named Chicago creek. The exact date of the party's arrival there has not been preserved, but on April 17th, the men formally held a meeting, organized the first mining district in these Colorado mountains, and adopted regulations for it; the documents in possession of the State Historical Society showing these transactions to have occurred on that date.

Jackson's discovery proved to be a rich one. He and his party went to work at once after they had established their camp. Having no lumber, they knocked the box-beds of their wagons apart, and with the boards thus obtained contrived some makeshift sluices which temporarily answered the purpose, and recovered gold in surprising quantities. In the next seven days they took out nearly nineteen hundred dollars' worth.

Jackson came down to Cherry creek, as this locality was then still commonly called, bringing this gold-dust with him. He then took Henry Allen into his confidence, and to him delivered this first installment of dust, directing that it be used for the business-like purpose of buying the supplies of those immigrants who were preparing to leave the country and go back home, after their brief but most outrageously unsatisfactory sojourn. Allen began purchasing supplies and paying for them with virgin dust. These transactions instantly made it apparent that a rich discovery had somewhere been made, and Jackson's association with Allen soon marked him as the responsible man. He was watched and followed wherever he went, and besought to make a clean breast of the affair and tell all he knew, which he soon did.

Gregory had also kept quiet about his discovery for a few days and until he and his friends had made prudent provisions for themselves. Information of both discoveries became generally known about the same time, though some knowledge of Jackson's was in circulation a few days before the news of Gregory's came as a thrilling addition to it. Then followed the headlong stampede for Clear creek, and real estate in Auraria and Denver rose in value by leaps and bounds a hundred per cent at a jump.

The "big fir tree" which Jackson blazed as one of the marks of his discovery location, afterward succumbed to the timber demands of mining, but its stump still remains to mark the place where it stood.

It is stated in some accounts by earlier writers that Jackson after his return to Arapahoe from his discovery expedition, fell in with Gregory who had also recently returned from the Clear creek mountain region; and that just before the Chicago company left Arapahoe, told him of the discovery and invited him to either join the party then, or to come to Chicago creek as soon as he could, and take up a claim; and that Gregory, in later attempting to do this, became confused as to the directions given him by Jackson, and went up the north fork of Clear creek which, by this accident, led him to his own rich and famous discovery.

Inasmuch as Gregory had, at that time, an unperfected discovery of his own and which was in about the same stage of development as Jackson's, though it had not in the preliminary investigations yielded nine dollars' worth of gold, the statement that the discovery of his lode was due to this accidental divergence, does not harmonize with the facts, as related by himself and confirmed by the reminiscences of David K. Wall. Gregory appears to have led his party directly to his gulch, the richness of which was immediately revealed. Furthermore, in the account of his movements leading up to his discovery, which he gave Horace Greeley, and which appears in a subsequent chapter, he did not mention Jackson nor did he intimate that he knew anything about him or what he had done. Gregory's narrative represents his discovery as having been a wholly independent one, and made without knowledge of the operations of Jackson or anyone else, save those who were with him in the expedition which resulted so fortunately on that 6th of May.

Jackson's midwinter privations and hardships, and the laborious toil of his later associates in traversing the comparatively short distance from Arapahoe to the creek on which he had made his discovery, indicate far better than words can tell, the real character of many features of pioneer mining, and may serve to demonstrate the wide difference between the visionary anticipations of the great multitude of ignorant, inexperienced men who came here that spring, and the true character of the work before them if they succeeded in finding any gold. Such work as Jackson and his associates did before the mines on Chicago creek were fairly developed, did not figure in the calculations of a very large majority of those who streamed into this region afterward, with almost every sort of conceptions of what they would have to do, except the true ones.

Although Jackson put in nearly the half of a year in most laborious and persistent prospecting, he did not long engage in mining where he had found what he so long had sought. In a few weeks he sold his discovery claims to the Chicago party, but for what amount is not known, and went back to Golden where, in the meantime, Tom Golden, his former associate, in company with others had located and surveyed that town. Jackson identified himself with the young metropolis and remained there until the spring of 1860, when the discoveries in California Gulch attracted him thither. It may be remarked here that the redevelopment of the riches of California Gulch sixteen years later called into existence the large and prosperous city of Leadville. Jackson remained in that district until the spring of 1861 when he returned to his old home at Glasgow, Missouri. Being in sympathy with the southern cause, he entered the Confederate army as Captain of a company of sharpshooters recruited in the southwest, and served through that great and prolonged struggle, under Generals Jackson, Shelby and Bankhead, attaining the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. But he became popularly known in Colorado as Captain Jackson.

Several years after the war Jackson returned to Colorado and again became interested in mining. Of some additional particulars of his life, and of the circumstances of his death, his son-in-law, Mr. Mark Wm. Atkins, of Ouray, supplied us with the following information:

"He settled in Ouray county in 1888, and built a fine residence about five miles below the city of Ouray, although he had mined in the county before that time and hunted buffalo on the spot where Ridgway now stands. He followed mining, and at the time of his accidental death was a promoter of and an owner in a number of mines. His wife was Miss Belle Hendricks, formerly of Kentucky, but afterward of Bonham, Texas. A daughter was born to them, the only child, who is the writer's wife. Captain Jackson was born at Glasgow, Missouri, July 24, 1832, and died March 13, 1897. The cause of his death was a gun-shot wound inflicted by himself in carelessly drawing a double-barrelled shot gun from the rear of a box-sled while on his way from the Blue Mountains, Utah, to Mancos, Colorado. Mrs. Jackson died at her parents' residence in Bonham, just nine months after Captain Jackson's death, and they are buried side by side in the cemetery near that city."

Of his first coming to the west and of his sojourn in it, Captain Jackson's daughter, Mrs. Mark William Atkins (Nina Jackson), informed us as follows:

"When my father left Missouri he was but sixteen years of age—just a mere lad. He joined a party headed by Kit Carson (who was a cousin), who was on his way to California during the first gold excitement.

My father visited his old home but a few times afterward. He had the gold fever, so to speak, and was only content among the mountains he had learned to love so well. His life from that time on was spent in the west."

Jackson was an honored guest of the city of Denver in 1895, upon the occasion of the first Festival of the Mountains and Plains. At that time, with a party from Denver, he visited the locality of his discovery and pointed out the spot where he thawed the gravel and found gold in that midwinter of 1858-59.

In the autumn of 1898 there was inaugurated a movement at Idaho Springs to mark the spot where Jackson made his discovery, with an appropriate monument that would commemorate the historic event, and incidentally the historic personage identified with it. Title to the bit of real estate necessary to this most praiseworthy purpose was obtained and vested in a trustee, and the beginning made for permanently and unmistakably fixing an enduring record, as to time and place, of this first discovery of gold in the Colorado mountains.

But to the personal memory of either Jackson or Gregory, not even the beginning of provision for monument, statue, or testimonial of any kind to the great services they rendered, has been made. It is true that they did not pick up the first gold found in the Denver region, but they did make, here in these mountains, the first true discoveries of gold, from a correct historical point of view, in what is now Colorado. It is also probable that if they had not made their hard-won, vital discoveries, out of which this great city grew, others would have made them later; but such a presumption does not impair the fact that they did make them, nor cloud their title to all the credit for having done so—a distinction to which they are as justly entitled as Columbus was for that of having found America centuries after the Norsemen had crossed the North Atlantic and landed on its western shores.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Race to the New Diggings—Swarming Miners—Conditions in Mining Camps—Weary and Disappointed Prospectors—Cheap Provisions and Other Supplies—Mining Progress—Miners' Bill-of-Fare—W. Green Russell's Discovery—Attempted Revision of Gregory District Mining Rules—Election of District Officers—Experience of Two Discoverers—Gunnell Lode—Yields of Mountain Mines—First Mining Regulations—General Developments in Clear Creek Region—"Luck" in Mining.

Immediately after these rich discoveries in the mountains became publicly known, there was a pell-mell race made for the headwaters of Clear creek, and Denver and Auraria were well-nigh depopulated. Within a month thirty thousand people were scattered over that region. In they went, headlong and with a "hooray, boys!" each striving to be ahead of the others, and all confident that their fortunes were as good as made. In the immediate vicinity of the discovery claims there was not working room for one in fifty of those who rushed in there, and the great mass of anxious men had to disperse through the gulches, along the streams, and over the ranges roundabout. Many paying claims were speedily located, but hundreds of the great throng never found a trace of gold in all their weary wanderings. The experiences of that summer strikingly illustrated the uncertainties of mining, or of trying to find a place to mine. Some were working claims of astonishing richness; many others were in the depths of despair because of their utter failure to find anything.

On the first of May, 1859, the Clear creek country was a wilderness in practically undisturbed possession of the wild animals of the ranges, and they had viewed with wondering curiosity the two pioneer parties of gold-hunters following the streams to near their sources. It was, also, a debatable and fighting section for the Utes and Arapahoes, but neither had attempted to occupy it long at a time.

The Chicago company had located at the place of Jackson's discovery, about the middle of April, but information concerning it did not reach outsiders until that month had closed. Within ten days after Jackson brought down to Denver the first output of gold and, after much solicitation, had told what was going on at Chicago creek, hundreds of men had reached the locality and many other hundreds were toiling up the rough and rocky way to it. On the 6th of May the Gregory discovery was made. On the 16th the enlarged Gregory company, then numbering seventeen men, began systematic work on their claims, having up to that time, succeeded in keeping news of the rich diggings from becoming public. But on the third day thereafter, came the advance columns, aggregating a hundred or more men almost in a body, of the eager multitude which had finally heard of what had happened up there. Within a month the narrow Gregory Gulch from North Clear creek to the confluence of Eureka, Nevada, and Spring Gulches, was swarming with people, and that confined valley, alone, harbored a population of about five thousand.

In this entire aggregation of humanity there were but twelve women; five were the white wives of miners, and the other seven were Indian squaws living with white men in the capacity of wives. This, however, caused little comment, as social ethics were subordinated to what were considered more practical and important topics. The miners lived in tents, rude cabins hastily piled together, bough houses, in their wagons, or in any other shelter that came handy; all crowded into the gulch as closely as they could be. There was scarcely a table or chair in the camp. Any place and any thing would do for the present in that feverish existence.

One of the most disagreeable features of this rough life in the mining camps was the untidiness, the uncleanliness, that so soon became conspicuous. In numbers the miners equaled a small army, and like an army, the cooking, washing and other camp work was done by men. But unlike an army, there was no system, no rules, no discipline, to enforce comparative cleanliness. The camp work was done hurriedly, carelessly, and in the easier way, with the result of extreme untidiness; if so mild a term can be construed to represent the actual conditions. Men became utterly indifferent to their personal appearance, and altogether such an aggregation of unwholesome aspects as those present in Gregory Gulch in July, 1859, is not often put forward. Fortunately, the pure dry air of the mountains was instrumental in correcting much of the abuses committed by the heedless multitude, which, in any other part of the world, would have brought a pestilence among people circumstanced as they were. But the camps as well as the two towns at Cherry creek, were remarkably free from disease, and the health of the people, considering all the conditions and the careless modes of life practiced, was extraordinarily good; and deaths were, in a proportionate sense, very few.

In the two towns here at the mouth of Cherry creek in June and July, the excitement and bustle kept the citizens awake and busy day and night. An almost unbroken train of wagons and people was rolling in, and after a brief halt to learn directions to be taken, passing across the river on their way to the diggings. The narrow streets of the towns swarmed with men with thought and speech confined to the one absorbing golden theme.

During those midsummer months of 1859, the excited new-comers streamed through Denver and on over to the mountains at the rate of about five hundred a day; many others reached the diggings by ways that did not bring them past the mouth of Cherry creek. These throngs included a great variety of men. Members of the learned professions were bawling at their ox-teams, with clerks, plainsmen, steamboat-men, former merchants, farmers, mechanics, and bankers keeping them company. There were a great many quite young men, and a good sprinkling of mere boys, in the procession. Among the latter was a boy of sixteen, named Nathan B. Scott, who, after he reached the diggings, was hired by Henderson & Gridley to drive their ox-team that hauled their supplies from Denver to the Gregory claims they had recently bought from the discoverer. Scott now represents the State of West Virginia in the United States Senate.

Most of these pilgrims walked all the way from the Missouri river. Nearly all of them came with teams, but the wagons were usually laden with sufficient stuff of one kind or another to make load enough for the teams to drag behind them day after day, with practically no intermission. So the people had trudged along beside their wagons through the long journey. The rate of progress averaged between twelve and fifteen miles a day, but it frequently happened that the spans were made longer or shorter for the day, as circumstances of the trail suggested. Of the several routes to Denver that by the way of the Arkansas river, though the longer, was found the better and pleasanter for both man and beast.

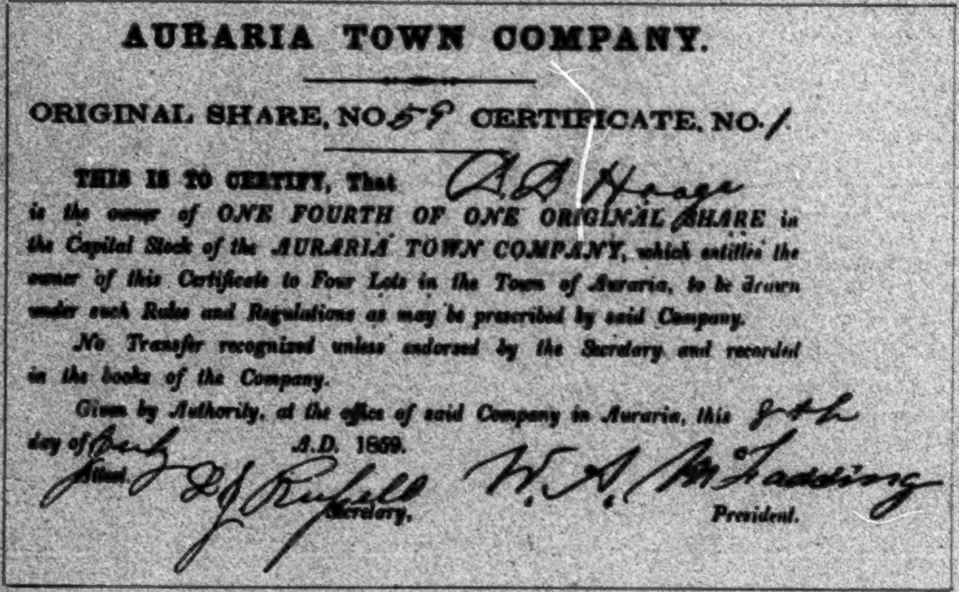
When the wayfarers came into Denver and Auraria, and when gentlemen from the country came down from the mines, they found sundry preparations at hand for driving dullness out of their spare time. Small gamblers and swindlers were entitled to credit for most of this thoughtfulness. They had their petty little schemes and miserable swindling outfits arrayed at the street side or under a friendly cottonwood tree, and with loud voice proclaimed the merits of their methods, the purity of their purposes, and the certainty of great gains to every "gent." having confidence enough in his own ability to make a practical investigation of the propositions spread out before him. It is a strange commentary on human nature that these pestiferous creatures flourished and fattened on the proceeds of their wretched devices for cheating and swindling.

However, the reflux tide early began its outward flow, and a couple of hundred men were daily coming back from the mountains to begin their homeward journey without delay; tired, disappointed, down-hearted, bitterly denouncing the gold country as a humbug and a fraud, and referring to the infatuation which led them out here, with much picturesque profanity. Some had prospected and delved for two or three weeks, worn out their boots, tattered their clothing, soured their dispositions, and found not a thing. So, they were leaving; bewailing their hardships, unmindful of the fact that others had put in nearly a year doing the very kind of work that had worn out these fresh fortune-seekers in a month. For each departure came four recruits for the camps, to go through the same experience for the sake of a possible chance for a more satisfactory result. Many in the camps were working for a dollar a day, and board of the roughest and toughest kind; and were glad of a chance to do it.

While a large portion of these Rocky Mountain pioneers were homeless men without endearing ties behind them or in any other direction, there were hundreds who had left homes and families and other friends in the east. To many of these, in addition to their physical discomforts and privations, came that most distressing malady, homesickness. Not even the novelties of the new and strange life, the charms of the pure air, the panorama of the magnificent region, the oddity and humor of many an incident, the golden reward they were seeking—all these could not compensate for that sinking of the heart, that feeling of abandonment and exile, which would crowd in and for a season deprive hope of its power to sustain the spirit. Because of this, many gave up and made their way back to home and friends with lightened hearts.

During this summer provisions and general supplies were relatively cheap—made so by the hundreds about to set out for the east being willing and anxious to sell their surplus for the best price they could get. Retaining enough to supply their needs until they reached the Missouri river, they converted the remainder into money on the best terms they could make. The consequence was that large quantities of supplies were obtainable at prices nearly the same that had been paid for them at the river by those who offered them for sale. Frequently the prices were less, with no allowance for transportation. This was so at Denver and Auraria as well as in the mining camps, many immigrants arriving late in the summer, concluding to return after reaching here, without going up into the mountain diggings—an undertaking which they gloomily decided would be a waste of time, energy and supplies.

But it was by no means a period of general depression and discontent. There was a very bright side to the picture, and when the brief time that had elapsed since the discoveries was considered, the accomplished results seemed extraordinary. In the first week in June a party of twelve men in the Gregory diggings had cleaned up one thousand dollars' worth of gold at the end of one day's work. Several claims were yielding from one hundred to four hundred and fifty dollars daily, while individual operators were every day adding to their fortunes amounts ranging between twenty-five and one hundred dollars. A number of claims had been sold for good, round sums after their discoverers had worked them but a few days. Hundreds of men were industriously prospecting, while many others who thought they had found what they were looking for, were busy making sluices and shaping up other preparations for active work on their claims.



AURARIA TOWN COMPANY.

ORIGINAL SHARE, NO 59 CERTIFICATE, NO. 1

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That A. B. Hoage *is the owner of ONE FOURTH OF ONE ORIGINAL SHARE in the Capital Stock of the AURARIA TOWN COMPANY, which entitles the owner of this Certificate to Four Lots in the Town of Auraria, to be drawn under such Rules and Regulations as may be prescribed by said Company.*

No Transfer recognized unless endorsed by the Secretary and recorded in the books of the Company.

Given by Authority, at the office of said Company in Auraria, this 8th *day of* July *A.D.* 1859.

Attest. D. J. Russell *Secretary.* W. A. McFadding *President.*

An Auraria City Town-lot Certificate—size of original.

The staple necessaries in the commissary were whiskey, hot bread, pork, beans, and coffee. The life and labor were exhausting, and the use of stimulants which would have been excessive under other conditions, was not so there. A butcher had established himself at Gregory camp, and the weary thin, belabored oxen, only a few days from their long, toilsome journey across the plains, were being slaughtered, cut up, and sold for food. All the cattle became thin before they reached the mountains, and their opportunities for recuperating had been as meager as their time had been short.

The miner's bill-of-fare, therefore, was not an elaborate one, but an absorbing appetite made up for all the deficiencies of his larder, or those attending his methods of preparing his food. Of his bed and board an observant writer in those times says:

"The miner's life is a hard and laborious one; living in a tent or rude shanty; making up his bed at night with a blanket or two on the ground or on a frame of poles; cooking his meals over a fire in the open air and eating them on a log. His bill of fare consists of pancakes made from flour and water with the addition of a little soda and cream of tartar, a strip or two of fried bacon and a cup of tea or coffee. Sometimes soda bread or a corn cake is made and some dried apples stewed. This is the miner's meal for the day, and notwithstanding its sameness some seem to relish and grow fat on it, always making up in quantity what is lacking in quality. I have seen a company of four men sit down and eat a large loaf of bread, eight slices of bacon, a four-quart basin of apple sauce, besides drinking a quart of coffee each; and then they were hardly satisfied."

At Gregory Gulch, by the first of June, a blacksmith with his forge was making more money than the average miner, by sharpening picks at fifty cents apiece, with charges for other work in proportion. A grocery, with the usual frontier accessories in which was invested the greater part of the capital and which yielded the larger portion of profits, had just settled itself for business. Of the multitude in that wilderness in the second week in June, less than half had been there ten days. Those who had been in three weeks took on airs and prided themselves as early settlers; while the men of the first week's influx, now an event a month old, were venerable and oracular pioneers.

William Green Russell, who had worked the bed of Dry creek, putting into the South Platte a few miles up-stream from Denver, in the summer of 1858, had returned to Georgia, as we have told, and stayed there through the winter of 1858-59. At the close of May, 1859, he came back here, bringing with him a company of one hundred and seventy men. Russell proceeded at once to the Gregory camp and began prospecting in its vicinity. On June 9th he made the third rich discovery in that Clear creek country. It was on a small tributary of North Clear creek, a little south of, but parallel with, the Gregory claims, in a ravine which was given, and still bears, the name of Russell Gulch. The gulch was at once staked off into claims from one end to the other, Russell and his men taking the lion's share, but leaving a few chances for the first-comers of the crowd that immediately rushed in. While this discovery did not prove to be of the permanent value of Gregory's and Jackson's, the gulch yielded a large amount of gold that season and the next. At the outset, six men in one week took out seventy-six ounces of gold worth from sixteen to eighteen dollars an ounce. The place quickly swarmed with busy men.

When the rush to Gregory camp set in pell-mell, comparatively few of those who went there could, as already mentioned, find places in which to work, anywhere near the discovery claims; for which reason much discontent was manifested, and a general re-distribution demanded, with claims reduced in size to twenty-five feet in width. So, within a few weeks a mass meeting was called to change the rules and regulations of the district. Mr. W. N. Byers, who was present, describes the meeting as looking like an alighted flock of birds, so thickly were the sides of the gulch covered with men.

The Gregory contingent was shrewd and quick-witted. Its members controlled the meeting, and elected Wilkes Defrees, one of their number, President, or Chairman. A committee of twelve men, one from each of the different States represented, was proposed, to draft a code of laws that should settle everything and satisfy everybody. The Gregory folks had William Green Russell on their side, and his party of one hundred and seventy men would do about as he said. So, the Gregorys and the Russells scattered through the crowd and nominated their friends for the committee, the meeting approving the selections in every instance. The out-witted new-comers, not knowing how they had been managed by the experienced miners, were surprised and disgusted to find that the committee appointed by themselves to make the revision, reported no material changes in the rules. They had failed to perceive that the pioneers were mingling in the assemblage in every quarter, and nominating all the men for the committee. Not knowing the nominees, the malcontents voted them into service and accepted the report because they had done so, without a suspicion that they had been outwitted.

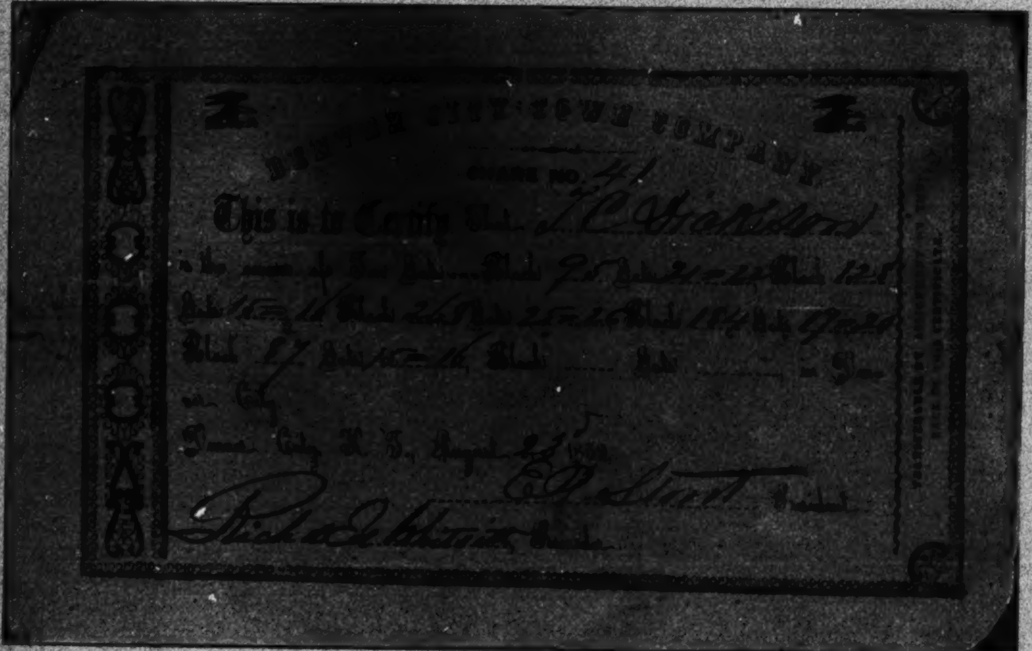
The mining laws adopted were nearly identical with those of California; defining the boundaries of the district; forbidding the taking of more than one claim of a kind, except by purchase, properly attested; fixing the extent of a mountain claim at one hundred feet on the lode and fifty feet in width; and of a gulch or creek, claim at one hundred feet along the gulch, or creek, and extending from bank to bank; limiting the time of holding without working, to ten days; giving the discoverer a "discovery claim" in addition to his working claim, and which he could work or not, as he chose; properly dividing the water of a stream between the miners working on it; and including many less important regulations. Disputes were to be settled by arbitration.

On the 9th of July another meeting was held at which it was resolved to elect by ballot a President of the district, a Recorder of Claims, and a Sheriff. Richard Sopris was chosen President; C. A. Roberts, Recorder; and Charles Peck, Sheriff. A committee was also appointed to codify the laws of the district. This, outside of mere mining camp regulations, was the first organization of local self-government in the Colorado mountains.

An incident of these times, and one showing how some things were sometimes done, was part of the experience of the discoverers of fine diggings in a distant recess of the mountains. A. D. Gambell and a few associates came into the country in May and at once went to the mountains. By dint of the hardest kind of work, they bodily packed their belongings through the rocky wilderness far up on a tributary of Boulder creek, having been compelled to leave their pack-mules behind. Up there in a place which was afterward known as "Gambell's Gulch" and from which much gold was taken, they began prospecting, with the frosty work of the previous winter still around them in abundance.

One June 5th they made a rich discovery, taking eight dollars' worth of gold from the first little batch of dirt. Everything was still frozen, and like Jackson, they had to build a big fire to thaw the dirt, and then get water for washing it by thawing snow. A few days later Gambell made a tin contrivance with which he sifted ninety dollars' worth of dust. This determined them to stay there. Needing some things for use in building a cabin, and some other supplies, Gambell and one of his comrades named Bolinger, came to Denver to get them, and brought that dust along to pay for their purchases. They had not made many trades before they became persons of importance, and men became inquisitive as to where they had found so much dust.

They left Denver after nightfall, walked to Golden, and after crossing Clear creek bivouaced for the night on its bank. They did not know that they had been watched and followed until they awakened next morning and saw several covered wagons on the opposite side. Some men from the wagons went over to them, and told them to recross the creek and get their breakfasts at the wagon camp, and then guide the owners of the wagons to the place where the gold had been found, on pain of being hanged to a tree if they failed to do it. Gambell and Bolinger went with their captors and got their breakfasts; and, as their arbitrary hosts seemed terribly in earnest about the promised hanging, the unwilling guests guided them to "Gambell Gulch," which soon became the scene of much activity.



A Denver City Town-lot Certificate—size of original.

There was little danger that Gambell and his comrade would have swung in mid-air, had they refused all information; but the affair resulted in the development of their gulch several weeks earlier than it otherwise would have been.

Another rich and famous discovery made up there in what is now Gilpin county, was the work of Harry Gunnell, a young man who had been a store clerk in the city of New York, and who came here with the crowd of 1859. The Gunnell lode was exceedingly rich and in a few months its discoverer had a fortune in his possession which he squandered as rapidly as he had acquired it. It was not a rare thing to obtain one hundred dollars' worth of gold from a single pan-ful of dirt, and hundreds of dollars' worth from a single cord of ore. In connection with his account of this discovery, Fossett tells the following story:

"Among the memorable characters connected with this lode in the early days, was a kind, genial gentleman from Wisconsin, named Doe, who, like many others, walked into the country with his pack upon his back. 'Fifty-niners' may remember a sermon he preached on the sabbath after his arrival, on the point of rocks near what is now the heart of Central. Several hundred men gathered to listen to the eloquent speaker who was then called Reverend. His exhortations to his fellow gold-hunters to follow the paths of truth and righteousness, and the vivid pictures he drew of the far-off homes they had left behind them, brought tears to the eyes of many of his hearers. He closed by inviting them to visit his tent that evening to hear another sermon. A number put in an appearance, but somehow the discourse that night proved to be a social game of 'Twenty-one,' and Doe's earnings therefrom enabled him to buy a claim on the newly-found Gunnell, which he mined with great profit. He afterwards gallantly led a Wisconsin regiment in the war of the rebellion, and in course of time, resigned and returned to Colorado to work his mine, which he subsequently sold for $100,000."

Many of the pioneer "mountain diggings" were remarkably rich, yielding results that were astonishing, especially when the crude, imperfect methods and appliances used, were properly considered. Of the out-put of these surface workings in the decomposed quartz of that region in those exciting summer days of 1859, chiefly in the immediate vicinity of the Gregory discovery, Hollister gives these details:

> "At first we find them yielding enormously in a simple sluice. It was not unusual for four or five men to wash out from the Gregory, Bates, Bobtail, Mammoth, Hunter, and many other lodes, then newly discovered, one hundred and fifty dollars a day for weeks together. Single pans of dirt could be taken up carefully from any of a dozen lodes, that would yield five dollars.
>
> Ziegler, Spain & Co. ran a sluice three weeks on the Gregory and cleaned up three thousand pennyweights, [worth about eighty cents each,] their highest day's work yielding four hundred and ninety-five dollars, their lowest twenty-one dollars. Sopris, Henderson & Co. took out six hundred and seven dollars in four days, and on a subsequent day, two hundred and eighty dollars. Shears & Co., two days, eight hundred and fifty-three dollars, —all taken from within three feet of the surface. Brown & Co., one and a half days, two hundred and sixty dollars; John H. Gregory, five days, nine hundred and forty-two dollars; Casto, Kendall & Co., one day, two hundred and twenty-five dollars; S. C. Jones & Co., two days, four hundred and fifty dollars; Bates & Co., one and a half days, one hundred and thirty-five dollars; Colman, King & Co., one-half day, seventy-five dollars; Defrees & Co., twelve days, with one sluice, two thousand and eighty dollars. In one day Leper, Gridley & Co. obtained one thousand and nine dollars from three sluices. One sluice washed out in one day five hundred and ten dollars. Foote & Simmons realized three hundred dollars in three days. The Illinois Company obtained one hundred and seventy-five dollars in their first day's sluicing from the Brown Lode in Russell District. Walden & Co., took in one day from a lode in the same district, one hundred and twenty-five dollars. Jacob Pogue took five hundred dollars from a lode in the same district in three days. Three men took from the Kansas Lode, in two days, five hundred dollars. Kehler, Patton & Fletcher averaged with five hands on the Bates Lode one hundred dollars a day for two months. Day & Crane on the same lode, with seven or eight hands, sluiced for ten weeks, their smallest weekly run being one hundred and eighty dollars, their largest; three hundred and fifty-seven dollars. J. C. Ross & Co., with four hands, averaged a hundred dollars a day on the Fiske Lode for four months. F. M. Cobb & Co., on the Bobtail Lode, with four men, averaged from seventy-five to one hundred dollars a day for two months. Heffner, McLain & Cooper worked four men at a sluice on the Clay County Lode, averaging one hundred dollars a day for ten weeks. Shoog & Co. averaged one hundred dollars a day for three months, sluicing with five men on the Maryland Lode."

Results at the Jackson diggings were not, in a general way, so prolific as those at the Gregory, though many thousands of dollars' worth of the yellow metal rewarded the men who followed in there immediately after Jackson's discovery. The mining in the vicinity of Chicago creek was, to a greater extent, of the placer character, and Jackson's Bar was exceedingly rich in gold. A little placer mining is still going on in that vicinity, but as a mining proposition that kind of work long since ceased to be of much importance anywhere in the Clear creek country.

By the first of June about three hundred men were working in the vicinity of the mouth of Chicago creek, and were taking out from three to five dollars a day to the man, as a general average. Of course, some were many times exceeding those amounts, but the yields did not, as a whole, approach those of the Gregory district. Later in the summer there were some fifty sluices running at Spanish Bar two miles farther up the creek. The facilities at Jackson's were inadequate and the conditions troublesome. Companies were finally formed to flume the creek for the purpose of getting at its bed, thought to be very rich. After considerable hard labor and heavy expense the experiment did not meet anticipations. At Spanish Bar the stream was rapid in a narrow rough valley, the deposits were masses of bowlders of all sizes, the gold deep-buried in the bed of the creek, and the pits were persistently flooded with water. These difficult conditions were quite different from those at the Gregory Diggings, where the trouble was so much less and the yield so much more. In after years under different methods and circumstances, the Jackson district proved its enormous permanent value as a producer of gold.

Jackson's Chicago company organized the first mining district in this Denver region. This was done on the 17th of April, 1859, as hitherto stated; but civil officers were not elected until late in the summer. Immediately after the first parties of outsiders came in, the need for further organization became apparent. Therefore, a general meeting of the miners was held on the 9th of May, at which the limits of the original district were enlarged, and more specific rules and regulations for its government adopted. These regulations were the basis for those of nearly all the subsequently organized districts in the Clear creek country. The rules applying to claims were as follows:

> "1. Each claim shall be fifty feet front by two hundred and fifty feet deep.
>
> "2. Every claim shall be marked and staked with at least two stakes, and shall be improved within ten days after taking.
>
> "3. The discoverers of new diggings shall be entitled to one extra claim each."

On Fall river, a tributary of South Clear creek, just above Spanish Bar, several lodes were discovered and preparations made for developing them. Slides were constructed for letting down the dirt and quartz from the mountain-side where the metal-bearing material was found mostly in narrow crevices. Ditches for conveying water, and much other expensive preliminary mining work was done there that season, but in actual results the returns were not very large for the amount of money and labor expended on the preparations.

The principal camp on this part of Clear creek grew up opposite the Jackson diggings, and it was the beginning of the present city of Idaho Springs. The next year it took on form and ambitions of a permanent town, with a duly organized town government. Near the mouth of Fall river was located the camp of Spanish Bar, and in the same vicinity Grass Valley and Fall River camps were established.

In this first season of real gold-mining, the then baffling obstacles called "caps" or "pinches" were encountered by some of the miners as they sunk their shafts to follow the veins. These are places where the granite walls, between which are the gold-bearing veins, come nearly or close together, pinching out the valuable seam of quartz. This condition often exists to considerable depths, which are, of course, unknown in extent to the operator who, if he continues his shaft to the point where the vein or crevice opens out again to its former or greater proportions, does so upon faith, and his reserve capital, if he has any. In the early days of 1859 and 1860, after this "cap" was first struck, mine-owners, believing their claims to be exhausted, or "played out," sold them for a pittance—for whatever they could get. In later years many such "capped" mines were opened through the obstructions and yielded enormous values in gold from the recovered veins.

The written and unwritten history of mining in Colorado contains many stories of "luck in mining strikes;" of discoveries by accident; by men ignorant of mineralogy and mining methods; and by men with neither intention nor expectation of finding gold or silver. While the larger number of these narrations are fiction, pure and often very simple, some of them are true. But the discoveries of Jackson and Gregory were the results of patient, intelligent prospecting for what they eventually found. They sought it where men of practical experience would expect to locate mines of permanent resources, and the element of so called "luck" cuts a small figure in what they succeeded in doing. Thousands who followed them into the mountains soon came out again execrating their "luck," or the lack of it, with no better reason for doing so, than there has been in later years for attributing nearly every important mining discovery to the whims of the alleged goddess of chance.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Horace Greeley's First Visit—A. D. Richardson and Henry Villard—Mr. Greeley's Adventures—Impressions of Denver—Excitement Over Clear Creek Discoveries—Visitors Go to Gregory Diggings—Mishaps to Greeley and Richardson—Famous Report of Greeley, Richardson, and Villard—Greeley's Speech at Gregory, and Lecture in Denver—His Theories of Mining—Richardson's Comments on Conditions in Denver—Greeley's Departure—Influence of His Writings in His Tribune.

One morning in June, 1859, a stage-coach of the new line from Leavenworth brought as a passenger to Denver, Horace Greeley, the famous editor of the New York Tribune, on his celebrated journey across the continent. He was accompanied here from Leavenworth by Albert D. Richardson, who was then a correspondent of the Boston Journal, and had been on duty in eastern Kansas during the most turbulent period in the Territory's stormy history. Richardson returned to Denver the following year and became identified with affairs here until his sojourn was terminated by the outbreak of the civil war, when he went back east and began his distinguished services as a newspaper war correspondent.

Upon their arrival Greeley and Richardson met another visiting newspaper man who had come here in April. This was Henry Villard, then a correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial. In later years he became identified with the Northern Pacific Railroad, serving as its President during much of its construction period and for several years after its completion.

In addition to his newspaper work, Mr. Richardson had served in 1857-58 as Assistant Adjutant General to one of the several factional "governments" of Kansas Territory, and as a member of the recognized Territorial Legislature in the winter of 1858-59, which body had cut up this then western end of Kansas Territory into several proposed counties. He had been appointed one of the Commissioners to organize the projected new county in which Denver was situated, and to do so was one of the objects of his visit. The particulars of these affairs will be found in a subsequent chapter dealing with the history of Arapahoe county. Richardson's western experiences, including those of journeys made after the close of the civil war, were published in 1867 in an interesting and valuable volume entitled "Beyond the Mississippi."

On their long ride to Denver Greeley and Richardson had a full share of the picturesque adventures that fell to the lot of overland stage passengers in those days, including that of a stampeded four-mule-team, which overturned and wrecked the coach. Mr. Greeley was severely bruised and cut by the mishap, suffering from his injuries for several weeks. In his book Mr. Richardson gave this account of the accident:

> "Descending an abrupt hill, our mules, terrified by meeting three savages, broke a line, run down a precipitous bank, upsetting the coach which was hurled upon the ground with a tremendous crash, and galloped away with the fore-wheels. I sprang out in time to escape being overturned. From a mass of cushions, carpet-sacks and blankets soon emerged my companion, his head rising above the side of the vehicle like that of an advertising boy from his frame of pasteboard. Blood was flowing profusely from cuts in his cheek, arm and leg; but his face was serene and benignant as a May morning. He was soon rescued from his cage, and taken to Station Seventeen, a few yards beyond, where the good woman dressed his galling wounds."

A portion of Richardson's narrative is arranged in form of a diary, and from it we quote:

> "June 6—Woke at five o'clock, still in motion, and obtaining a glorious view of the mountains, their hoary peaks covered with snow and their base, thirty miles across the valley into which we were descending, seeming not more than two miles away."
>
> "At last we struck the old trail from Santa Fe to Salt Lake, rode a mile along the dry bed of Cherry creek, and at eight, this eleventh morning, reached Denver City. Day-and-night's travel, one hundred and thirty miles. During our journey from Leavenworth we have doubtless passed ten thousand emigrants."
>
> "Making governments and building towns are the natural employments of the migratory Yankee. He takes to them as instinctively as a young duck to water. Congregate a hundred Americans anywhere beyond the settlements, and they immediately lay out a city, frame a State constitution and apply for admission to the Union, while twenty-five of them become candidates for the United States Senate."
>
> "True to this instinct, the people of this unfledged community, nominally in Kansas but prac-

tically as far from government and civilization as central Africa, were already making a State constitution; and months before, they had laid out Denver City."

"It was a most forlorn and desolate-looking metropolis. If my memory is faithful, there were five women in the whole gold region; and the appearance of a bonnet in the street was the signal for the entire population to rush to the cabin doors and gaze upon its wearer as at any other natural curiosity. The men who gathered about our coach on its arrival were attired in slouched hats, tattered woolen shirts, buckskin pantaloons and moccasins, and had knives and revolvers suspended from their belts."

"We took lodging at the Denver House. True to national instinct, the occupants of its great drinking and gambling saloon demanded a speech. On one side, the tipplers at the bar silently sipped their grog; on the other, the gamblers respectfully suspended the shuffling of cards, and the counting of money from their huge piles of coin, while Mr. Greeley standing between them, made a strong anti-drinking and anti-gambling address, which was received with perfect good humor."

On this day, June 6th, the convention called by the meeting of April 11th, in Auraria, to draft a constitution for a new State, assembled in "Denver City," but adjourned without definite action, to meet again on the 1st of August. It was to many of these State-builders that the great editor made his speech. Mr. Greeley was writing letters to the Tribune telling of his travels, and in one written at Denver on the day of his arrival, he said:

"As to gold, Denver is crazy. She has been low in the valley of humiliation, and is suddenly exalted to the summit of glory. The stories of day's work and rich leads that have been told me to-day—by grave, intelligent men—are absolutely bewildering."

Nearly everybody then around here had been hunting for gold and a few had just found it. Under date of June 6th, Mr. Richardson ("Beyond the Mississippi") says:

"Thus far no gold had been discovered within sixty miles of Pike's Peak, but the first reports located the diggings near that mountain, and 'Pike's Peak,'—one of those happy alliterations which stick like a burr in the public memory—was now the general name for this whole region."

"The first extravagant statements had all been based on supposition. Prospectors found 'the color'—infinitesimal quantities of the shining dust—and nothing more, chiefly in the bed of the Platte. The mountains had not been searched to any extent. So little confidence was felt in the mines, that in Denver, picks commanded only ten or fifteen cents apiece, and town lots and log-houses were bartered for revolvers, or sold for ten or twenty dollars. Of the few men engaged in mining not half a dozen were realizing one dollar per day."

"But on the sixth day of May—just one month before our arrival—John H. Gregory, an old Georgia miner, struck rich deposits of gold in the mountains among the headwaters of the Clear creek; and from that discovery dates the history of Pike's Peak as an ascertained gold region."

At this time the excitement over the rich discoveries of Gregory and Jackson was tremendous and all interest centered upon them. On the morning of June 8th, Mr. Greeley and his party with an escort of several Denver men set out on a visit to the "Gregory Diggings." They proceeded across to the foot-hills by wagon, and the distinguished editor, who believed himself something of a farmer, also, noted that a few makeshift beginnings at agriculture were visible on that side of the river. Arriving at the foot-hills they mounted mules for the remainder and rather rough part of the journey. Wholly unused to this mode of traveling, the Tribune's editor had a hard time of it. At their occasional stopping places he had to be assisted off his mule, and needed help again when the time came for mounting. But he stuck manfully to his task and his mule, and made the trip both ways without undue complaint.

Mr. Greeley's Mishap.
(From Richardson's sketch.)

When the visitors reached Clear creek they found the water of that stream running high. Mr. Greeley started in on his mule, which soon had to swim, and from swimming took to floundering with dangerous consequences to the rider. Mr. Greeley would probably have drowned had his companions not gone quickly to his assistance.

While returning, Mr. Villard, when going down a steep declivity, was pitched from his mule and severely hurt. The party got back to Denver in the morning of June 10th, and the newspaper men made public in a written statement, their opinions, observations and ascertained facts of the conditions, prospects and actual results on Clear creek.

This document was given a wide circulation over the country and was the first definite, authentic and satisfactory statement made by well-known men about the Pike's Peak gold discoveries. It undoubtedly had great influence in shaping the events of the next few years. The report or statement was published in an extra edition of the Rocky Mountain News, on Saturday, June 11, 1859—to the exclusion of nearly everything else—with a prefactory note by the editor, as follows:

"We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Williams, of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, for the following report from Messrs. Greeley, Richardson and Villard, which will give satisfaction to the public mind, and at once set at rest the cry of "humbug" reiterated by the returning emigration from this region. The names of the gentlemen signed to this report are sufficient to give it credence without further comment from us; and the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Williams to get it before the public are commendable:"

Denver City, K. T., June 10th, 1859.

Gentlemen:—Will you do me the favor to furnish me for publication, such facts in reference to the Gold Mines, as you obtained upon your recent visit to them, in company with myself and others? We desire that the facts should be presented to the public as they exist.

Yours respectfully,
B. D. Williams,
Agent "Jones' & Russell's P. P. Express Co."

Messrs. Horace Greeley of the New York "Tribune;" A. D. Richardson of the Boston "Journal;" and Henry Villard of the Cincinnati "Commercial."

Denver City, K. T., June 10, 1859.

Dear Sir:—In reply to your favor of this morning, we herewith submit a report, written at the "Gregory Diggings," of such facts as we witnessed there, and obtained from the lips of the miners. We have endeavored to make it definite and specific as possible, and give an unbiased statement of the present condition and progress of the first important gold discoveries in the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

We desire to acknowledge your many courtesies during the trip.

Respectfully,
Horace Greeley,
A. D. Richardson,
Henry Villard.
B. D. Williams, Esq.

Gregory's Diggings, near Clear Creek,
In the Rocky Mountains, June 9, 1859.

The undersigned, none of them miners, nor directly interested in mining, but now here for the express purpose of ascertaining and setting forth the truth with regard to a subject of deep and general interest, as to which the widest and wildest diversity of assertion and opinion is known to exist, unite in the following statement:

We have this day personally visited nearly all the mines or claims already opened in this valley, (that of a little stream running into Clear creek at this point;) have witnessed the operation of digging, transporting, and washing the vein-stone, (a partially decomposed, or rotten, quartz, running in regular veins from southwest to northeast, between shattered walls of an impure granite;) have seen the gold plainly visible in the riffles of nearly every sluice, and in nearly every pan of the rotten quartz washed in our presence; have seen gold, (but rarely) visible to the naked eye, in pieces of the quartz not yet fully decomposed, and have obtained from the few who have already sluices in operation accounts of their several products, as follows:

Ziegler, Squire & Co., (from South Bend, Ind.) have run a sluice, with some interruptions, for the last three weeks; they are four in company, with one hired man. They have taken out a little over three thousand penny-weights of gold, estimated by them as worth at least $3,000; their first day's work produced $21; their highest was $495.

Sopris, Henderson & Co., (from Farmington, Indiana) have run their sluice six days in all, with four men—one to dig, one to carry, and two to wash; four days last week produced six hundred and seven dollars; Monday of this week, two hundred and eighty dollars; no further reported. They have just put in a second sluice, which only began to run this morning.

Defrees & Co., (from South Bend, Ind.,) have run a small sluice eight days, with the following results: first day, $66; second day, $80; third day, $95; fourth day, $305. (The four following days were promised us, but by accident, failed to be received.) Have just sold half their claim, (a full claim is 50 feet by 100) for $2,500.

Shears & Co., (from Fort Calhoun, Nebraska,) have run one sluice two hours the first, (part of a) day; produced $30; second, (first full) day, $343; third (to-day) $510; all taken from within three feet of the surface; vein a foot wide on the surface; widened to eighteen inches at a depth of three feet.

Brown & Co., (from De Kalb Co., Ind.,) have been one week on their claim; carry their dirt half a mile; have worked their sluice a day and a half; produced $260, pure; taken out quartz specimens containing from 50 cents to $13 each in gold; vein from eight to ten feet wide.

Casto, Kendall & Co., (from Butler Co., Iowa,) reached Denver March 25; drove the first wagon to these diggings; have been here five weeks; worked first on a claim, on which they ran a sluice but one day; produced $225; sold their claim for $2,500; are now working a claim on the Hunter lead; have only sluiced one, (this) day; three men employed; produced $85.

Bates & Co., one sluice, run half a day; produced $135.

Colman, King & Co., one sluice, run half a day; produced $75.

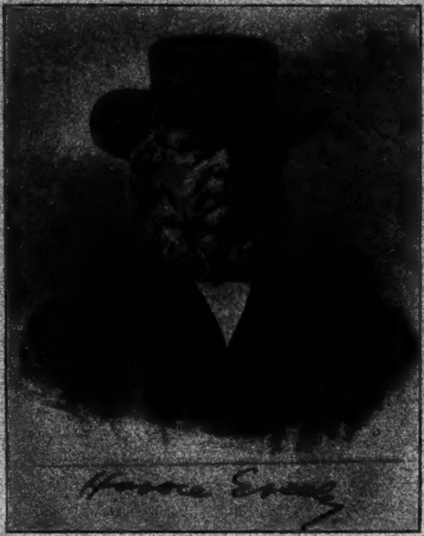
Shorts and Collier: "Bought our claim seven days since of Casto, Kendall & Co., $2,500; $500 down, and the balance as fast as taken out. Have not yet got our sluices in operation. Mr. Dean, from Iowa, on the 6th inst., washed from a single pan of dirt taken from the claim, $17.80. Have been offered $10,000 for the claim."

S. C. Jones & Co., (from eastern Kansas.) "Have run our sluices two days, with three men; yield, $225. per day. Think the quartz generally in this vicinity is gold-bearing. Have never seen a piece crushed that did not yield gold."

A. P. Wright & Co., (from Elkhart Co., Ind.) "Sluice but just in operation; have not yet ascertained its products—Our claim prospects from 25 cents to $1.25 to the pan."

John H. Gregory, (from Gordon Co., Georgia.) "Left home last season, "en route" for Frazier river, was detained by a succession of accidents at

Ft. Laramie, and wintered there. Meanwhile, heard of the discoveries of gold on the South Platte, and started on a prospecting tour on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, early in January. Prospected in almost every valley, from the Cache de Poudre creek, to Pike's Peak, tracing many streams to their sources. Early in May arrived on Clear Creek, at the foot of the mountains, 30 miles southeast of this place. There fell in with the Defreese & Ziegler Indiana Companies, and William Fouts, of Missouri. We all started up Clear Creek, prospecting. Arrived in this vicinity, May 6; the ice and snow prevented us from prospecting far below the surface, but the first pan of surface dirt, on the original Gregory claim, yielded $4. Encouraged by this success, we all staked out claims, found the "lead" consisting of burnt quartz, resembling the Georgia mines, in which I had previously worked. Snow and ice prevented the regular working of the lead till May 16th. From then until the 23d, I worked it five days with two hands, result, $972. Soon after, I sold my two claims for $21,000, the parties buying, to pay me, after deducting their expenses, all they take from the claims, to the amount of $500 per week, until the whole is paid. Since that time, I have been prospecting for other parties, at about $200 per day. Have struck another lead on the opposite side of the valley, from which I washed $14 out of a single pan."



Some forty or fifty sluices commenced, are not yet in operation; but the owners inform us that their "prospecting" shows from 10 cents to $5 to the pan. As the "leads" are all found on the hills, many of the miners are constructing trenches to carry water to them, instead of building their sluices in their ravines, and carrying the dirt thither in wagons, or sacks. Many persons who have come here without provisions or money, are compelled to work as common laborers, at from $1 to $3 per day and board, until they can procure means of sustenance for the time necessary to prospecting; building sluices, etc. Others, not finding gold the third day, or disliking the work necessary to obtaining it, leave the mines in disgust, after a very short trial, declaring there is no gold here in paying quantities. It should be remembered that the discoveries made thus far are the result of but five week's labor.

In nearly every instance, the gold is estimated by the miners as worth $20 per ounce, which, for gold collected by quicksilver, is certainly a high valuation, though this is, undoubtedly of very great purity. The reader can reduce the estimate if he sees fit. We have no data on which to act in the premises.

The wall rock is generally shattered, so that it, like the vein-stone, is readily taken out with the pick and shovel. In a single instance, only, did we hear of wall-rock too hard for this.

Of the vein-stone, probably, not more than one-half is so decomposed that the gold can be washed from it. The residue of the quartz is shoveled out of the sluices and reserved to be crushed and washed hereafter. The miners estimate this as equally rich with that which has "rotted" so that the gold may be washed from it; hence, that they realize, as yet, but half the gold dug by them. This seems probable, but its truth remains to be tested. It should be borne in mind, that, while the miners here now labor under many obvions disadvantages, which must disappear with the growth of their experience and the improvement of their now rude machinery, they, at the same time, enjoy advantages which can not be retained indefinitely, nor rendered universal. They are all working very near a small mountain stream, which affords them an excellent supply of water for washing at a very cheap rate; and, though such streams are very common here, the leads stretch over rugged hills and considerable mountains, down which the vein-stone must be carried to water, at a serious cost. It does not seem probable that the thousands of claims already made, or being made, on these leads, can be worked so profitably in the average as those already in operation. We hear already of many who have worked their claims for days (by panning) without having "raised the color" as the phrase is—that is, without having found any gold whatever. We presume thousands are destined to encounter lasting and utter disappointment, quartz veins which bear no gold being a prominent feature of the geology of all this region.

We can not conclude this statement without protesting most earnestly against the renewal of the infatuation which impelled thousands to rush to this region a month or two since, only to turn back before reaching it, or to hurry away immediately after more hastily than they came. Gold-mining is a business which eminently requires of its votaries capital, experience, energy, endurance, and in which the highest qualities do not always command success. There may be hundreds of ravines in these mountains as rich in gold as that in which we write, and there, probably, are many; but, up to this hour, we do not know that any such have been discovered. There are said to be five thousand people already in this ravine, and hundreds more pouring in daily. Tens of thousands more have passed by us on our rapid journey to this place, or heard of as on their way hither by other routes. For all these, nearly every pound of provisions and supplies of every kind must be hauled by teams from the Missouri river, some 700 miles distant, over roads which are mere trails, crossing countless unbridged water-courses, always steep-banked and often mirey, and, at times, so swollen by rains as to be utterly impassable by wagons. Part of this district is a desert, yielding grass, wood and water only at intervals of several miles, and then very scantily. To attempt to cross the desert on foot is madness—suicide—murder. To cross it with teams in midsummer, when the water-courses are mainly dry, and the grass eaten up, is possible only to those who know just where to look for grass and water, and where water must be carried along to preserve life. A few months hence—probably by the middle of October—this whole Alpine region will be snowed under and frozen up, so as to put a stop to the working of sluices, if not to mining altogether. There, then, for a period of at least six months, will be neither employment, food nor shelter within five hundred miles for the thousands pressing hither under the delusion that gold may be picked up here like pebbles on the sea-shore, and that, when they arrive here, even though without provisions or money, their fortunes are made. Great disappointment, great suffering, are inevitable; few can escape the latter who arrive in Denver City after September without ample means to support them in a very dear country, at least through a long winter. We charge those who manage the telegraph not to diffuse a part of our statement without giving, substantially, the whole; and we beg the press generally to unite with us in warning the whole people against another rush to these gold mines, as ill-advised as that of last spring—a rush sure to be followed, like that, by a stampede, but one far more destructive of property and life.

Respectfully,
Horace Greeley,
A. D. Richardson,
Henry Villard.

Of the few living pioneers who were intimately associated with the early history of newspapers in Denver, is General George West, the present proprietor of the Golden Transcript. He was one of the printers who put this one-time famous report in type. Concerning its publication General West lately wrote Curator Ferril of the Historical Society:

"According to my recollection it was the 10th of June (Saturday), 1859, that it was printed, but it might have been dated the next day. My party had just arrived from across the plains and about noon were pulling through the sand of Cherry Creek at the Blake street crossing, twenty or thirty teams of us, when we heard a shout from a man standing on a little foot bridge which crossed the creek at that point. It proved to be old man Gibson of The News.

" 'Hey there!' he ejaculated, 'are there any printers in this crowd?'

"I told him there were two or three of us. He then asked us to go into camp and come up and set up an extra for him. As we were uncertain about what we were going to do even now that we had reached 'Pike's peak,' we concluded to do as he requested. Bill Summers, Mark Blunt, late of Pueblo, and I went to the office, then located in a one-and-a-half-story log cabin on Ferry street, now Eleventh street, where we found Horace Greeley, A. D. Richardson and Henry Villard, who had just returned from the mountains, and the News wanted to publish their report in an extra. We then buckled to, set it up and worked off, I believe, 500 copies on the old Washington hand press, the handle of which you have in your collection. For this we received five pennyweight of gold dust.

"Now old man Gibson is dead, Horace Greeley is dead, A. H. Richardson is dead, Bill Sommers and Mark Blunt are dead, leaving only Mr. Byers, Mr. Villard and myself as survivors of that wonderful coterie to whom the world owes so much for the production of that celebrated extra."

Gregory Gulch in June, 1859.

Mr. Villard visited Denver in April, 1899, upon the fortieth anniversary of his first coming, and remained until after the fortieth anniversary of the birth of Denver's pioneer newspaper. He died at his home near New York city in the autumn of 1900.

Some incredulous people in the east and other parts, after reading the "statement," asserted that Mr. Greeley and his friends had been imposed upon, and that the mines and reports of results were "salted" in anticipation of their coming. There was nothing in this. Few of the miners knew the party was in the country, and the visit to Gregory's was unheralded.

Of course, the first thing that was done after the party inspected the diggings, was to have a public meeting and some speeches, after the good old American fashion. Upon a verbal notice passed around in a few hours, a crowd of between two thousand and three thousand people assembled in the evening to hear the visitors talk. In the Rocky Mountain News, of June 18th, the following condensed report of Mr. Greeley's remarks was published:

"The Hon. Horace Greeley, the first speaker, was received with three cheers. He alluded to the cheering indications he had seen during the day in examining the mines and sluices. He had always had a suspicion—from which he was not yet entirely free—that these mines would not prove equal in richness to those of California; but in view of the great discoveries of the last few weeks, there was evidently a vast future before this region. It was by no means probable that all the gold of the eastern slope was confined to this little area of seven or eight miles. He advocated the formation of a new State, and trusted that one might be made and brought into the Union, without going through the troublesome and undemocratic form of a Territorial organization. He spoke at length of the peculiar temptations to drinking, gaming, etc., to which the miners were exposed, urging a steadfast resistance and avoidance; exhorting his hearers to look to untiring industry instead of speculation for their gains; to maintain good order, to live as the loved they had left—the brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, wives and children—would wish; that when they returned they might carry with them the reward of their labors. If a gambler, after being warned not to do so, should persist in coming among them, he advised putting him on a good mule, headed out of the mountains, and asking him if he would not like to ride. He should in a few days go hence to Salt Lake and California, and it was one purpose of this trip to do what he could to hasten the construction of the Pacific Railroad, which ought to have been built long ago. He was rousingly cheered on retiring."

The other gentlemen followed Mr. Greeley and, as an early chronicler remarks, the outbursts of oratory "must have been quite a grief as well as a surprise to the bears and mountain lions which had heretofore reigned sole monarchs of these wilds."

On Sunday evening following—the 12th of June—Mr. Greeley obligingly delivered a public lecture in Denver, the first heard in the new city. It was a temperance address, and there were some reasons for believing the good man sowed his seed on a not extremely fertile soil.

Mr. Greeley also endeavored to smooth down the intense rivalry then existing between Denver City and Auraria City; pointing out that they were practically one community and should act as one; and be one in theory as well as in fact. But his good counsels fell on unheeding ears.

The appearance and conditions of those who were here and those who were coming in droves, touched the gentle heart of the philanthropic visitor, and moved him to say in one of his letters from Denver:

"I fervently trust that the fond expectations of these gold-seekers, may not be disappointed. For the sake of the weary, dusty, foot-sore thousands I have passed on my journey, from civilized Kansas to this point, I pray that gold may be found here in boundless extent, and reasonable abundance. Throughout the next six weeks, they will be dropping in here, a hundred or more per day; and I trust they are not to be sent home disappointed, spirit-broken, penniless. If they must re-cross the great desert with their slow-moving teams, may they be enabled to do so with lighter hearts and heavier purses."

The great editor would probably have made a good miner himself, had he taken to the business, for he quickly saw that surface or placer mining would not last long, and that the real, permanent resources were buried far under ground. He was not confident that "disemboweling these mountains in quest of gold" would pay. It might pay some; others it would not. In a letter to the Tribune from Denver, dated June 10th, he said:

"Mining is a pursuit akin to fishing and hunting, and, like them, enriches the few at the cost of the many. This region is doubtless fore-ordained to many changes of fortune; to-day, giddy with the intoxication of success—to-morrow, in the valley of humiliation. One day, report will be made on the Missouri by a party of disappointed gold seekers, that the Pike's Peak humbug has exploded, and that everybody is fleeing to the States, who can possibly get away; the next report will be representing these diggings as yellow with gold."

"New leads will doubtless be discovered, new veins be opened, new "diggings" or districts become the rage—for it were absurd to suppose that little ravine known as Gregory's, running to Clear Creek, the sole depository of gold worth working in all this region—and in time the Rocky Mountains will swarm with hardy, industrious, energetic white population. Not gold alone, but lead, iron, and (I think) silver or cobalt, have already been discovered here, and other valuable minerals doubtless will be, as the Rocky Mountains are more thoroughly explored—for as yet they have not been even run over."

"Thousands who rush hither for gold, will rush away again disappointed and disgusted, as thousands have already done; and yet, the gold is in these mountains, and the right men will gradually unearth it. I shall be mistaken if two or three millions are not taken out this year, and some ten millions in 1860, though all the time there will be, as now, a stream of rash adventurers heading away from the diggings, declaring that there is no gold there, or next to none."

After their return from Gregory's, the visiting newspaper men remained in Denver about two weeks. Some account of the incidents of their stay and their local observations of things and conditions then existing here, is contained in the following extracts from Mr. Richardson's "Beyond the Mississippi:"

"The excitement of the journey over, Mr. Greeley's wounded limb, which had enjoyed no rest since the capsizing of the coach, grew excessively painful and confining. The Denver House with its ceaseless noise and gambling, proved unfavorable to literary pursuits; so, according to the custom of the country we 'jumped a cabin:'—selected the best one we could find, moved in our effects, and took possession."

'Imagination fondly stoops to trace
The parlor splendors of that festive place.'

"It was twelve feet square, of hewn pine logs new and smooth, the cracks within chinked with wood and outside plastered with mud. A great fireplace of sticks and dried soil occupied one corner. A single chair of elders fresh from the forest, with the bark still on, a little table of the same material, and the rare luxury of a mattress resting upon slats laid from one log to another, constituted the furniture. The roof was of baked mud upon a layer of split logs and grass; the floor of hard smooth earth. No window invited adventurous burglars, and the solitary door which swung upon wooden hinges, opened to the touch of no key but a pen-knife. We extemporized a shelf from which a few curiously assorted books looked down with a bewildered air, carpeted the ground with coffee sacks—and did we not take our ease in our inn!"

"A few days later, the owner of the cabin came down from the mines and looked in upon us quite unexpectedly; but observing that the nine points of the law were in our favor, he apologized humbly for his intrusion, (most obsequious and marvelous of land-lords!) begged us to make ourselves entirely at home, and then withdrew, to jump the best vacant cabin he could find, until the departure of his non-paying tenants. We design exhibiting him at the next world's fair as the best specimen of the Polite Gentleman on the terrestrial globe."

Richardson's Sketch of himself upon his return to Denver in 1860.

"There was little business; money was in great demand and loaned on collateral security at twenty-five per cent a month."

"The experience of every mining region demonstrates that salt pork is the most nutritive and stimulating diet for miners, whose labor is the most exhausting in the whole world. All plains travelers also use it, on the theory of the shrewd philosopher, that no other substance contains 'so much board in so little compass.' As agriculture was not begun, vegetables were not attainable for love or money. Late in the season, however, a few enormous watermelons appeared in market, selling at two or three dollars apiece. The chief meat was antelope, always abundant at four cents a pound. Though more tasteless than the flesh of the deer, it is pleasant and nutritive."

"Denver society was a strange medley. There were Americans from every quarter of the Union, Mexicans, Indians, half-breeds, trappers, speculators, gamblers, desperadoes, broken-down politicians and honest men. Almost every day was enlivened by its little shooting match. While the great gaming saloon was crowded with people, drunken ruffians sometimes fired five or six shots from their revolvers, frightening everybody pell-mell out of the room, but seldom wounding any one. One day I heard the bar-keeper politely ask a man lying upon a bench to remove. The recumbent replied to the request with his revolver. Indeed, firing at this bar-tender was a common amusement among the guests. At first he bore it laughingly, but one day a shot grazed his ear, whereupon, remarking that there was such a thing as carrying a joke too far and that this was about played out, he buckled on two revolvers and swore he would kill the next man who took aim at him. He was not troubled afterward."

"Gaming was universal. Denver and Auraria (now West Denver,) contained about one thousand people, with three hundred buildings, nearly all of hewn pine logs. One-third were unfinished and roofless, having been erected the previous winter for speculative purposes. There were very few glass windows or doors and but two or three board floors. The nearest saw-mill was forty miles away, and the occupants of the cabins lived upon the native earth, hard, smooth and clean swept. One lady, by sewing together corn-sacks for a carpet and covering her log walls with sheets and table-cloths, gave to her mansion an appearance of rare luxury. Chairs were glories yet to come. Stools, tables, and pole-bedsteads were the staple furniture, while rough boxes did duty as bureaus and cupboards. Hearths and fire-places were of adobe, as in Utah, California and Mexico. Chimneys were of sticks of wood piled up like children's cob-houses, and plastered with mud. A few roofs were covered with shingles split by hand, but most were of logs spread with prairie grass and covered with earth. They turned water well, even during the daily showers of June and July. During the rest of the year rain is unknown."

"Between my cabin and the Denver House were a dozen Indian lodges, enlivened by squaws dressing the skins of wild animals or cooking pupoies for dinner, naked children playing in the hot sand, and braves lounging on the ground, wearing no clothing except a narrow strip of cloth about the hips."

"Hundreds of immigrants passed through daily; their white, unending caravans stretching across the river to the foot of the range. Daily, too, a great refluent wave rolled in from the mountains—dissatisfied miners who sold their superfluous provisions and tools at less than cost, and started for California or turned homeward."

"The Denver House was a long, low, one-story edifice, one hundred and thirty feet by thirty-six, with low walls, and windows and roof of white sheeting. In its spacious saloon, the whole width of the building, the earth was well sprinkled to keep down dust. The room was always crowded with swarthy men armed and in rough costumes. The bar sold enormous quantities of cigars and liquors. At a half-dozen tables the gamblers were always busy, day and evening. One, in a woolen shirt and jockey cap, drove a thriving business at three-card-monte, which netted him about one hundred dollars per day. * * * "

"As a class, the gamblers were entertaining in conversation, had curious experiences to relate, evinced great knowledge of human nature, and were especially kind to each other in misfortune. Some were gentlemanly in manners. Like all men who gain money easily, they were open-handed and charitable. I never saw a place where more dollars could be obtained in less time for a helpless woman or orphan than among gaming tables."

"I saw the Probate Judge of the county lose thirty Denver lots in less than ten minutes, at cards, in this public saloon on Sunday morning;

and afterwards observed the county Sheriff pawning his revolver for twenty dollars to spend in betting at faro. There were no women and children; and hence none of that public opinion without which few men can stand alone."

"One New Yorker still under thirty-five had been successively owner of a Lake Erie steamer, captain of a Cape Cod fishing craft, professional gambler in Cuba, real estate speculator in Leavenworth, and stage-driver on the great plains. Here he was a successful lawyer. But when last I saw him he had been a cripple for months—the result of an accidental shot from the pistol of his law-partner who had taken a drop too much. Among the Denver pioneers I found a relative whom I last met as a New York wholesale merchant, in the glossiest of broadcloth and the most spotless of linen. Now he wore the half-Mexican, half-Indian costume of the country. One of the chief thoroughfares, Blake street, still bears his name."

"Denver had its weekly Rocky Mountain News. Editor and printers cooked, ate and slept in the one room of the log building where articles were written, type set and paper worked off."

"There were no public mails. Private enterprise is always far in advance of Government, and the express company brought all letters from the Missouri river—one thousand per day—for twenty-five cents each."

"There was no paper money and the smallest coin in circulation was twenty-five cents. The people of the frontier have never taken kindly to coppers. * * * In Kansas three-cent pieces passed for five cents, and in New Mexico eight dimes for one dollar."

Of Mr. Greeley's further movements the author of "Beyond the Mississippi," says:

"For two weeks after our return from the mountains Mr. Greeley lay prostrate with his lame leg. Indeed, the injury was so severe that a year later he still limped. But on the twenty-first of June he continued the then dangerous journey across the continent. In Green river he lost his valise; but it was fished out by an honest emigrant and months later reached its owner in New York. At Salt Lake he spent several days among the saints; then passed on through the present State of Nevada (containing when he traversed it less than a hundred white inhabitants), and across the Sierra Nevadas to California. There he was visited with the traditional annoyance of plains travelers—boils which covered his body, compelling him to return home by steamer instead of the Butterfield [the southern] overland route."

Mr. Greeley's letters to the Tribune, and his subsequent editorial work based on knowledge of the country acquired by his journey across the continent, were of the greatest value to the west, and especially to the interests of Colorado. His services were of inestimable influence in hastening the beginning of the first railroad to the Pacific, and in promoting the settlement and development of the country west of the Missouri river. His famous advice to the employment-seeking individual in the east: "Go west, young man!" was the crystallization of his experience, observations and conclusions at the time he first visited the west. His letters written while on this noted pilgrimage were republished in book form, in 1860, under the title: "An Overland Journey."

CHAPTER XXX.

New Towns in Denver Region—Extension of Gold Discoveries—Founding of Golden—Wall's Pioneer Agriculture—Golden Gate—Mountain City—Blackhawk—Central City—Georgetown—Newspapers—Missouri City—Colorado City—Canon City—Progress of Mining Operations—Arastras and Quartz Mills—Consolidated Ditch—Forest Fires—Miner Killed by Indians—Lingering Frontiersmen—Floating Prospectors—Mines and Mine Owners of 1859—Road Construction—South Park Developments—Attacks by Indians—Tragedy of Dead Men's Gulch—General Notes—Mining Terms.

That summer of 1859 was one of untiring activity in and around Denver, and it saw the beginnings of many worthy and important undertakings. From very early in the spring a large number of men had been assembling at Arapahoe, opposite the mouth of Table Mountain, or Clear creek, cañon, a short distance from Golden; and from that assemblage went forth not only the developers of gold mines in the mountains, but the founders of Golden, Idaho, Mountain City, Central City, and other mountain towns in the Clear creek country.

Arapahoe had its beginning in the closing days of 1858, and was then expected to become a town of some importance. Samuel S. Curtis was responsible for it, and of that we have the following from him:

> "I was not in very great favor with the officers of the Denver Town Company during the first two years of its existence. About Christmas [1858] I moved over to and laid out Arapahoe on Vasquez Fork, now Clear creek, just east of the Table Mountains. In February, 1859, I went to the States on horseback with my grub and blankets on the horse, and saw no human being between Fort Lupton and the emigrant crossing of the South Platte, a distance of about two hundred miles. I did not realize it so much at the time, but it was a tough trip. I reached Denver on my return, with a stock of merchandise, on July 3rd, and located my goods at Arapahoe, where quite a number of people were engaged in placer mining, and turning the creek to get down to bed rock, none of which proved profitable. In the fall of 1859 I moved my stock of goods to Auraria, not having been able to secure a satisfactory room on the Denver side of Cherry creek."

Arapahoe in the spring and summer of 1859 accumulated fifty or sixty cabins; then it was suddenly deserted, the abandoned cabins later removed to Golden, and the land used for agriculture.

The Golden Town Company, which was called the "Boston Company" by its originators, was an afterthought on their part. They had encamped at that gateway to the mountains—the mouth of Clear creek cañon, where the trail to the mountain diggings crossed the creek. Continued high water suggested to J. M. Ferrell the need for a bridge there, and its probable value as a business enterprise. He first constructed a foot-bridge, and a little later built a toll-bridge for teams, the first of the kind in this region. He improved the roadway in the vicinity of his bridge and had a property of public utility and private profit.

The number of people gathered there, attracted by the great natural beauties of the locality, or encamped preparatory to entering the mountains, suggested the expediency of laying out a town. For that purpose a company was formed which consisted of David K. Wall, J. M. Ferrell, J. F. Kirby, J. C. Bowles, Mrs. Williams, W. A. H. Loveland, H. J. Carter, Ensign Smith, William Davidson, F. W. Beebee, E. L. Berthoud, Stanton, Clark and Garrison. They selected two sections of land, laying out, early in July, the half of one of them in lots and blocks; the remainder not being surveyed, until the following year. A saw-mill and a shingle-mill, which had just been set up in the adjacent pine woods, supplied material for building, which progressed rapidly, the town having about seven hundred located inhabitants before winter came on it. It was then almost a rival in size and ambitions of Auraria City and Denver City combined.

Golden was named for Thomas Golden, the friend and associate of George A. Jackson. Its pioneer citizens were John W. Ferrell, W. A. H. Loveland, Fox Diefendorf, P. B. Cheney, Dr. I. E. Hardy, George A. Jackson, Charles M. Ferrell, John F. Kirby, T. P. Boyd, William Pollard, James McDonald, George West, Mark Blunt, Charles Pennington, E. B. Smith, J. C. Bowles, David McCleary, I. B. Fitzpatrick, and J. W. McKay. The Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald, of August 8, 1859, said Golden at that date, only one month after it had been surveyed, had fifty houses, one thousand nine hundred and thirty men, and seventy women. This census, after the fashion of some made in our own times by ambitious towns, probably included much of the transient travel to and from the mountains the day it was made. The proportion of people to houses—forty to one—was certainly an uncommonly large one, even if some of them did live in tents. But Golden was a substantial town, and it has never lost that quality.

The first vegetable garden worthy the name in the new country was planted there in the spring of 1859, and before the town was located, by Mr. David K. Wall. In that first year he cultivated two acres, selling the produce to the mining people and receiving some two thousand dollars for the crop. The next year he planted about seven acres, and from the crop realized near eight thousand dollars, so fruitful was the soil. After Mr. Wall grew his first crop, others saw the possibilities of the business, and in the following spring abandoned the hard, wearisome, disappointing occupation of hunting for gold, and turned their attention to small farming and gardening in favorable places along the South Platte near Denver, and on its tributaries nearer the mining towns. In those days all kinds of garden stuff brought extravagant prices that reconciled its producers to an occupation which, if not so feverish and exciting as life in the diggings, was more certain to yield returns that would make the average man of that time better off in both mind and pocket.

First House built in Golden. Erected by the Boston Company in July, 1859. Structure, slightly changed, is still standing and occupied. (From a photograph made in 1860.)

Mr. Wall's California experience had taught him that there were ways of making money in a mining country other than digging it out of the gulches and bars. He had brought with him here a supply of garden and field seeds with some farming implements and garden tools. Of his agricultural operations in the spring of 1859 he says:

> "I cleared, plowed and fenced a few acres of good ground on the site of the valley of Golden. I plowed, planted, and dug a ditch to convey water, this being the first start toward farming and irrigating in this new and fertile soil. My camp proved to be a success, and it gave confidence to others, who came in later, that it was possible to raise good crops in this country. During the latter part of the spring and summer and in the fall I took great interest in my growing crop, and became sanguine as to the promises in this new country. I wrote to my brother what supplies to bring out, which he did with four horses, in the month of October, following, bringing glass not only for our building, but to make hot beds. The following year, in 1860, a larger area was cultivated and a better crop of vegetables was raised. People had flocked in fast in 1859, and that summer a town company was organized, in which I was one of the members, and the town of Golden was laid out."

This pioneer farmer remained at Golden until 1864, when he came to Denver and engaged in plains freighting. In 1871 he quit freighting and invested his capital in Denver real estate and since that time has been a resident of the city.

Golden Gate, two miles north of Golden, where the road from Denver to the Gregory diggings entered the mountains, became a flourishing settlement in a short time. At the mouth of Left Hand creek was another one, called Davenport, which was later abandoned. At Gregory point Mountain City was laid out in May, immediately after Gregory's discovery, and Richard Sopris started building the first house, on the 22nd day of that month. Sopris, with J. H. Gest, was operating the Mammoth Quartz Mining Company, which had acquired thirty claims on that lode within so short a time after its discovery. Black Hawk had early become a mining camp that summer and a close neighbor to Mountain City. Just beyond it, to the northward, Central City was laid out by Harrison G. Otis, Nathaniel Albertson and John Armour, in Kendall Gulch, and was given its name by Mr. W. N. Byers of the Rocky Mountain News at Cherry creek. Central City fast outgrew Mountain City—though they were practically one place—and in 1862 the Post Office Department changed the local post office name to Central City when the latter absorbed the other town and Mountain City disappeared from the map. In 1864 the Territorial Legislature incorporated Central City.

Kendall Gulch was named for Kendall, of Gregory's discovery party. It appears that honors were not equally divided among the members of that famous band of prospectors, for they named the gulch after Kendall, and the hill, or point, after Gregory, but do not seem to have attached the name of Wilkes Defrees to anything of permanent duration. Wilkes was the man who dug the dirt from which Gregory washed the first gold on that memorable 6th of May, and he should have been remembered when names were being affixed to the hills and gulches and creeks in the locality of his profitable shoveling. Other men took care of their fame by doing the naming themselves and for themselves.

"Spanish Bar," on, or in Clear creek, a short distance below the mouth of Fall river was discovered by Andrew Sagendorf and Ransom P. Smith on May 10, 1859, and it developed excellent results. A few days later, and among others, a party of Spaniards, or Mexicans, came in and staked out claims on part of the bar; and it was from their presence and operations that the place received its name.

Up on the headwaters of South Clear creek where he had struck a lode about the first of August, George F. Griffith and others laid out a town which they named Elizabethtown. It grew but little in 1859, as richer discoveries elsewhere soon drew the miners away; and for several years it did not do much better. In 1867 its name was changed to Georgetown, and after the discovery and development of the silver mines its importance was demonstrated and it became a flourishing place, though it is now somewhat in decadence.

On August 8, 1859, Thomas Gibson, previously of the Rocky Mountain News at Auraria-Denver, issued at Mountain City the first number of the newspaper we have elsewhere mentioned, with the imposing name of The Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald. It was printed on the little lever press Jack Merrick had brought to Denver in April of that year, and on which he printed here the first and only issue of his Denver newspaper, the Cherry Creek Pioneer. Gibson, who had bought Merrick's outfit, had taken it to its new field of usefulness. After an existence of about five months the Reporter with the rest of its name, was discontinued there, and its equipment passed to the Boston Company of Golden, Mr. Gibson returning to eastern Nebraska. In the spring of the next year he brought a new newspaper outfit to Denver, and on May 1, 1860, began publishing Denver's first daily paper, the history of which is involved with that of other Denver newspapers given in a succeeding chapter. Gibson's pioneer paper at Mountain City was published in George Aux's log cabin.

Late in 1859 a town was located on the divide between Russell and Spring gulches, and named Missouri City. "Governor" Steele and "Secretary" Bliss, of the "Jefferson" Provisional government, wanted the overland stage and express company to move its offices there from Denver, declaring that it was the only town in the country that would ever amount to anything. But "Missouri City" faded, and soon passed away.

About midsummer a party from Denver and Auraria went down to Pike's Peak to lay out a town near that landmark, among them being M. S. Beach, W. P. McClure, E. P. Stout, Lewis N. Tappan, T. H. Warren, S. W. Wagoner, R. E. Whitsitt, and L. J. Winchester. These men organized the Colorado City Company and made claim to a tract of land containing two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on which they laid out Colorado City. There is of record one of their deeds dated as early as August 13, 1859, but all their arrangements were not completed, nor did Colorado City stand out full-fledged, until November 1st of that year. The few of the people of "El Paso," of 1858, who had lingered around there, joined the new company and their old town then lost its shadowy identity. Colorado City was never a mining camp, but was intended from the beginning to be a commercial metropolis. Within a year it contained upward of two hundred and fifty people, but on paper it was a city of widespread distances. A solitary traveller passing that way in the summer of 1860, after nightfall was astonished to find his horse stumbling over town-lot stakes, with no sign of a town anywhere visible in the evening gloom. This appears to have been the first application of the name "Colorado" in this region.

In October a small company which included some of those who had established Fontaine City at "the Pueblo" a year before, founded Canon City by building a solitary cabin. These men also located a road up into the diggings at Tarryall that autumn. The next year when the new people began coming to the mountains, many of those following the Arkansas river halted at Canon City on their way into the South Park, and that year really marked the city's beginning, for it was not until then that anything like permanent town improvements were made.

Notwithstanding the founding of towns all 'roundabout, the two at Cherry creek were steadily the headquarters for the miners and the mining country; and most of the controlling agencies that directed new enterprises emanated from them. They were never at any time seriously threatened with loss of their prestige by places which had sprung up around them.

Prospecting the creeks and gulches had continued with great energy, and men swarmed in them like excited colonies of ants over their disturbed hillock homes. A number of discoveries of varying importance were made on the headwaters of Boulder, North Clear creek and South Clear creek. By the close of June upward of two hundred men were working in Illinois and Nevada Gulches, and Missouri Flat, adjacent to Russell and Gregory gulches. They were taking out an average of nine thousand dollars a week. By the close of September there were about nine hundred men at work in Russell Gulch, alone, their weekly production averaging in the neighborhood of thirty-five thousand dollars.

Elsewhere in that general section many other discoveries and developments were made in that historic summer of 1859, and hundreds of men were finding remunerative employment. Deadwood Gulch opened up more favorably, and before autumn came, about three hundred men were working there on an average basis of something like five dollars a day for each. Early in the autumn the water in Boulder creek was flumed in several places, to permit working in the creek's bed, and fair results obtained. At Gold Hill, twelve miles west of Boulder City, where rich quartz veins were found earlier in the year, a large number of men were working, and in the autumn a makeshift quartz mill was set up there. At the Twelve Mile placer diggings on the head of North Clear creek, on Left Hand creek, and on smaller tributaries of the Boulder, many men were toiling industriously in the placers and with fair rewards, these Boulder diggings all ranging from three to five dollars a day to the man. On South Clear creek, from Grass Valley Bar to the forks of the creek, considerable numbers of men were taking out about living wages.

Gulch Placer Mining.

One of the great disadvantages under which many of these pioneers were laboring, was the difficulty in getting water to the mines, for washing. Flumes were built, ditches dug, and even wheels put in the streams to raise the water by the current's power to a level whence it could flow to adjacent workings.

At this time bar mining was also going on in the South Platte river above Denver, on Ralston creek above its mouth, and on Clear creek near Arapahoe. The bar workings never equalled, nor came anywhere near equalling the "mountain diggings," and that summer's ending brought with it the conviction that their ending would not be a great while in coming. This class of work was continued for a couple of years, but many of the places were exhausted to the last dollar's worth this first season, by the swarms of men who turned over nearly every foot of material they contained.

No trustworthy estimate of the total gold product of the region that summer and autumn could ever be formed, but it must have amounted to a large sum, reaching into millions. Many of the miners were reticent about the results of their operations, but when such numbers were securing some gold, all of them put together must have found many hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth.

Early in the proceedings the work of dealing with the partly decomposed quartz was undertaken; and before the summer closed several arastras and a few rude quartz mills were set up and at work in the Gregory District, the arastras uniformly making good profits for their owners; the other mills not being so successful.

An "arastra" was a Mexican contrivance, and an exceedingly primitive one it was, for grinding up quartz. It was a circular tub or trough in the ground, usually ten or twelve feet in diameter, and a couple of feet deep, constructed of stone. In this tub, or trough, heavy stones called "mullers" were dragged around by horse or mule power, over the broken quartz, thus grinding it to powder in the water which covered it, and doing the work fairly well, but with the slowness of the mills of the gods. Those used here in Colorado were usually operated by water power instead of with animals.

The first arastra in the region was an ox-power affair constructed by Lehmer, Laughton & Peck at the Gregory Diggings, near the mouth of Gregory Gulch. They were energetic pioneers in the business, for they began erecting it June 28th, and by the middle of July had it at work grinding quartz in a small way. On July 5th, J. D. Peregrine took in the material for one that was run by water power and set it up at Black Hawk. It was a large affair, the wheel that operated it being sixteen feet in diameter. It began work on August 5th, its large capacity and successful operation making it very profitable to its owner.

On September 17th Prosser, Conklin & Co., who had brought in the first steam stamp mill, got up steam and tried their apparatus. It was a small mill of three stamps, and was set up on Claim No. 1, of the Gregory lode. By the middle of October they had it regularly at work and were doing well with it. On October 7th, Coleman, Le Fevre and Co., started another steam mill, of six stamps. This one was erected in Eureka Gulch, but it broke down soon and was not repaired and put in operation again until November 4th. Late in October a man named Clark took in the third steam mill and had it at work in December.

By October 1st there were five arastras running on North Clear creek and two small wooden stamp-mills, with four more arastras building. All of them were water power affairs, the pioneer ox-power mill having been equipped with a wheel in the meantime. In 1860 stamp-mills arrived by scores and arastras grew in the night.

These small milling concerns that were in operation were realizing about two hundred dollars per week, each, working on the "headings" from the sluices—that is, such quartz as was too coarse to pass through the sluice screens. But Coleman, Le Fevre & Co's. steam mill, when it finally got started with its six stamps, did much better. In its first run, of seven days, it produced one thousand, four hundred and seventy-two pennyweights of gold. At this time they were sixty feet down on the Gunnell lode and the decomposed pyrites was giving way to more solid material. But it paid at the rate of sixty dollars a ton and grew richer the deeper they went. At seventy feet from the surface they realized from fifteen tons, seventeen hundred dollars.

Results approximating these were being duplicated in many other places and the mining community, or that part of which had workable claims, was in a fever of enthusiasm. Preparations were made for building many other mills and arastras, and to most of the claim-owners it seemed that they were just getting ready to mine in earnest.

Immediately after Gregory's discovery and the beginning of active mining, the scarcity of water in all the diggings became a serious hindrance. W. Green Russell, who was naturally much of a leader, saw that something must be done to bring water to the mines. It was decided to bring it from the head of Fall river in a ditch which would be twelve miles long. Russell organized the Fall River Company to dig and own the ditch. Another party, realizing the same necessities, had located a ditch and claimed the Fall river water right. This was the Rocky Mountain Company, of which R. W. Steele, afterward Provisional Governor, was President. The conflicting claims brought the ditch to a standstill for a while, but in a few weeks the two companies united, as the Consolidated Ditch Company, with W. Green Russell as President; A. H. Owens, Secretary; and J. M. Wood, Superintendent. It was made a very expensive undertaking by reason of the high prices for materials and appliances needed. Lumber had to be whip-sawed and carried on the backs of men to the places it was used; powder for blasting cost eighteen dollars per keg; steel was a dollar per pound. The only cheap thing was labor. Hundreds of idle men who had failed to find a place to dig gold were glad to work in the ditch at any wage they could get. It was a large undertaking and was not completed until nearly a year had elapsed. But it was of tremendous advantage when they got it done. In later years when most of the bars and gulches had been worked out, the ditch passed into the hands of alien stockholders, and its mismanagement destroyed its usefulness to the region and its value to its owners.

In June of that summer of 1859 the mining people had their first experience with a great conflagration in the mountain forests of the Rockies. The season was an exceedingly dry one and the accumulation of woodland debris was as inflammable as tinder. The fire swept everything before it on the ranges, from a point forty or fifty miles north of Gregory's to one about an equal distance south, the roaring flames ascending, at times, a hundred feet above the tree-tops, and spreading with the speed of the gale which bore them along.

Many prospectors were scattered through the mountains in the path of the fire, and surrounded and cut off by the flames. How many perished was never known. The first reports made the numbers of dead, six; then the estimate rose to fifteen; then to seventeen; and finally to even greater numbers. The bodies of several, which could not be identified, were found along the more beaten trails after the fires burned out; but how many died in the remoter recesses of the flame-swept area could not be told. There was none to make inquiry or search, and a missing man, if his disappearance were noticed at all, might be thought absent for any one of a great number of common reasons. But there was not one chance in ten that the disappearance of the average man in that throng would have occasioned any comment, unless he went out of the world by personal violence with his fate witnessed by others, or later becoming known.

The first miner killed by Indians in the near vicinity of Denver, was a man named Banker, who was shot by a band of Utes, on Clear creek, early in the summer of 1859. A party of miners pursued the savages, but the latter got across the Snowy Range before they could be overtaken. The miners in the Clear creek districts were not much troubled by the Indians. The region was between the Utes and the Arapahoes, who were hereditary enemies. The Arapahoes in these early years made friends of the miners and the combination deterred the Utes from often crossing the divide after scalps and plunder.

At this time there were still some of the old trappers and mountaineers in this section, following the only kind of life that to them seemed worth living. They formed a sort of caste by themselves, and were inclined to hold aloof from the miners and adventurers that were swarming around them, and whom they regarded as intruders in their wild domain. Some of them were French or French half-breeds, and these looked upon the invading army with the utmost disfavor, as it meant the speedy end of their business, which had already run very low in volume as well as profit.

By the close of the summer of 1859 the discoveries had been numerous enough to give welcome employment to many waiting, anxious men, but there were many more who still could find no claims on which to work. By this time there was a large floating population—if it were not mostly a floating one—with few resources; often, none at all. These were willing to work for day's wages, and for hundreds this had become the sole dependence; but not all, by any means, who so sorely needed it, could find that kind of employment. The construction of the Consolidated Ditch gave work to many, but not to all. A rumor of a new discovery would send the unrewarded prospectors, and the idle but willing laborers, down upon the new locality like a cloud of grasshoppers; and not one in fifty of those who thus went post-haste, would find place to wield his mining tools. Learning that they were too late they would swarm again to some other field which, in turn, they would abandon under similar circumstances. It was a trying, wearing life for the multitude of disappointed men, and sufficient excuse for the majority of them giving it up in mingled disgust and despair, and making their way back to the States as best they could.

Mexican Arastra.

Before the end of that autumn, the established mining districts in the territory of Clear creek and its tributaries were, beside the Gregory, Jackson, Russell, and Spanish Bar, the Central, Enterprise, Eureka, Griffith, Illinois Central, Lake Gulch, and Nevada.

Aside from those otherwise mentioned, the following list embraces the names of the more conspicuous mines and mine-owners in that Clear Creek and Boulder country in the autumn of 1859:

"Alger," by William Alger;
"American Flag,"
"Barrett," by Wesley Barrett;
"Burroughs," by Benj. Burroughs;
"Briggs," by Briggs Brothers;
"Butler," by James D. Wood;
"California," by Hutchinson;
"Connelly & Beverly," by Connelly & Beverly;
"Dean-Casto," by Dean & Casto;
"Gaston," by James Gaston;
"Gunnell," by Harry Gunnell;
"Hill House," by Payne & Co.;
"Leavenworth," by Harsh Brothers;
"Miller," by A. Miller;
"Mack," by W. Mack;
"Missouri,"
"Rhoderick Dhu," by Stevens and Hall;
"Smith," by A. A. Smith;
"Snow," by James Snow;
"St. Louis,"
"Topeka," by Joseph Hunt;
"Tucker," by John Nichols;
"Virginia," by J. Oxley;
"Whiting," by Whiting & Co.;
"Ingles," by Webster & Co.;
"Indiana," by Thomas Brothers;
"Jennings," by Thomas Jennings;
"Kansas," by James Madison;
"Kentucky," by Jones and Hardesty;
"Wood," by Robert Wood.

Nearly all of these claims proved to be real lodes, and were "mountain diggings," in the parlance of that time. Most of them gave a good uniform yield to their owners or operators, though the names of nearly all of them long since disappeared, and but few of the claims are now-existing mines.

While a great amount of gold had been taken from the lodes, gulches, and bars in the six months following Gregory's and Jackson's discoveries, it was not a more potent factor in creating confidence and enthusiasm, than the fair prospect present for obtaining immeasurably more the next season. Owners of lodes were busy getting out gold-bearing material for the expected mills in the following spring, those already in operation being able to handle but a small portion of what was offered them. Tunnels were started in many places by the encouraged miners, but owing to the injudicious locations of most of them, they were of no practical use, and were abandoned in the following spring. They were situated too near the surface, and their projectors had neither experience nor capital to have done better at that time. So, a great deal of labor and money were wasted in these undertakings.

During the summer and autumn of 1859 the beginnings of wagon roads into the mountain camps had been made, partly by applied labor, but chiefly by the wear of travel on the trails. Most of the labor had been involuntarily done in repairing and bettering bad places that were impassable. The roads had become great improvements over the natural conditions in which, at the beginning, twenty yoke of oxen were required to drag a lightly-loaded wagon up the precipitous trails that had done duty as roads. A road from Denver to the South Park was projected, and when the Provisional "Legislature" of "Jefferson Territory" met in November, a charter was granted for it, and it was nearly finished in the following winter. Other road companies were also chartered by the same alleged authority. The St. Vrain, Golden City and Colorado Wagon Road, which avoided Denver, was undertaken; likewise one from Canon City, and another from Colorado City, into the South Park. These roads after their completion greatly facilitated communications, and the transportation of provisions and supplies to the mines, at reduced cost, beside giving evidence of permanence to the occupation of the country.

As prospecting in the summer of 1859 extended over greater areas, a portion of the surplus population flowed across the range and became established on a tributary of the Blue river, where Breckenridge is now located in Summit county. Several hundred men were soon congregated there. Others had made their way into the South Park, drawn thither by the stories of earlier mining in that section. There, on a branch of the South Platte, a miner named W. J. Holman, discovered gold in fine quantities. He called the place "Pound Diggings," so named for his friend David Pound. It was a most enticing name, and soon made a great reputation for the locality; many of the thoughtless, credulous crowd rushing in there, taking it for granted that the name signified that a man could dig out a pound of gold a day as his average production, ignorant or oblivious of the fact now so well established, that Nature does not often bestow such opulence on diggings anywhere.

However, these new mines developed most encouragingly. In one week, Holman, with five men, took out six hundred and eighty-six dollars; the Mountain Union Company, with four men, produced in one week, four hundred and twenty dollars; Bowers & Co., with three men, obtained in one week, nine hundred and sixty-nine dollars—fifty-seven ounces worth seventeen dollars an ounce. In a generosity born of these successful operations, these miners with sudden riches before them, decided to call the camp and the creek on which it was situated, by the hospitable name of Tarryall, thus inviting everybody to stay and share in the wealth, provided it were found outside their claims.

Hundreds soon gathered and tarried there. It was not long before an uproar of wrangling and squabbling over conflicting claims broke out, and which ended, or partly subsided, when a large portion of the tarriers shook the dust of the place from their feet, and put out to find new mines elsewhere; which, to their great delight, they speedily did. It was determined that there should be, in the new district, no just cause for such unseemly dissension as that which had induced them to depart from Tarryall, but that even-handed justice should rule in the new camp. Therefore, to emphasize this praiseworthy decision, the place was named Fairplay, and from that beginning grew the present thrifty county seat of Park county. There are several other stories to account for the name, but they are inaccurate and far-fetched.

During midsummer of 1859 two parties of mountain prospectors were attacked by Ute Indians and several of the white men were killed. Late in July J. L. Shank, J. L. Kennedy, and William M. Slaughter, the latter a prominent pioneer of Denver, were in a gulch just south of Mt. Evans. They were fired upon by the Indians in ambush. The men were separated by some distance; Kennedy was killed, Shank mortally wounded, and Slaughter escaped. Later the bodies of the dead men were recovered. Shank had crawled into a thicket, and had scrawled a note saying that to avoid a lingering death from his wound, and thirst, starvation and exposure, he intended ending his life with his revolver. A bullet hole through his forehead proved that he had done so.

Water-power Arastra.

The other party, consisting of seven men, set out from Tarryall to find a more agreeable abiding place; and about the first of August were waylaid by ambushed Utes while passing down through a gulch on the other side of the divide, toward the San Juan country, and eight of the party were killed. The ninth man was wounded, but escaped and made his way to Denver, and almost immediately left for his former home in the east, half-dazed by his experience and unable to give the names of his companions. Later, the bodies of the six, scalped and mutilated, and surrounded by the carcasses of their pack animals, were found, but could not be identified. A dead Indian lay near them. From these unhappy circumstances the place was called Dead Men's Gulch, a gruesome name it still bears. These were about the only serious troubles the miners had with the Indians until the outbreak of 1864.

Eight miles northwest of Fairplay an important discovery was made late in the summer of 1859 by a party of prospectors headed by Joseph Higginbottom, otherwise "Buckskin Joe." He was a mountaineer whose characteristic dress of tanned deer skin gave him his descriptive appellation. The Buckskin Joe Mining District was established there, and next attracted the dissatisfied, out that way, and the camp became one of great activity. In October, 1860, the town of Buckskin Joe was staked out by Hibbard, Stansell and Dodge. Later they gave it the name of Laurette, and far later, the town of Alma was established near its site. Many of the claims developed with great richness, and the locality became the scene of extraordinary excitement, people flocking there from all parts of the mining region, living in shacks, tents, wagons, and under trees, until the gulch soon contained over two thousand.

Hamilton and Jefferson followed in the South Park the same season, the latter in a short time becoming a camp of several thousand people. Many immigrants arriving in the later half of 1859 by way of the Arkansas river route, went directly into the mining camps in the South Park, and several hundred men wintered there that season. But, of these South Park pioneer "cities," Fairplay was the only one that survived.

Kit Carson who, at this time, was Indian Agent at Taos, New Mexico, and had the Utes under his care, appears to have considered the discoveries of gold in the region bordering on the Ute hunting grounds as of less importance than the consequences they would entail upon his Indian charges. In a report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, made by him late in the spring of 1859, he says:

"I have been informed that in the Belle Solado gold has been discovered, and that large parties of miners are on their way thither. If such is the case the Utahs will be dissatisfied. The Belle is the only place in their country where game of any consequence can be found, and if the miners and Indians come in contact I fear there will be trouble. The Indians will object to their being in their country and, if able, will drive them thence. The miners in search of gold will resent and, being satisfied that gold is there, will prefer death to returning. If one party is killed a much larger one will return to avenge the death of their comrades. The only hope of saving the Utahs now is to have them settled. The game will shortly be driven from their only hunting grounds, and necessity will compel them to steal, and, if Americans are the losers, the Indians will be pursued and many of them killed. Americans are not a people to apply to government for redress of grievances when they have the requisite force to compel the guilty parties to make the losses good."

The "Belle Solado" referred to by Carson was the locality in the South Park where the salt springs and marshes are. Among the old mountain-men it was known as the Bayou Salado, and it was the resort of the wild animals by thousands.

In a report dated June 8th Carson states that the miners had killed one Ute Indian; and this probably accounts for the revengeful affair of Dead Men's Gulch afterward.

The year 1859 was a dry one, and before the beginning of autumn water was becoming very scarce in all the diggings, and operations on many claims had to be suspended on that account. As the season advanced it became scarcer and work was stopped on many more claims. This was not altogether a hardship on their owners, as a large proportion of the successful ones, elated by what they had accomplished, were anxious to go home and show the results of their labor in the Pike's Peak region, believing that when they came back they would dig out plenty more gold. Then, the great majority of them—nearly all—did not know from experience what the winter might be in the mountains, and had contemplated all along that they would return to their former homes before cold weather set in. So, a great number of the people went back to the States late in the autumn for a winter's visit, with the intention of coming back in the spring, which they did; and with them went hundreds, thousands, who vowed they would never come back; and they did not.

With the returning claim-owners the next year came a new army of the enthusiastic and inexperienced, every individual excited by the stories of 1859, and few of them realizing what was before them. These new comers had to go farther to find working places, and many of them fared badly. The haste, the trials, the ignorance of the previous year were present again, and its scenes were re-enacted by even a greater number of disappointed, dejected souls, who had made their long journey for nothing, except an abundance of exceedingly bitter experience.

Some of the mining terms and phrases were of the mining soil, itself—born of it and the business, or transplanted here from other mining parts. A "gulch" is a ravine without running water except after heavy rainfalls, or at the time of melting snows. Later, the term was often applied to any narrow valley regardless of the presence or absence of a stream. The "color" is simply a trace of gold, and the term was used synonymously with "prospect;" so, "prospecting" was hunting for the "color" or a "prospect." "Grub-staking" a prospector is supplying an impecunious man of experience with provisions, tools and other supplies for an expedition into the mountains, for a share, usually one-half, of whatever of mineral value he may find. Many important mines in Colorado were located by men who were grub-staked when they made the lucky finds. "Jumping" a mining claim —or a town-site—a practice generally out of fashion this long while, was taking possession in the absence of the owner, and without his knowledge or consent, of a claim, or of land. Usually it was done upon assertion or presumption of defect in title arising from alleged technical non-compliance with established regulations; but occasionally it was open usurpation which sometimes led to bloodshed, and the rightful owner was not always able to re-possess himself of his property, though where the pioneer mining laws were in force they carefully guarded against such wrongs.

Aside from the pick and shovel, the pioneer mining appliances were the "pan," the "sluice," the "gold-rocker," and the "tom." The pan was an ordinary block-tin or iron basin holding about a half-peck, and was used by hand; it could have been used for a dish-pan if it were needed for so unusual a purpose, and often was used for a bread-pan. The sluice, for the operations of one or two men, was merely a square wooden box or trough, open at the top and both ends, of any desirable size and length—though the larger and longer the better. It was fixed at an inclination, and through it a constant stream of water was made to flow. Transversely on the bottom of the sluice, inside, cleats or riffles were fixed, retaining quicksilver to catch and hold the gold by its affinity for the yellow metal. The gold-bearing dirt and decomposed quartz were shovelled in, or loosened so the water would carry the material in, and as it was borne down the sluice the gold was disengaged and, falling by its heavy weight to the bottom, united with the quicksilver. In some placer work in the gulches this method was amplified to suit larger operations, and to some of these we will again refer. The rocker was a sort of baby-cradle with two bottoms, the first one being an iron coarse screen, while the lower one held quicksilver after the fashion of the sluice. It was a one-man affair, and the operator placed his rocker near the water, brought his pay dirt to it, put it on the screen, and poured water on the dirt from a cup with one hand, while he rocked the cradle with the other. The gold passed through the screen with the dissolved dirt, and was retained by the quicksilver on the lower bottom. With this simple contrivance many men took out small fortunes in the palmy days of placer mining in Colorado. The rocker, with its small consumption of water, was about the only thing that could be used in winter work, because of the frozen condition of the streams. The tom was a greatly enlarged rocker, working on the same general principles, operated by several men, and usually used in connection with two or three small sluice-boxes, the water being conveyed to it in a continuous stream.

It was with such appliances as these that most of this pioneer gold-mining in this region was done.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Bad Quality of Pioneer Liquor and Its Consequences—Ruffians, Gamblers, and Thieves—Rocky Mountain News—Eastern Newspaper Comment—Denver's First Fourth of July Celebration—Births of White Children—Further Transactions of the Town Companies—Termination of Their Records—General William Larimer—Trouble with William McGaa—Last Echo from "St. Charles"—Other "First-Born" Children—Bridge Building—Mercantile Additions—Prices—John McBroom—First School—First Duel—Another Proposed—First Marriage—Social Gatherings—Pioneer Theatrical Performances—Improvements—Great Mercantile Acquisition—Commercial Profits—Close of 1859—"The Cold Christmas."

All the early theorists, and the practical judges, too, agreed that the whiskey Denver consumed in her youthful days was of an exceeding bad quality. It was colored and otherwise doctored to suit the fiery tastes of various grades of customers, and retailed from bottles bearing popular nick-names; one virgin barrel usually serving as the base of all these operations. The customary retail price in 1859 for all qualities—none of them good—was twenty-five cents a drink. Whiskey was at the bottom of most of the frequent brawls and fights. Considering the common inclination among many who were then here, to use the pistol on slight provocation, the wonder is that the number of homicides was not greater than it was.

One day B. D. Williams, General Manager at Denver of the overland stage and express line, caught a drunken man making off with one of his mules. Williams, instead of having the reckless criminal lynched for the offense—always considered a capital one on the frontier—boarded him a couple of days until he sobered up, and then dismissed him with some good advice. Afterwards he justified this extraordinary leniency on the ground that the whiskey then retailed in Denver would make any man steal.

Among the hangers-on, the flotsam and jetsam of the great incoming tide of humanity, were scores and hundreds who were prone to drinking, sour in temper, and always ready for a fight. They were quick to resent a real or fancied slight, and often started a fracas or committed an outrage in pure wantonness. Many of these gentry, to whom the quality was utterly alien and unknown, were great sticklers for deference to what it pleased them to call their "honor;" and disregard for this imaginary possession, by blunt but decent men, brought on many an affray. The miners and other substantial members of the community, were usually prepared to resist flagrant encroachments upon their rights with a rifle or a revolver, and until a stable form of government was organized, each man had to be always in readiness to act, in a great measure, as his own executive of natural law.

Almost from the first, gamblers and thieves were the pests of the Cherry creek towns. A considerable number of them managed to get across the plains early in 1859; some coming quite early. Usually they arrived without resources of any kind, and in consequence resorted to all sorts of exasperating practices to keep their evil souls from parting company with their worthless bodies. Their outrageous behavior provoked frequent affrays and caused endless friction in the community. After the Clear creek discoveries began to generally yield profitable results, the gamblers and petty swindlers with their games and tricks for fleecing the unwary, seemed to be in a fair way to accumulate riches faster than the hard-working miners who were digging them from the earth. Scores of these harpies infested the towns, not even pretending to have any other occupation than that of plundering the thoughtless and reckless who had gathered up some of the yellow dust; employing means ranging all the way from the alleged "square game," down to bare-faced cheating, swindling and robbing. To this were added the depredations of thieves who stole, right and left, any portable thing on which they could lay their hands in the absence of the owner. These marauders and their gambling associates had been cowed for a season by the summary execution of the murderer Stoefel, but later renewed and continued their practices until the vigilance committees threatened them with the fate that later overtook the more dangerous class of outlaws.

The influence of good newspapers in any community is an element in the development and advancement of a town, a state and a country, that is oftener under-estimated than over-estimated, even if we pause to give careful, thoughtful consideration to it. It is an influence that exerts itself so steadily, so constantly, so persistently, that in becoming accustomed to having it with us and around us, we forget the measures of its benefits, as we grow thoughtless of those of the warm air, of sunshine, and of the dews and rains. It is to be said that none of the agencies at work in laying the foundations of this city and State, were more potent in results, more effective in forwarding and sustaining the welfare of the people, and in leading the way to better material and social conditions, than the Rocky Mountain News. There was something prophetic in the leading editorial article printed in the first issue of the paper, in which the objects of its proprietors in coming here and their faith in what they found here in the new country, were related in these words:

> "Hurrah for the land where the moor and the mountain
> Are sparkling with treasure no language hath told;
> Where the wave of the river and spray of the fountain
> Are bright with the glitter of genuine gold."

> "The Missouri river is no longer the "farthest west" to the ambitious emigrant, but leaping at a bound over 500 miles of solitude the emigrant now settles at the base of the Rocky mountains, and here, even in midwinter, has formed the nucleus of a future state. Spring has scarcely dissipated the dangers of winter travel, and yet thousands are here, many thousands on their way, and even now men ask with avidity for news of the mountain mines. If the richness and extent of the gold region realize their present promise a new state will be organized west of Kansas and Nebraska ere this year is closed, with 100,000 inhabitants. The proprietors of this paper have, until a month past, lived at Omaha, within 500 miles of the gold region, and have had abundant opportunity to judge of the truth or falsity of the testimony daily presented in regard to the gold mines. We think there is more evidence of a reliable character of the richness and extent of these mines, and obtained under far more unfavorable circumstances than was offered from California. The geological structure is the same as in the gold regions of California, and men who are familiar with mining in California have examined these mines west of Kansas and Nebraska as far as the season would permit, and pronounce these of greater promise than any heretofore known. The testimony is absolute as to gold, though it is not absolute as to the richness and extent of the deposit. Believing this, we have, at great trouble brought a printing press and all necessary fixtures over 500 miles at an inclement season and over roads freezing by night and thawing by day. We have done this because we wished to collect and send forth reliable information, because we wished to help mould and organize the new population, and because we thought it would pay."

In those old times when the powers of evil, of disorder, and of confusion became rampant, the News stood out against them like a surge-beaten rock in an angry sea. The Sons of Belial found it their bravest and most dangerous foe, and learned to fear it as they feared no other influence that was raised against them before the People's Courts came out with ropes. It was tireless and sleepless in its warfare against crime, and vice, and wrong, committed by those whose evil natures were encouraged and made daring by the unorganized, governmentless, irresponsible condition in which the people were situated in 1859 and 1860.

Nor was that all. This pioneer newspaper earnestly encouraged the multitude in which hope and despondency so frequently changed places, strengthened faith in the new country, and outlined the possibilities that only required development to become substantial realities. It early directed attention to sources of wealth and prosperity other than those of the mines, and pointed out the endowments which Nature had so generously bestowed upon the region. In one of its issues in the autumn of 1859, when it was barely six months old and the settlements only twelve, the News, in its endeavors to bring the people to a proper realization of the resourceful character of the country, said:

> "No country in the world, in so short a time, has developed so many resources of wealth. Not only the precious minerals, gold and silver, are found, but iron, copper, lead, alum, copperas, cinnabar, and numerous other minerals. We have the finest of building materials, marble, lime-stone, sandstone, brick-clay, and inexhaustible forests of the very best pine timber. Our agricultural products need not be poor in quality, nor small in quantity. Wheat and other small grains can be produced without limit, at less comparative cost and of better quality than in the Northwestern states, and to prove that all kinds of vegetables can be raised to the greatest perfection, one has only to pay a visit to our vegetable market."

The News never wavered in its faith, even when hundreds and thousands of disappointed would-be miners were flocking back eastward late in the summer of 1859, berating the Denver region as "a fraud and humbug," because they had not found gold nuggets lying around loose in the streets of the towns, and waiting to be gathered up in bags and baskets. The newspapers of the then frontier States made themselves merry over conditions they attributed to this region; and the Davenport, Iowa, Gazette, thus expressed its opinion of the accounts the News was publishing about them:

> "The Cherry Creek Rocky Mountain News comes to us printed on brown wrapping paper. The editor has evidently lied his paper black in the face. This number teems with glorious news about new discoveries of gold, and says the town is half deserted. So we heard, but not from that cause. It is all humbug."

Another border newspaper fabrication, amusing in its way, and intended as a burlesque on the gold discoveries out here, made the editorial circuit of the States and entertained many readers. It was like this:

> "It is said that a man takes a frame-work of heavy timber, built like a stone-boat, the bottom of which is composed of iron rasps. The frame-work is hoisted to the top of Pike's Peak, and a man gets on and slides down the mountain. As he goes down swiftly, the rasps on the bottom of the frame-work scrape off the gold in immense shavings, which curl up on to the machine; and by the time the man gets to the bottom a ton of gold, more or less, is following him. This is the common manner of gathering it."

The patriotic instincts and feelings of the people were not overwhelmed and buried by the excitement over the rich discoveries of gold on Clear creek, and the Fourth of July, 1859, was duly celebrated at Cherry creek. The day was generally regarded then with more veneration than it is now, or with more popular manifestations of it. At that time there was a considerable growth of timber at the mouth of the creek; and in the grove on the Auraria side the celebration was held. The Declaration of Independence was read by Dr. J. M. Fox, local agent for the stage company, and this was followed by an old-fashioned, spread-eagle oration, by James R. Shaffer, abounding with patriotism, and overflowing with predictions of the future greatness of this western country. But in his wildest flights of oratory—and practically no limit was placed on Fourth of July oratory in those days—Mr. Shaffer did not verbally picture anything seeming so extraordinary and improbable, as the sober facts with which we are now so familiar. A party coming from Omaha had brought with it the instruments of a brass band and knew how to use them; and these men enlivened the proceedings with the inspiring strains of "Hail, Columbia," the "Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee Doodle," and other melodies believed to be appropriate to a celebration of Freedom's birth-day.

Another notable incident happened in the Cherry creek settlements in this month of July; the birth of the first child (a girl) of full-white parentage. She was the daughter of Henry and Rosa Humbell who lived in Auraria; and her birth balanced matters of that kind between that metropolis and the one on the eastward side of the creek which had been taking on great airs because of its production of the junior McGaa in the previous March. Mr. and Mrs. Humbell had come here from Utah, by way of Bridger Pass, early in the spring of 1859. Humbell rented the cabin on the southeast corner of Tenth and Larimer streets, that had been Smoke's "El Dorado Hotel," where he started a bakery and employed as baker John Milheim, now and ever since that time, a well-known citizen of Denver. Mr. Milheim had come to Denver that spring from Omaha, and soon after his arrival engaged with Humbell as a baker. He remained with him until the first of the following August, and boarded at Humbell's cabin; the birth of the young lady having occurred about two weeks before he quit working there. But she was not the cause of Mr. Milheim's departure. He quit Humbell on August 1st to go into partnership in "Denver City," in the bakery business, with John J. Riethmann. Milheim, a baker by trade, had brought with him an outfit of baking pans and other appliances, with the expectation of engaging in the business, and early in that month he and Riethmann started the "Empire Bakery."

Mr. and Mrs. Humbell named their daughter "Auraria," in honor of her birth-place. They remained here until 1863 when they went back to the Reese river country which had then become part of Nevada. The elated Directors of the Auraria Town Company in their zealous pride in the birth of the first white child at the mouth of Cherry creek, donated a town lot to Miss Auraria, and three more to her parents. The deed for Auraria's lot was made directly to the child, is of record in old Book D, page 23, Arapahoe County Records of Deeds, now in the office of the Clerk and Recorder of Arapahoe county, and reads as follows:

Auraria Town Co
To
Auraria Humbell } Know all men by these presents that for and in consideration of the sum of One Dollar to them in hand paid, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, the Auraria Town Company, by its officers duly empowered, have sold and by these presents do sell and quit-claim unto Auraria Humbell, her heirs and assigns, the following described property situate in the City of Auraria, Kansas Ter., to-wit: Lot number one (1) in Block no. Sixty-seven (67).

In testimony where of witness our hands and seals this 22nd day of October, 1859.

William McFadding, Pres't
John J. Shanley, Acting Sec'y.

Henry Humbell duly received deeds for the three lots given him as a bounty, the nominal consideration for each conveyance having been one dollar. The first, made December, 27, 1859, was for lot number two, block number eleven, and is of record in Book D, page 21. The second was given him January 5, 1860, for lots seven and eight, block thirty-one, and is of record in Book D, page 22. Both deeds were signed by A. C. Hunt, Vice President; and Andrew Sagendorf, Secretary. These two, and Auraria Humbell's, deeds were filed for record on January 9, 1860.

There have been many conflicting statements promulgated concerning the "first white child," and the "first" girl born in Denver. The circumstance of John Milheim's employment in the house in which and when Auraria Humbell was born; the action of the Auraria Town Company in making these gifts of lots to the first white child and her parents; and the written evidence we found in the old records now in the Court House and which may not be questioned, certainly and finally settle this long and much disputed question.

In many previous accounts the dates of the birth of the "first girl" have ranged all the way from September, 1859, to October, 1860. In some of them there are confused traditions of the birth of Auraria Humbell, in which the family name is given as Hubbell, and as Hummell. A man and wife named Hummell lived in Auraria that summer, but that couple did not attain the distinction reached by Mr. and Mrs. Humbell who, Mr. Milheim says, greatly prided themselves upon being the parents of the first white child and girl born in the new city. Mrs. H. Murat, now at Palmer Lake, and who was familiar with the Humbells, corroborates Mr. Milheim's statements. We were unable to ascertain anything of the present whereabouts of Auraria Humbell or of her parents, if they be still living. Humbell was between thirty-five and forty years old, and his wife but little younger, when their daughter was born.

John Denver Stout.

The third child born at Cherry creek, and the first boy of white parentage on both sides, appears, beyond reasonable doubt, to have been the son of D. D. Stout, a brother of the first President of the Denver Town Company. This boy came into the world on August 30th, 1859, "at six o'clock in the morning," and was named John Denver Stout. He is now a citizen of Columbus, Ohio, and is known as Denver Stout. The father then kept a "day boarding house" in E. P. Stout's cabin that stood on part of the site of the City Hall, and is now a business man in Dayton, Ohio. In a letter to us he said that he hauled to Denver for E. P. Stout the first load of doors, sash and window glass brought to this city. D. D. Stout also stated that he did not long remain in Denver, but returned east with his wife and babe in the autumn of that year. The incident of this birth is involved in some additional records of Cherry creek pioneer babies that will appear a few pages further along.

Mr. Charles G. Chever, of Salem, Massachusetts, and who was one of Denver's prominent pioneers, wrote us the substance of a conversation on this pioneer-baby subject he had with the late Captain Richard Sopris, a few years before the latter's death. Captain Sopris related that in the summer or early in the autumn of 1859, a man named Fitzgerald or Fitzpatrick, thought to have been a gambler, and a woman assumed to have been his wife, arrived in Denver, traveling in a wagon on their way from Salt Lake City to the Missouri river. During their temporary sojourn here the woman gave birth to a child—sex not known—in a cabin on lower Eleventh street. Their stay was so short that Captain Sopris did not make their acquaintance, and he believed that necessity, only, forced a brief halt in their journey from Utah to the east. Captain Sopris could give no dates nor was he positive which of the two names the man bore. It would seem that this case was one to which Denver could lay no claims, and that a baby born under such circumstances could not and would not be counted.

The Directors of the Town Companies were not doing much business in this period; at any rate they did not record a great deal, and little of which they made account was of much importance.

On May 27th the Auraria Directors voted themselves for services rendered, "at least one original share," those participating in this dividend having been, according to the record, William McFadding, J. H. Dudley, L. J. Russell, H. Allen, and Thomas Pollock. On July 31st H. Allen was donated four more shares as compensation for general services he had rendered.

During these times they had made many additional donations. To Broadwell, Fisher, and Baker, one share each; to John Hughes, Frank R. Edwards, Mrs. Richards, Judge S. W. Wagoner and Dr. Wilcox, one share each; to William Chase, Pinkley Farr, and A. L. Perkins, one lot each; to D. C. Oakes four shares; to J. K. Elder, S. L. Inslee, Dr. Rider, Dr. W. Stout and Dr. Samuel Reed, one share each; to L. W. Babbitt, Pierson, Hatch, Yost and Villard four lots each. Later they donated Villard three full shares in addition to these lots, and Fred Z. Salomon was given upon his arrival two lots "on condition that he locate his store in Auraria."

On July 8, 1859, the Directors declared forfeited all shares and lots in Auraria, the holders of which had failed to comply with the company's requirements; and on July 31st appointed a committee of three to sell such lots for the Company's benefit, but instructed the committee to sell none for less than ten dollars.

The Aurarians did not make many assessments on lot owners. The first one, "for general purposes," was a levy of fifty cents on each lot, made in April, 1859; the other for that year was one of fifty cents on each lot, made in August, "to defray the expenses of surveying."

The executive organization of the Auraria Town Company underwent several changes during the last twelve months of its recorded existence. On August 12, 1859, Dr. L. J. Russell resigned as Secretary, and John J. Shanley was appointed, pro tem, in his place. On October 12, Judson H. Dudley resigned as Vice President and was succeeded by William M. Slaughter. Colonel Dudley, it may be remarked here, was a native of New York State (April 8, 1834). Though long engaged in mining elsewhere in Colorado, he remained a citizen of Denver until his death on February 13, 1900. Slaughter served as Vice President but two or three weeks when A. C. Hunt was chosen in his stead, though the record contains no direct mention of this change. Hunt, as our reader will have seen, was another of our active pioneer leaders. Born in New York State in 1826, he came to Denver in June, 1859, and was at once recognized as a man of force. Later he interested himself in Territorial politics and in 1867 was appointed Governor of the Territory. He participated in the conception and construction of the earlier lines of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, and remained a citizen of Denver until 1886 when he became interested in building the Mexican Central railroad and removed to Laredo, Texas. In 1892 he established his home in Washington City where he died May 14, 1894.

On December 13th, "citizens petitioned Board to call an election for President, Secretary, Treasurer and one Director." The Board did so, and on December 17th Thomas Pollock was elected Treasurer and Charles Johnson Director; there being no choice for President and Secretary. On December 24th, William McFadding was re-elected President, and Andrew Sagendorf Secretary. At this time the by-laws were changed so as to make a majority of votes cast sufficient to elect officers.

On December 27th the new organization ordered all lot donations stopped until further action by the Board, and instructed the Secretary to "make no deeds for donated lots not already selected." At the same time a general meeting of stockholders was called for December 28th "to consider matters of importance to the interests of the Company." But few came to the meeting and it was, therefore, postponed until January 4, 1860. This one also failed to be attended by a quorum, and that was the last of the matter. President McFadding died in January, 1860, and on February 4th Charles L. Dahler was elected his successor.

The transactions of the Board appear to have now been reduced to few and mostly unimportant matters; and dissension and loss of interest in the enterprise is manifest in the record. A committee was appointed by the new administration "to investigate the proceedings of the Auraria Town Boards," but if anything came of it it was not deemed of sufficient importance to be put on record. Some accounts of other transactions of the Auraria Board during these months appear elsewhere. The record terminates abruptly with the unsigned entry of May 5, 1860, relative to rewarding E. Karczewsky for bridging the South Platte.

A. C. Hunt.
(Photographed 1864.)

The financial transactions of the Auraria Town Company, so far as they are recorded, were not on a very large scale. The "City Warrant Account" in the record is in the neat handwriting of Judson H. Dudley. Nearly all the "warrants" issued were to Surveyor Foster, and they were in small amounts. The number recorded is fifty-eight, dating from December 7, 1858 to August 11, 1859, when entries in the account ceased. With one exception they were for amounts ranging from two dollars to twelve dollars and fifty cents; the exception having been one to William J. Parish for thirty three dollars and fifty cents. Nineteen of the "warrants," beginning with Number 1, and amounting to one hundred and thirty dollars, were issued to Foster; twelve of them for five dollars each and seven for ten dollars each. All of the larger ones and five of the smaller are recorded as having been "redeemed" at various times in the spring of 1859, but the fate of the other small ones, including Number 1, is not told.

The Denver City Organization possessed greater vitality than that of the Aurarians, and the record extends over a period about one year longer. At this juncture, however, we will only consider the transactions in 1859 occurring subsequent to the 1st of May.

On May 8th the Denver City Directors resolved "that the Town Company donate to Gov. Beall, E. A. Allen and Dr. Belt each ten lots in Denver City." "Gov." Beall was Samuel W. Beall who had come here from Wisconsin, and had been Lieutenant-Governor of that State from January, 1850, to January, 1852. He was faring well in donations, for the Aurarians had given him four shares, or sixteen lots, in their town. It was at this meeting, the patience of the Denver City Directors with Surveyors Curtis & Lowrey having become quite exhausted, that it was resolved "to invite proposals from the different Surveyors for surveying the City of Denver at as early a day as practicable," and the Secretary was instructed to "issue notices" to that effect. This resulted in contracting with E. D. Boyd on June 6th to survey all the land claimed for the town site. Accounts of certain special transactions about this time, such as the efforts to have a newspaper established in Denver City, and to have the South Platte bridged, appear elsewhere.

An example of the way they dealt with neglectful or insubordinate stockholders is afforded by the action of the Denver Directors on August 8th when, "on motion, Messrs. Hemingway, Brindle, Stevens, Walsh and Mitchell, were voted out of the Company for non-compliance with terms." Brindle and Hemingway were later reinstated but, not behaving well, were again cast out. Then the expelled quintette raised a rumpus and the Directors hired a lawyer.

At this meeting of August 8th, William Hartley, Jr., and William Smith, of the St. Charles Town Company, who had not been provided for under the contract between the Leavenworth town-site "jumpers" and Charles Nichols, were offered some consolation by the following somewhat ambiguous action of the Denver City Directors:

"On motion, voted to donate to Messrs. Wm. Hartley, Jr., & Wm. Smith equal to original shares in compliance with the constitution."

We have already stated that the original directing organization of the Auraria Town Company began breaking up in the spring and summer of 1859, and by the end of that year the process had been about completed. The Denver City organization now followed the Auraria example.

The Denver Directors met on September 24th and elected E. D. Boyd "Engineer of Denver City," and transacted some other business including payment of one hundred dollars to General William Larimer, Jr., "for services rendered the Company." At the close of that meeting E. P. Stout tendered his resignation as President. At the next meeting, October 4th, Stout's resignation was accepted, and R. E. Whitsitt elected to succeed him. General Larimer then tendered his resignation as Secretary and Treasurer, and Whitsitt was elected his successor in both positions, making the new President the holder of these three offices, beside those of Recorder and Donating Agent. The Directors voted their thanks to Larimer for his arduous services to the Town Company, and then appointed a committee to investigate his accounts which, of course, were found correct in every particular.

Of General Larimer, whose name and memory are so intimately associated with the settlement of Denver and Colorado, some personal history has already been given. He was a leader among Denver's pioneers, and is a commanding figure in Colorado's early history. He was a frank, considerate, generous man who made many friends, and was very popular here with every one. He actively participated in the movements to establish responsible government in this region, and there was a strong local sentiment in favor of having him appointed first Governor of Colorado Territory, which was cordially supported by many men prominent at Washington; but it was unable to overcome the influences favorable to Gilpin. General Larimer bore an active part in recruiting men for the Colorado Union regiments at the outbreak of the civil war, and was appointed Colonel of the Third Colorado; but, as that embryo organization was merged into the Second Colorado, his commission did not take him into active service. He and his son William H. H., went back to eastern Kansas in 1864, terminating their citizenship in Denver. General Larimer then recruited an Union regiment in eastern Kansas which he commanded as Colonel until the close of the war. Later he purchased a farm near Leavenworth on which he located and where he died May 16, 1875. The name of one of our great thoroughfares daily recalls his own to our citizens, which also designates one of the finest of Colorado's agricultural counties.

Through that summer of 1859 trouble with William McGaa had been brewing over his claims to certain lands included in the "Denver City" townsite, and because of his failure to properly improve lots to which he was entitled as an original shareholder, and those later donated to him. McGaa had promised more than he could perform, was a troublesome customer to manage, and a hard man to browbeat. The difficulties with him culminated on October 15th when the Denver Directors arbitrarily resolved "that the Company retain all lots belonging to McGaa until the matters in dispute be finally settled."

The "matters in dispute" were never "finally settled" with McGaa who, it would seem, was the victim of rather high-handed proceedings, considering that others who were as derelict as he, but in all probability far less aggressive, escaped having their lots confiscated "by the Company." McGaa persisted in his efforts to "retain" all his lots himself until his death several years later; and his descendants still assert their "legal right" to them. They tell of men coming to his widow several times a year, up to the time of her death, "with papers for her to sign," promising her considerable sums of money if she would sign them, which the same, they say, she would not do. However, these matters are not very portentious clouds on present titles.

At this juncture was heard what appears to have been the last echo from the old "St. Charles" undertaking. Some of its projectors after the meeting of October 24th, at which Adnah French resigned as its President and John A. Churchill was elected to succeed him, endeavored to resuscitate that company's "rights," and were talking about the "defects" in "Denver City" lot titles. Therefore, on October 17th the Denver Town Company's Directors

> "Resolved, that no more certificates of Stock be issued until agreement be signed by the members of the St. Charles Town Company, said agreement by request of the Board shall be drawn up by H. P. A. Smith."

Judge Smith's agreement appears to have made things satisfactory to the "St. Charles" men, for with the foregoing entry all record of their grievances is ended.

Notwithstanding their rupture with McGaa, the Denver Directors put themselves on record in favor of an endowment for his infant son and at the same time for one for the child of another progressive citizen. On November 5, 1859, they resolved "to donate 2 select lots to the Child of Mr. Dolman & also 2 select lots to William McGaa's child, Denver." This quotation is all there is of the record entry. The reason for the donation to the McGaa child is apparent, because he was undisputably the "first-born" of the Cherry creek towns. The donation to "Mr. Dolman's child" raised the presumption that we had encountered still another "first child" proposition; and so it turned out to be. We ascertained that Samuel Dolman had been one of Denver's pioneers, but had left the city many years ago. We finally learned that he was living at North Topeka, Kansas, and received from him a communication in which he said:

> "Richard Denver Dolman, my son, was born October 25, 1859, on Lawrence street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, in the first frame house built in that locality. He was named for Richard Whitsitt and the city of Denver. The Denver Town Company gave me two lots in consideration of having had the first white boy born in the city. My son, Richard Denver Dolman, is now living in Topeka."

Mr. Dolman incidentally remarked that he "took Mr. Whitsitt and his second, Mr. Lawrence, out to the ground in my spring wagon when Whitsitt fought the duel with W. P. McClure."

A search through the old records at the Court House revealed several transactions in real estate to which Samuel Dolman was a party, but none that could be identified as the transfer of the two gift lots; though there are a couple of entries that merely "certified" by the Town Company's officers that Samuel Dolman was the owner of such and such lots. It was so, also, with the case of "William McGaa's child." There are many entries in the old records of William McGaa's real estate transactions, several of which are mere "certifications" of McGaa's ownership, and among these may have figured the two lots given his child. These cases are quite different of record from that of Auraria Humbell, in which the regular form of deed was given directly to her.

The conflict between the claims of "Mr. Dolman's child" and those of the son of D. D. Stout, as to priority of appearance at Cherry creek, precipitated by the action of the Denver Town Company, was referred to E. P. Stout, at Cincinnati, for settlement; the file of the Rocky Mountain News for 1859 and other sources of information having failed to be of assistance. Mr. Stout said:

> "I know positively that John Denver Stout, born August 30, 1859, was the first white boy born in Denver, and the first white child born on the "Denver City" side of Cherry creek; and that the date, as above, given you by his father is absolutely correct. I can account for the donation made to the child of Mr. Dolman. D. D. Stout and family left Denver early in October for the States, and when the Dolman child was born the Stout child was not there; so, the Dolman child was the "first" white one remaining in "Denver City" at the time of the donation. If you deem it of particular consequence, I can find other parties who can verify these statements, and some written evidence of their correctness."

But, as the case had gone far enough, and the "first child" tangle had seemed to have been pretty fairly straightened out, we concluded further evidence would be unnecessary, and that the rightful claims of the really first-born girl and boys were in shape to be finally and conclusively recognized. Therefore, with a few words more we are done with the subject.

A conspicuous "first-born" white claimant on the "Denver City" side was the son of Samuel Howe, Sheriff of Arapahoe county in the early times, and who, at the expiration of his term, left Denver with his family and located in Montana. Charles G. Chever thought this child was born in December, 1859; and says he was given a name pronounced like "Eva." Eva got no donation of town-lots. There were, and still are, many other claimants of both sexes, the birth-dates as given us ranging through 1860 to October of that year.

Births of both sexes were not uncommon events here in 1860; there were several of them, and if the children failed to get lot-donations they were not very much the worse off. Neither of the three children shown by the records to have been thus endowed profited to any extent by the gifts. William Denver McGaa declares that he was never benefited by the action of the Denver Town Company's Directors; and asserts, on the other hand, that lots he should have inherited from his father were later taken from him. When he had become a young man he visited Denver with the expectation that he might recover his endowment lots, and some of the many others once claimed and held by his father. But intervening operations of various kinds and qualities, before and after legislation affecting titles, rendered most unpromising any serious attempts in that direction.

The town companies' records for the remainder of the year 1859 contain nothing of noteworthy interest. The importance and authority of the officers of both companies had been waning as the prospects became better for the establishment of the "City Government" which came into existence in the last month of that year under the act of the "Jefferson Territorial Legislature" consolidating the Cherry creek towns into one municipality.

The Denver City managers made heavier assessments on lot owners than did the Aurarians. The first, on November 22, 1858, was of one dollar and fifty cents on each share; the second, December 29th, two dollars per share; the third, January 29, 1859, five dollars and fifty cents per share; the fourth, in August, 1859, twenty-five dollars per share. About thirty shares, in addition to the nine owned by the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company, paid the fourth assessment. On September 24th the fifth assessment, of fifty cents, was made. This was "on all donated lots inside the 320 acres first surveyed; to pay for lithographing the town plat, and for building a bridge across the South Platte River."

The managers of both towns gave a great deal of attention to bridge-building, mostly on paper and usually without results. There was almost endless talk about it in 1859, and many propositions were made. The first was that of General Larimer who, on January 22, 1859, in consideration of a liberal subsidy of town lots, proposed to the Denver Directors to build a bridge across the South Platte, with a dam between the piers to hold water for running a grist mill. His proposition in full, and the fate of the enterprise, are stated in the chapter of this work dealing with our manufacturing interests.

On July 11th, 1859, the Directors of the Denver Company resolved "that a called meeting of the Company be called to meet to-morrow at 4 P. M. to take into consideration the construction of a free bridge." When tomorrow came nothing was done, for the record says there was "no coram."

On September 6, 1859, the Auraria Directors proposed the first bridge over Cherry creek, between the two towns. Ordinarily there was little trouble in crossing the often dry bed of that stream, but at other times a bridge was needed. The Auraria action was as follows:

> "Resolved, That the Auraria Town Company will defray one-half the expense of a bridge across Cherry Creek, at the junction of Larimer street in Denver and 5th street in Auraria, provided the Denver City Co. defray the remaining half. Said bridge to be built upon a plan hereafter to be agreed upon by the two towns."

This proposition led to the later construction of the suggested bridge on the plan indicated in the Auraria resolution.

On September 24, 1859, Thomas J. Bayaud proposed to the Denver Directors to bridge the South Platte at or near the foot of Fifteenth street, and a committee was appointed to confer with him. On October 15th a contract was made with Bayaud, who was to receive two thousand, five hundred dollars for the bridge, and R. E. Whitsitt and C. H. Blake were appointed a committee "to see the contract faithfully executed."

About the middle of January, 1860, E. Karczewsky built a bridge across the South Platte, from Auraria. It was at the foot of Eleventh street, was completed after three weeks' labor, and was a business enterprise of its builder. But the Auraria Directors afterward showed a willingness to reward him with some town lots, as indicated in a resolution of theirs which we will presently quote.

On March 8, 1860, the Auraria Directors donated A. C. Hunt sixteen lots "for building a bridge across Cherry Creek at its junction with Jefferson Avenue."

In the spring of 1860 H. B. Chubbuck and Jacob Smith built a bridge across the Platte from Auraria, at the west end of Larimer street. It was not a very substantial affair, but the Auraria Directors took it off the builders' hands on April 21st, giving them "60 lots at $10 each," for it. On the same day those Directors adopted the following:

> "Resolved, That $100 and Block No. 113 be donated for the purpose of erecting a full double-track bridge across the S. P. River at the foot of St. Louis street, on condition that the bridge be commenced by or before the 10th day of May, 1860."

This proposition did not avail anything and the bridge was not built. On May 5, 1860, the Auraria Directors met and took action as recorded in the following:

"On motion of A. C. Hunt, Resolved, that Block No. 108 be hereby donated to E. Karczewsky, he having built a fine bridge across the Platte river at the foot of Ferry street, and that a deed for the same be issued at the earliest convenience, unless the company refuses to recognize this act of the board."

This entry, which is unsigned, with its curious provisional clause at the end, is the last one in the Auraria Town Company's old minute book; so the old record fails to tell us by authority how the company later received the Directors' proposition to reward Karczewsky for building the bridge. With that entry the history of the Auraria Town Company, as recorded by its officers, abruptly terminated.

An old picture entitled "Early Days in Denver, (1859)." The "East Denver" High School stands in or near the foreground of the view

In August, 1859, there were two notable additions to the mercantile community at the mouth of Cherry creek. In that month J. B. Doyle and Fred. Z. Salomon brought in from the south what was for that time an immense stock of goods, their train consisting of twelve wagons each drawn by five yoke of oxen, and loaded to their utmost capacity with groceries, provisions, boots and shoes for men, dry goods, miners' tools and supplies, and so forth. Doyle was an extensive trader in New Mexico, and this train was part of a much larger one he had brought out from the Missouri river that summer. Down on the Arkansas the main train was divided and part sent to Denver in charge of Salomon who had come west with Doyle at that time as clerk and assistant, from St. Louis. Doyle had also brought with him that trip, from St. Louis, O. J. Goldrick, who came to Denver with Salomon, although he had started to go to Doyle's home ranche in New Mexico, which had formerly been the old United States military post, Fort Barclay, to act as tutor for the trader's children. When Doyle decided to divide his train of goods and send part of it to Denver, he made Salomon his partner under the firm name of J. B. Doyle & Co. Soon after his arrival here Salomon built a two-story frame building on Eleventh street on part of the ground now occupied by the Lindell Hotel, and opened his stock in it. Subsequently the firm built a large brick building on the northwest corner of Larimer and Eleventh streets which, in later years was converted to hotel purposes and is now the Lindell Hotel. Doyle did not become a citizen of Denver; but Salomon remained one until his death a few years ago, and was identified with many public enterprises for the development and upbuilding of the city.

The other establishment was that of St. Vrain & St. James, who also came from New Mexico, almost on the heels of Doyle and Salomon, with a long caravan of wagons laden with merchandise, including a large quantity of flour. When they arrived the towns were out of that commodity, and they reaped a harvest. Ceran St. Vrain was, as the reader will recall, an old-time frontier trader in this region, and one of the builders of Fort St. Vrain. This firm located in Denver City on the north side of Market street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets and near to Fourteenth, and had in its stock some shoes for women and children, the first brought to Denver for sale; but there were not a great many customers here for them at that time.

In that summer and autumn an active rivalry for trade existed between the merchants of the two towns, and for a while those of Auraria had a decided advantage over their Denver City brethren.

In the autumn of 1859 flour sold in Denver at forty dollars a barrel of one hundred and ninety-six pounds; bacon fifty to sixty cents a pound; beans sixty to seventy-five cents a quart; sugar, fifty cents a pound; milk fifty to sixty cents a quart when it could be obtained; coffee ninety cents to a dollar a pound; eggs, in small quantities, two dollars a dozen; tobacco two dollars a pound; whiskey, with no guarantee as to quality, ten to twelve dollars a gallon. These were the necessities of life. Luxuries, which were in small quantities wherever they happened to exist, commanded almost any price asked if the prospective customer had the disposition to buy and money enough with him to pay it. Feed for horses and cattle was high and scarce. Corn sold at four dollars per bushel; there was little or no oats, and no hay. The stock had to depend on grazing, and the grass had been devoured in the vicinity of the towns and camps by the thousands of draft animals coming in during the previous spring and summer.

One man who settled on a ranche near Denver in the summer of 1859 lived on it continuously for more than thirty years. He was John McBroom, who accompanied Captain Marcy's command in the capacity of wagon-master, when it passed through here in May, 1858. McBroom located on Bear creek, just southwest of Denver, and built a log cabin there which is still standing about a half-mile south of the Loretto Academy, and which became a favorite stopping place for the old frontiersmen who were then left in the country. Kit Carson, Colonel Boone—a grandson of Daniel Boone, Tom Tobin, Jim Bridger, Jim Baker, Tom Boggs and other noted Indian fighters were often sheltered under the roof of that old cabin. McBroom came to the frontier with Doniphan's command during the war with Mexico, and participated in the suppression of the subsequent insurrection at Taos. Late in his life he built a brick dwelling on his ranche near his old cabin, and in which he died in 1891.

Some of the new citizens of the towns had brought children with them across the plains in the spring and summer of 1859, and soon after Goldrick's arrival—he having been a school-teacher in Ohio—he began preparations for opening a school. This he succeeded in doing on October 3rd, in a log cabin in Auraria. Some further particulars of his school appear in another part of this volume.

On the 19th of October in that exceedingly lively year of 1859, Denver City and Auraria had an entirely new kind of sensation that stirred Cherry creek society from its center to its circumference. This was a duel between R. E. Whitsitt and W. P. McClure. Accumulated disagreements, some of which were political, culminated in McClure challenging Whitsitt. The latter rose to the emergency as promptly as he had in that of establishing Denver City on the site of "St. Charles," nearly a year before, and immediately accepted the challenge. They went out of town to fight the battle, the meeting taking place on the east side of Cherry creek just below the point where Broadway now crosses that stream, in the presence of about two hundred spectators. The weapons used were Colt's revolvers at ten paces and at the first fire McClure was hit in the abdomen but not dangerously wounded. This terminated the duel, which was the first in the history of the new country. McClure soon recovered from his injury, and the next year was appointed from Washington the first Postmaster for "Denver City." The "Sheriff" had tried to prevent the encounter, but his authority was not recognized.

Another duel was proposed soon after the Whitsitt-McClure affair. The Rocky Mountain News had published a list of delinquent debtors, in it appearing the name of an alleged friend of Thomas Warren, the pioneer ferryman and brick maker. Warren took offense at this and challenged Mr. Byers. During those times William N. Byers was an oft-threatened man, and upon more than one occasion had been promised assassination and the destruction of his newspaper and other property, by the vicious element on which he made relentless war. His physical courage was unquestioned, and his moral courage was equally great. His public reply to the Warren challenge effectively disposed of that method of attack. He said:

> "To any who may feel like calling us out, we have only to remark that you are wasting your time in sending us challenges or other belligerent epistles. You may murder us, but never on the so-called field of honor, under the dignified name of a duel."

The announcement of the first marriage in the Cherry creek towns, and the first in the Pike's Peak region, was published in the issue of the Rocky Mountain News of October 20, 1859. It was that of John B. Atkins of Mt. Clemens, Michigan, and Miss Lydia R., eldest daughter of Henry Allen, of Auraria City. The wedding took place at the home of the bride's parents in Auraria on October 16th, the Rev. G. W. Fisher being the officiating clergyman.

Life in the two towns in 1859 was not entirely subordinated to selfishness and gain, for there was a pleasant social side to it, even if Hospitality's resources and accommodations were limited. While the Rocky Mountain News never dreamed of "running a 'society' page," there were many social gatherings of bright and congenial people. Furthermore, there were frequent informal assemblages of members of the Masonic order, a society that was proportionately uncommonly strong in membership here in those days. For reasons that were obvious in those times, luxuries were few, and at every social assemblage for which the board was spread—and this implies nearly all of them—dried-apple pies were the dainties of the feasts. Mr. Byers relates that upon one occasion a citizen weary of their inevitable appearance, at last exclaimed: "Damn a country where dried-apple pies are a luxury!"

On October 24, 1859, the first theater at the mouth of Cherry creek was opened—or, with greater exactness, the first theatrical performance was given. The event occurred in the second story of the old Apollo Hall on the north side of Larimer street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, the second building from the corner of Fourteenth. C. R. Thorne, the first theatrical manager and who is well remembered by the few "Old-timers" still left, had collected courage and funds enough to bring a theatrical aggregation across the plains to a virgin field for Thespian triumphs. The "stars" of the company were Madame Wakely and her three daughters, referred to in most of the old accounts as the "Haydee Family." After a brief season here the Thorne management collapsed. Madame Wakely then took herself and daughters up to Mountain City on her own account and management, where she opened a theatre in a log building. There, she and her fair accomplices, won the hearts and dollars of the miners, from near and far, and in great abundance. The Apollo Hall was built in the summer of 1859 by the Barney Brothers, and was afterward enlarged and named the "People's Theater;" and was the first combined drinking, gambling, and theatrical establishment.

On the evening that Thorne opened in Denver City, the "Cibola Minstrels" "opened" Cibola Hall, or Reed's Theater, in Auraria City. That noted and somewhat notorious place was also one for drinking and gambling, and stood on the west side of Eleventh street between Wazee and Market streets, the buildings now on its site bearing numbers 1456 and 1458.

Both Denver City and Auraria had improved with much rapidity through the summer and autumn of 1859. While the saw-mills had enabled builders to erect a better class of buildings than the log ones, earlier in the season, a supply of brick resulted in still better architectural and structural achievements. Early in the summer Thomas Warren, who had established the ferry, started the first brickyard, and by the middle of August had a kiln burned and ready for delivery. His example was soon followed by others, and by the next year good building bricks were about the most reasonable things in price that the local markets afforded. Some of the log cabins not six months old—none were a year old—were pulled down in the autumn of 1859, to make way for brick and frame buildings. In the present older parts of the city brick buildings put up in the autumn of 1859 and spring of 1860 still stand, not greatly the worse for their forty years of antiquity. In the autumn of 1859 nails sold at twenty dollars per keg, and small window-glass at twelve dollars per box.

Gold dust had become a common circulating money medium, and constituted the greater portion of the "money" of the community; gold and silver coins being unaccountably scarce, and paper currency unknown. The abundance of dust proved the mines of the Pike's Peak region to be incontestable facts. Every business man, barkeeper as well as merchant, had little scales on his counter, and the customer, whether he were settling a bar-bill or paying for provisions, or a mining outfit, passed his buckskin pouch to the vendor who weighed out the amount due him; and if he did not take care to dribble enough dust on the scales to make "down weight" in his favor, it was his own fault.

We have stated that individual mercantile and other enterprises had become so numerous in Denver City and Auraria by the beginning of this year's summer that most of them had lost their historical identity and importance. Upon the whole this statement was correct, but in the autumn a commercial event occurred that was held to have greatly influenced the destinies of "Denver City," and to have established her business supremacy over Auraria. This was the arrival of two large trains of the big "prairie schooners," aggregating thirty huge freight wagons carrying an immense stock of general merchandise. It was in far greater variety than any of its predecessors, and when it was arrayed for sale in stores on Blake street, the "Denver City" partisans were exultant. "Now!" they cried, "No more Mexican trash for free Americans! No more one hundred per cent! The trade is ours, and Denver is saved!" It is not probable that they actually made these exclamatory declarations in words, but that is the way the story is handed down, and it was intended, most likely, to relate what they felt and meant, rather than what they ran around shouting. As it afterward proved, the prophecy was fulfilled as to "Denver City's" salvation, if she really stood in need of redemption, and the alleged declarations soon turned out to be true, excepting the one concerning the objectionable profit of one hundred per cent; that had to wait awhile before it became an established fact in either town. But it will be seen that the two "cities" were still inclined to be fierce in their rivalry; yet the leaven that was to bring them into union as one community, with united purposes toward a common destiny, had begun its work before Jones & Cartwright came in with their long trains of prairie transports, and selected Denver City as the base for their active and very extensive mercantile operations. In 1860 that firm built on the west side of Eleventh street near Market, in Auraria, a one-story brick warehouse, 33 by 125 feet, that was the largest merchandise depot in this part of the country at that time.

Store-keeping in these times was a profitable occupation for men who had sufficient capital to properly conduct it. The business of supplying clothing, provisions, tools and all the odds and ends of things the hurrying, wasteful, reckless population needed, or thought it needed, in the enterprises that were being rushed forward, quickly became a large one. Prices were extravagantly high, chiefly for the truthful reason that the long freightage across the plains or up from New Mexico was an expensive undertaking. But this was often made the plausible excuse for prices far higher than a fair estimate for the freight would put them, and the profits were large. The average customer was usually in too much of a hurry to haggle over the amount demanded, and as a general thing it would have ended in no advantage to him if he did; he could take the stuff or leave it, just as he chose, but the citizen of those days was little disposed to quibble about such things. True the risks were many to the pioneer merchants; their wagons being liable to disabling accident, or capture and pillage by thievish Indians. But in the end, the customer always paid the freight, and there was no resorting to the weary modern mercantile device of selling goods below cost, or pretending to do so, in order to attract customers. A barrel of whiskey with its resourceful possibilities, in "doctoring" and dilution, upon its delivery at Cherry creek in the primitive period, became worth almost its weight in gold, if we may use a somewhat extravagant comparison.

For nearly all the people in "Denver City," "Auraria City," and the mountain and placer mining camps, 1859 was their first year in the country, and they did not know how the weather would behave itself in the autumn and winter. About the middle of September there had been a general snow-storm which was unusually heavy in the mountains for that season of the year, and made it appear that winter had set in with great vigor and earnestness. This caused many of the people who had contemplated going back east late in the fall, any way, to pack up, hitch up, and get away from here forthwith. The snow disappeared in a day or two and a season of beautiful autumn weather set in and lasted until near Christmas. It was estimated that not more than fifteen hundred men remained in the mining camps through the winter. One of those who did took from Nevada Gulch with a rocker, twenty-four hundred dollars' worth of gold in the three months ending January 31, 1860.

The day after Christmas snow began falling heavily and the weather turned bitterly cold. The night of that December 26th still holds its place as having been the coldest period ever known in the history of Denver. Those who were here stated, and the few survivors still reiterate, that the mercury congealed in thermometers and they could not tell by the instruments how cold it was. As mercury solidifies at thirty-nine degrees below Fahrenheit zero, the reader will conclude that that was certainly not a sultry night. Those intending to go back east had gone several weeks before, and "Denver City" and "Auraria City" contained none but those who considered themselves permanent residents. On the first of January, 1860, it was estimated that the two towns had a winter population of at least one thousand.

CHAPTER XXXII.

"TERRITORY OF JEFFERSON"—THE POLITICAL ROMANCE IN THE HISTORY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT—ELECTION OF "DELEGATE" TO CONGRESS, AND REPRESENTATIVE IN THE KANSAS TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—PRELIMINARY STEPS TO ORGANIZATION OF PROPOSED "STATE OF JEFFERSON"—ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE—DELEGATE ELECTIONS—CONVENTIONS, AND FAILURE OF STATE MOVEMENT—RISE, PROGRESS, DECADENCE AND COLLAPSE OF THE "TERRITORY OF JEFFERSON," OF WHICH DENVER WAS THE CAPITAL.

In the autumn of 1858 a few men among the small number then assembled around the mouth of Cherry creek, following the natural bent of the American mind, determined to make an effort to have Congress detach the Pike's Peak region from Kansas Territory and give it a Territorial name and government of its own. These men had then been in this part of the country but a few weeks, and their action under the circumstances of that time, and viewed as it then appeared on the face of things, certainly would seem to have been anticipating events a long way ahead.

While our pioneers were planning their proposed new Territory some of them had also been more effectively at work establishing town-sites. The closing days of September had, as we have seen, brought forth the embryo city of "St. Charles;" and a month later the preliminaries of the more substantial Auraria City were well under way. In those days much of the present area of Colorado was, as we have elsewhere told, attached to the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas. The fortieth parallel of latitude was then the east-and-west dividing line between those Territories, as it now is between their successor States, and their western limits nominally extended through to what then was the eastern line of Utah on the summit of the Rocky Mountain ranges. The fortieth parallel is the present north line of much elongated Arapahoe county, but at that time and notwithstanding the nominal creation of Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory, in 1855, all this region around Denver was Indian country, unorganised, unsurveyed, and open to liberal constructions as to proposed new boundaries. The Indian title to it was not extinguished until two years later.

Two "cities" having been located at the mouth of our historic creek, the next movement—though it might as well be termed an almost simultaneous one, was toward getting the proposed new Territory on its feet. As the first step in that direction, it was decided to elect somebody who could and would go to Washington and importune Congress to create a new Territory here. The pioneers were not very particular as to what its boundaries should be, further than that it should consist of the western part of Kansas Territory and a part of western Nebraska.

Accordingly an election was held on the west side of Cherry creek on November 6, 1858, to choose a Delegate for this duty at Washington. "St. Charles," as a town had been left hanging somewhat in the air, but Auraria City was by that time an actual settlement with the survey of a large part of its town-site completed. This swift political action moved William M. Slaughter, one of the early comers, who was most usefully identified with pioneer affairs, and with many others in later years, to make the following entry in his diary:

> "Just to think that within two weeks of the arrival of a few dozen Americans in a wilderness, they set to work to elect a delegate to the United States Congress, and ask to be set apart as a new Territory! But we are of a fast age, and must prod along!"

At that time there were between one hundred and two hundred people at the mouth of Cherry creek and in the region around it within a radius of twenty or thirty miles, all of whom, excepting the three women who were then here, were privileged to vote at that pioneer election. Though it was assumed to have been held in Kansas Territory, there would have been no troublesome questions about parallel forty asked any freeman who offered a ballot.

H. J. Graham, one of D. C. Oakes' party which had arrived on October 10th, had been selected as the best man in the settlement to deal with Congress. It having been deemed advisable to have Cherry creek represented in the Territorial Legislature of Kansas, A. J. Smith, who had been here about two weeks, having arrived with a party from Omaha on October 20th, was made the candidate for Representative. Graham and Smith were elected to their respective positions without opposition, though it cannot be said that they received an overwhelming vote, as it appears that only thirty-five ballots were cast at the election.

Mr. Graham lost no time in entering upon his duties. On November 8th, but two days after his election, he set out from Auraria City on his long journey to the National Capital. He bore with him as credentials the most imposing documents the resources of Auraria could produce, and letters from all of his constituents who had friends in Washington, or who knew anybody there. After his arrival at the capital Mr. Graham endeavored by every available proper means to accomplish the wishes of his constituents; but without success. Congress did not merely refuse to entertain the proposition, but gave it no serious attention, at all. A few members individually endorsed it, but that was about all the favor it found. Mr. Graham received no compensation for his services, and personally bore all his expenses going and returning, and while he remained in Washington—an unusual instance of unselfish devotion to the public welfare.

Through the winter of 1858-59, pending the results of Mr. Graham's efforts at Washington, nothing further was done at Cherry creek toward Territory-making or State-building, in a political sense. But early in the spring of 1859, when it became known that Congress had done nothing, the indefatigable pioneers here concluded that they would do something on their own account, and see Congress about it afterward.

It may be properly stated here that the great obstacle to securing Congressional action on such a proposition as Mr. Graham presented, and which remained an obstacle for some time afterward, was the then increasing antagonism between the northern and southern sections of the country. The irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom made both sides jealous and suspicious of any movement toward organizing Territories that would in the nature of things soon develop into States with representatives in both Houses of Congress. The attempt of our pioneers, an account of which follows here, to independently organize a new commonwealth was assailed by both northern and southern critics; one side charging it to be an unlawful movement in the interest of the slave power, while the other alleged that it was intended as an aggression against the southern States, in defiance of national authority over the public domain. As a matter of fact the issue between the north and the south had nothing whatever to do with it. That issue did not figure in the plans and purposes of the pioneers in the Pike's Peak country. Some people, however, raised a different objection to the proposition. They said it would be absurd for Congress to create a new National division in so remote and inaccessible a region in the little known west, for the transient benefit of a few presumably migratory people. But a vacillating, impotent administration was in power—if such a term may be associated with its pitiable weakness—the mutterings of civil war were already audible through the length and breadth of the land, and in the face of all the conditions which then confronted the country it need not have been surprising that Mr. Graham failed to receive attention and consideration from Congress, the divided attention of which was directed to other and more important questions than the mission on which he went to Washington.

Representative Smith had been, in one sense, a little more successful in his mission, having been received by the Kansas Legislature as the Representative of the almost forgotten county of Arapahoe that had been created in the summer of 1855. That Legislature, influenced by the reports from the Pike's Peak region, by an impotent act approved February 7, 1859, abolished the Arapahoe county of 1855 and divided the western end of the Territory into five new counties, one of which, embracing the Cherry creek settlements, was designated "Montana county." We could not ascertain what part, if any, Representative Smith had in the enactment of that law; and we were likewise unable to find any account of other legislation for the alleged benefit of the people in the Pike's Peak country having been effected by him during that winter of 1858-59. At this juncture and for the reader's convenience we remark that an account of the nominal creation of Arapahoe county in 1855, by the Kansas first Territorial Legislature, and of all the details connected with the heretofore unrecorded early history of the county, will be found at length in Chapter LII, and which will make clear the frequent references in this chapter to the county's primitive affairs.

Early in the spring of 1859 the people here had resolved upon organizing a government of and by and for themselves. This feeling crystallized in a public meeting of the citizens of the two Cherry creek towns being held in Auraria on April 11th to take some preliminary action. The following report of that first movement toward establishing a definite civil government here of sovereign powers is taken from the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News, April 23, 1859.

"Public Meeting"

"At a meeting of the citizens of Auraria and Denver City held at Wooton's Hall on the evening of the 11th inst., on motion of L. J. Winchester, Dr. L. J. Russell was called to the chair, and Andrew Sagendorf appointed Secretary; when the object of the meeting was stated by H. McCoy, Esq., followed by Gen. Larimer in a few general remarks, Mr. Collier introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That on account of our distance from, and difficulty of communicating with, the proper authorities, we the people who are the power here, authorize the late county officers-elect to enter at once upon the discharge of their respective duties, without waiting for their commissions from the Governor, after having received their certificates of election from the Commissioners and having given the proper bonds.

Gen. Larimer, Hon. Wm. Clancy, Judge Wagoner and others spoke at length in favor of the resolution, and were opposed by Hon. Henry Allen. The resolution was lost. On motion of E. P. Stout, Esq., it was—

Resolved, That the different precincts be requested to appoint delegates to meet in convention on the 15th inst. to take into consideration the propriety of organizing a new State or Territory.

Which was carried unanimously. On motion adjourned.

L. J. Russell, Pres.

A. Sagendorf, Secretary.

The "county officers-elect" referred to in the first resolution were those chosen at an election held on March 28th. Of that election and of several other county elections held here in 1859, the reader will, as heretofore remarked, find full particulars in Chapter LII in addition to what is necessarily said of them in this chapter. At that election 774 votes had been cast, and voting had been done in seven "precincts," which were those referred to in the second of the foregoing resolutions.

Pursuant to Mr. Stout's resolution, a meeting of the Auraria citizens was held on April 14th to appoint delegates to the proposed convention. The following report of its proceedings is also taken from the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News:

"Auraria, K. T., April 14.

"Pursuant to call, a number of the citizens of Auraria, K. T., met in the store-room of R. L. Wooton. Henry Allen was called to the chair, and stated that the object of the meeting was to appoint delegates to attend a convention to be held in Auraria on the 15th inst. to take into consideration the project of organizing a new State. W. D. McLain was called upon to act as Secretary of the meeting. On motion it was voted that the Chairman should appoint a committee of three to nominate six persons to act as delegates to the convention. The chair appointed R. L. Wooton, Thomas Pollock, and D. D. Cook. After a short absence the committee reported the following names of those to act as delegates: H. Allen, L. J. Russell, D. D. Cook, W. M. Slaughter, W. D. McLain, and Thomas Pollock. On motion it was voted that the report be accepted and the committee discharged.

On motion it was voted that the persons suggested by the committee be appointed to act as delegates. Mr. White then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegates be instructed to act in the convention with a view to forming a State government, and that they should let no sectional influences sway them in their deliberations.

The resolution was adopted and on motion it was voted that the minutes of this meeting be published in the Cherry Creek papers. Minutes read and approved. On motion the meeting adjourned.

H. Allen, President.

W. D. McLain, Secretary.

At that time there were no "Cherry Creek papers." Merrick was here with his little printing-outfit, but had not issued a paper. Byers, Gibson and Dailey had not yet put in their appearance, though it would seem probable that the Aurarians had tidings of their presence in the country and of their prospective advent at Cherry creek.

Meetings at other places, to appoint delegates, were held, including one in Denver City; but the proceedings of the latter are not of record.

The convention met on April 15th in "Wooton's Hall"—the second story of Wooton's "business block" wherein the News was established a few days later. General William Larimer, Jr., was made temporary Chairman, and Henry McCoy temporary Secretary. The committee on credentials reported the following-named duly accredited delegates present:

THE WESTERN TERRITORIES
AFTER THE PASSAGE OF
THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL
UTAH TERR
KANSAS TER
GULF OF
MEXICO

Fountain City—Henry McCoy, George McDougall, H. Rogers, J. R. Shaffer, A. Thomas, and S. W. Wagoner.

El Dorado and El Paso—Josiah Hinman, L. J. Winchester, Thomas Warren, C. Gilmer, G. W. Putnam, and T. Edwards.

Arrapahoe—Messrs. Fisk, Castro, Cook, Cochran and Davidson.

Auraria—Henry Allen, W. M. Slaughter, L. J. Russell, D. D. Cook, W. D. McLain, Thomas Pollock.

Denver City—H. P. A. Smith, J. T. Lowrie, C. H. Blake, J. Merrick, Wm. Larimer, Jr., and Wm. Clancy.

It will be noticed that several of the delegates from Fountain City, El Dorado and El Paso were men from the Cherry creek towns whose names have become familiar ones in our story. These men had visited those alleged "cities" to arouse enthusiasm for the proposed new State, and their few people had made them delegates, though they were not residents of those settlements.

The convention was permanently organized by electing S. W. Wagoner, President; General William Larimer, Jr., George McDougall, D. D. Cook, C. Gilmer, and Thomas Pollock, Vice Presidents; John L. Merrick, J. R. Shaffer, Thomas Warren, C. H. Blake, Josiah Hinman and —. Fisk, Secretaries. Thus twelve of the thirty delegates were honored with official positions in the convention.

The proceedings then took on the form of speech-making, and some very good ones were delivered. The sentiment was practically unanimous for a movement for the immediate organization of a new State from parts of Kansas, Nebraska, Utah and New Mexico, without going through the usual Territorial probationary period. It was held that conditions in the new country were such and would continue to be such that a Territorial government would be inadequate and exceedingly unsatisfactory; a brake upon the wheels of progress, an injustice to the people and an official nuisance; and that nothing but a free and independent State would meet the impending requirements. It may be said here that the Territorial government Congress later instituted turned out to be at times during its existence pretty nearly everything bad that these men predicted for it. After the speeches were concluded, the convention adopted the following resolution, and then adjourned until seven o'clock in the evening:

"Resolved—That the discussions of this convention shall have but one object, viz.: The formation of a new and independent State of the Union."

At the evening meeting a long preamble and a series of resolutions were adopted. There was a recital of the motives inspiring the people to this independent action to establish a State Government; of the conditions attending their remoteness from organized efficient civil authority; and of the various other reasons for at once organizing here a new State of the Union. The presentation of the circumstances was ably made. The resolutions called upon all the citizens of the proposed State to choose delegates, one to each 250 of population, to meet in convention at Denver City on the first Monday in June—the 6th day of the month—to draft a constitution and make further arrangements to execute the purpose of the State movement thus instituted by these preliminary meetings; they fixed the second Monday in May as the time for holding these delegate elections; they specified that the constitutional convention should provide for submitting the constitution to a vote of the people, and for the election of State officers, members of the Legislature, and "representatives in Congress;" and beside fixing the time for such elections, should appoint election officers for each "precinct." For the delegate election they established "precincts" as follows: Fort Laramie, Colona, Cache-a-la-Poudre, Arrapahoe City, Boulder City, Lupton's Fort, Cheyenne Pass, South Park, Jefferson, Sanders' Ranche, Auraria, Denver City, Douglass City, Eldorado, Fountain City, Fort Garland, Montana, Brownsville, Huerfano, Russellville, El Paso, Canon City, and Junction City.

Most of these places, the names of which would indicate settlements, were far more prospective than actual as new towns; for example, "Russellville" was a place on the headwaters of Cherry creek where the Russell party had stopped for a few days in the summer of 1858, and where a solitary "dug-out" cabin had later been built. But there were quite a number of prospectors up there in the spring of 1859.

The resolutions appointed William Clancey, C. Davidson, C. Gilmer, J. R. Shaffer, and William M. Slaughter a Central Committee with power to organize such additional precincts for the delegate election as might come under their knowledge or that new circumstances might require; to notify all precincts of the action of this preliminary convention; "and to do whatever they may think best to carry out the object of this meeting." People were then daily coming into the country by hundreds, and the old "precincts" of vague and elastic definitions were believed to be inadequate to the new conditions.

The boundaries of the proposed new State were defined by resolution as follows:

"Resolved, That the State contemplated shall embrace the following territory, viz.: Its northern boundary commencing at the 102nd meridian of west longitude from Greenwich, Eng., with the 43rd parallel of north latitude, and running west on the said parallel to its intersection with the 110th meridian of west longitude, thence south to the 37th parallel of north latitude, thence east on that parallel to the 102nd meridian, and thence north to the beginning; and that the name thereof shall be the State of Jefferson."

These boundaries defined an area much larger than that of the present State of Colorado—nearly one-half larger. The eastern and southern lines—the 102nd meridian and the 37th parallel, were the same as those of our State; the west boundary went one degree of longitude farther into Utah than that of our State; the north boundary, the 43rd parallel, which is the north line of the State of Nebraska, passes through the present State of Wyoming, east and west, about midway between its northern and southern limits. The "State of Jefferson" was to have been a large one—a parallelogram of about 320 miles mean width east and west, and 417 miles north and south. But the pioneers of Denver placed no modest limitations on any of their numerous ambitions.

Another resolution appointed L. J. Russell, H. P. A. Smith, L. J. Winchester, Henry McCoy, and D. B. Castro a special committee to prepare and issue an address to the people of the proposed new State, setting forth the urgent reasons for immediate action, and appealing to them to heartily co-operate in the movement for creating the great "State of Jefferson." A motion was then adopted directing that these proceedings of the meeting "be published in all the papers in the United States friendly to our objects." Having done about all that it could do at that time, this pioneer convention of State-founders then adjourned.

The committee lost no time in preparing the address, and in it the handiwork of Dr. L. J. Russell is apparent. The document is of so much interest that we present it here in full:

"It has been made our duty to address you at this time, to set briefly before you the reasons for requesting you to unite as one man in throwing off the feeble ties that bind us to the far off governments of our several Territories, and forming what in our isolated position becomes a necessity, viz.: a new and independent State. It has always been the policy of the United States to form, and admit new States into the Union, as fast as the necessities of the people have required it. So much has this been the case that it may almost be called an immutable rule; and how strongly does this rule apply to us. Severed by a distance of over seven hundred miles from the governments of Kansas and Nebraska, and four hundred from New Mexico or Utah, nature itself has rendered it impossible for us to depend upon either of them. The time necessary to send a petition or receive even a message of any kind is so great, that such a government becomes almost a farce, and we are forced to act as if we had nothing but ourselves to depend upon. The business of our intended State will be principally mining—of the others entirely agriculture—two means so different as to be, under the circumstances, incompatible. The prices of labor are and will be so different that no laws that apply to one will apply to the other; while divided as we are between Kansas, Nebraska, New Mexico and Utah, our representation will be but nominal with each, and we at the mercy of men who know nothing of our wants, can not realize our situation, and will use their positions only to enrich themselves at our expense.

Again, if crime be committed, the U. S. Courts of a Territory are the only ones competent for a trial, and what criminal will be deterred from the commission of crime when his judge is separated from him by seven hundred miles of arid waste? Government of some kind we must have, and the question narrows itself down to this point: Shall it be the government of the Knife and the Revolver, or shall we unite in forming here in our golden country, among the ravines and gulches of the Rocky Mountains, and the fertile valleys of the Arkansas and Plattes, a new and independent State? Shall the real keystone of the Union be now set on the summit of the arch, and a republic inaugurated that can, from her mountain aerie, cast her eye to the Pacific on the one hand and the Atlantic on the other? Embracing the waters of the Arkansas and the Plattes flowing into the Atlantic, Grand river and the Colorado flowing into the Pacific, she at once becomes the real center of the Union.

We may soon expect the advent of the iron horse, and a national railroad is no longer a question. Northern and southern routes will no longer be a cause of delay, for nature has provided by her golden largess an argument for its location that will be irresistible, and both roads will become not a disputed issue, but a remunerative speculation.

Let us then all unite as one in so great an object; forgotten be for the time all party creeds and political differences, and with an eye solely to so glorious a result, let us all push forward to the one point before us, the formation of the State of Jefferson. The convention of which we are for the present the mouthpiece, has decided its limits to be from longitude 102 deg. west, to longitude 110 deg. west, on the 43rd parallel of latitude, as the northern boundary; from lat. 43 deg. north to lat. 37 deg. north, on the 110th deg. of west long., as the western boundary; from that point following the 37th deg. of lat. to long. 102 deg. west, as the southern boundary; and the 102d deg. of long. to the first mentioned point, as the eastern boundary. It will thus be seen that we include within our limits all the material necessary to make not only a State, but a nation. With our mountains teeming with minerals and metals of every kind; our valleys richer for agricultural purposes than any part of the Union, with a population hardy as the hills they traverse, and prairies to divide us from the rest of the world, we may indeed feel free as the mountain air which brings to us health and vigor. Let each precinct be represented fully at the constitutional convention on the first Monday of June, and let each member feel that upon him devolves a responsibility such as can happen but once in a life. Each precinct will be entitled to one delegate and one for each 250 voters in the precinct; and let no portion of the State be omitted in the election of delegates. It is a glorious cause, and a feeling of pride as well as of duty should lead us to act in it. Let each individual then feel that upon him rests a responsibility to see that the best men are selected, and that the future interests of his home be not entrusted to those who will betray the trust confided to them.

H. P. A. Smith, Denver;
Henry McCoy, Fountain;
D. B. Castro, Arapahoe;
L. J. Russell, Auraria;
L. J. Winchester, El Dorado.

The second Monday in May, named as the day on which delegates to the proposed convention to arrange for organizing "a new and independent State of the Union" were to be chosen, was the 9th of that month. By that time there were indefinite but exciting rumors floating in the air that great discoveries of gold had been made somewhere near, but few knew just where; as knowledge of Jackson's and Gregory's good fortune had not yet become public. Notwithstanding these reports that were so well calculated to divert the minds of men from politics, the elections, most of which were to a great extent nominal, were held, or were alleged to have been held, in nearly all the "precincts," and delegates more or less duly chosen. The Denver City men "met at the store of Mr. Bouldoc" and selected William Larimer, Jr., J. M. Fox, H. P. A.

Smith, William Clancey, R. E. Whitsitt, S. M. Wagoner, S. W. Beall, W. P. McClure, and E. P. Stout. The Aurarian's met at Wooton's store and chose, "by acclamation," William N. Byers, Andrew Sagendorf, L. J. Russell, Henry Allen, Thomas Pollock, William M. Slaughter, R. L. Wooton, D. D. Cook, and W. D. McLain.

The day appointed for the convention to assemble in Denver City, June 6th, found the whole region in a babel of uproar and enthusiasm over the Gregory and Jackson discoveries and the subsequent developments. Nevertheless, the convention met promptly on the appointed day at "Blake & Williams' Hall," or the "Denver House" as it was otherwise called, and temporarily organized by electing William N. Byers, President; and Thomas Gibson, Secretary. There were fifty delegates present representing Denver City, Auraria, Fountain City, Douglass City, Lupton's Fort, Gregory Diggings, Huerfano, Sanders' Rancho, El Dorado, Russellville, Baden, Highland and Colona. The permanent officers chosen were S. W. Wagoner, President; Henry Allen, E. P. Stout, Richard Sopris, Levi Ferguson, C. B. Patterson, Vice Presidents; Thomas Gibson, Secretary; John J. Shanley, Assistant Secretary; and J. P. Farrer, Sergeant-at-arms. The pioneer Methodist clergyman, Rev. G. W. Fisher, then instituted the convention's proceedings with a prayer.

On motion of William N. Byers, the President was directed to appoint several committees of three to prepare a constitution, each committee to be assigned a certain portion of the proposed instrument; the President to report these committees to the convention the next day. Thereupon the convention adjourned to meet the following morning.

It had been decided early in the proceedings that owing to the relatively small attendance of delegates, and in consideration of the extraordinary circumstances then existing, with men flocking into the country in droves, it would be better that the convention make all necessary preliminary arrangements, and then adjourn temporarily to a date when there could be a larger attendance of delegates that would include representatives of the incoming people.

On June 7th the President reported the several committees as follows:

On Boundaries and Bill of Rights—W. N. Byers, E. P. Stout, and Dr. Joseph Casto.

Suffrage and Distribution of Power—William Larimer, Jr., W. M. Slaughter, and W. J. Foster.

Legislative and Executive Departments—Henry McCoy, A. J. Williams, and William Clancy.

Judiciary—N. G. Wyatt, W. P. McClure, and Henry Allen.

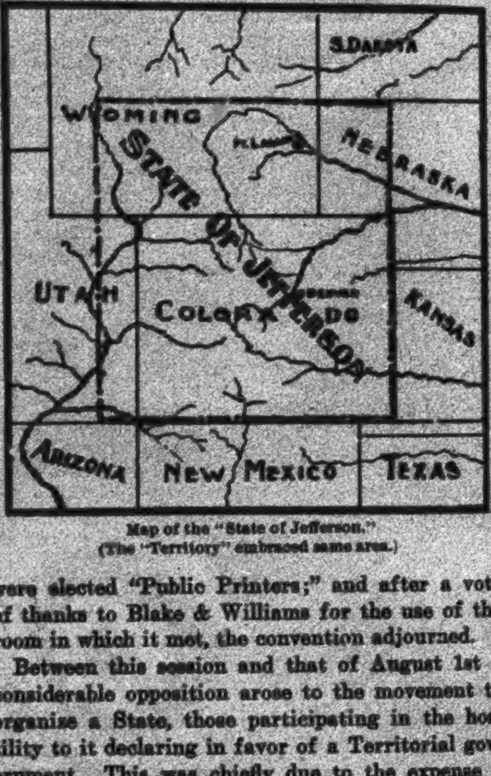
Militia, State Debts and Corporations—J. H. Turner, Hickory Rogers, and R. E. Whitsitt.

Education and School Funds—L. J. Russell, S. W. Beall, and J. J. Rariden.

Amendments and Miscellaneous Matters—J. M. Fox, J. R. Shaffer, and Thomas Warren.

Schedule—L. J. Winchester, H. P. A. Smith, and D. D. Cook.

On motion of William N. Byers these several committees were instructed to be prepared to report to the convention at its next, or adjourned, session. It was then decided that when the convention adjourned it would do so to meet again on the first Monday in August. E. P. Stout, N. G. Wyatt, and D. Davis were appointed a committee to designate still more new voting precincts in order that additional delegates might be elected, to the end that the region and all the new people should be fully represented in the work of forming the intended new State; the choice of the name "Jefferson" was further confirmed; Byers & Gibson were elected "Public Printers;" and after a vote of thanks to Blake & Williams for the use of the room in which it met, the convention adjourned.



Map of the "State of Jefferson."
(The "Territory" embraced same area.)

Between this session and that of August 1st a considerable opposition arose to the movement to organize a State, those participating in the hostility to it declaring in favor of a Territorial government. This was chiefly due to the expense a State organization would entail and to the argument that much of the expense of a Territory would fall upon the United States treasury. But the wisdom of adjournment and delay was demonstrated when the convention re-assembled on Monday, August 1st. Instead of but fifty delegates representing thirteen precincts, there were now in attendance, including those chosen in the interval, 164 representing forty-six precincts. Among this imposing array of representatives were many able men, and many who had had experience in such work as they had met to do, in the older regions they had left behind them.

The first day's session was held at Blake & Williams' "Denver House," when it was decided to occupy Kasserman & Company's building in Auraria—on the southwest corner of the present Lawrence and Tenth streets—during the remainder of the session. At the close of the first day's proceedings the officers of the convention holding over from June, resigned in order that there might be a further division of honors. Therefore, on Tuesday morning new ones were elected as follows: President, Captain A. F. Garrison; VicePresidents, O. M. Wood, E. P. Stout, W. D. Arnett, and Hickory Rogers; Secretary, Thomas Gibson; Assistant Secretary, Henry McAfee; Sergeant-at-arms, George West. Rev. W. H. Goode was elected Chaplain of the convention and opened the day's proceedings with a prayer.

The convention remained in session that entire week. As in every American political gathering, there were sharp differences of opinion, plan and purpose. On Tuesday there was developed among many of the delegates a decided preference to abandon the State project and in its stead to memorialize Congress to immediately establish a Territorial government for the Pike's Peak region. Resolutions to this effect were submitted by H. P. A. Smith, A. J. Williams, and S. W. Beall, and warmly debated. Then a committee was appointed to consider which road the convention should follow. There was a majority report in favor of a State, and one from the minority urging a memorial to Congress for a Territorial government, with the view of deferring State action until the next year. Debating these propositions without coming to a conclusion occupied the convention's attention until Thursday morning, when the following compromise resolution by Eli Carter was adopted:

"Resolved, That the convention now proceed to prepare a Constitution for the State of Jefferson; And also that the convention appoint a committee of 13, whose duty it shall be to prepare a Memorial to Congress, asking the immediate organization of a Territorial Government for the Territory of Jefferson; and that said Constitution and Memorial both be submitted to the voters within the limits of said State-Territory, on the first Monday of September next for their approval or rejection."

This reference of both propositions direct to the people was satisfactory to all the delegates, and the convention proceeded with its work. The membership of the several committees on constitution was increased from three to five, and Carter, Wyatt, Larimer, Wagoner, Post, De La Mar, Fox, Steele, H. P. A. Smith, Roberts, W. G. Russell, Link and Winchester were appointed a committee to prepare the Territorial Memorial.

The committees on constitution began reporting on Friday, as the work had been practically completed in the interval since June. On Saturday morning the Territorial Memorial was approved. By noon of that day all of the committee reports on the constitution were in, and after a few amendments, the organic law of the proposed new commonwealth was put together and adopted. It retained the boundaries of "Jefferson," as had been defined by the preliminary convention of the preceding April, and confirmed the choice then made of a name for the intended State. A committee was appointed to apportion the proposed State into Senate and Representative districts, and two thousand copies of the constitution and of the Memorial were ordered printed for general distribution among the people. Then a resolution was adopted providing that there should be only two forms of ballots used at the election, in which the vote should be on both State and Territorial propositions; that ballots reading "For Constitution" should "be considered a full and complete negative to a Territorial organization;" and that ballots reading "For Territory" should "be considered a full and complete negative to a State Constitution."

Provision was also made for holding an election on the first Monday in October—the 3rd, which was the legal election day in Kansas Territory, for Delegate or representative in Congress, regardless of the result of the September State-Territory election; and also for the election of a full complement of State officers, and a Legislature, at the same time in anticipation of the State proposition being accepted by the people.

The convention then provided for various details with relation to the State-Territory election, which was fixed by the constitution to be held on the first Monday in September, 1859—the 5th day of the month; ordered returns thereof to be made to Denver City to be canvassed by the "County Judge" and two "Justices of the Peace," which officers had been elected in the previous March; ordered a copy of the constitution and of the Memorial to be sent to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House, and to the Secretary of State of each State in the Union; and then, having completed its labors, the convention adjourned Saturday evening and passed into history.

Much to the surprise of the friends and advocates of the "State of Jefferson," the election of September 5th resulted in the defeat of the State movement by a relatively large majority. In Denver City the vote was 573 for a Territory and but 70 for a State; in Auraria 373 for a Territory and 114 for a State. The total vote in the region was regarded as a light one; having been 2,007 for a Territory to 649 for a State. In the mining towns and camps the vote was very light, the miners generally having taken very little interest in the matter; and in some precincts no elections were held. But, of the thousands who had streamed into the country through the spring and summer of 1859, two thirds had gone back in disgust to the States before September. However, charges of fraud, ballot-box stuffing, and other political iniquities were freely made by the advocates of the rejected constitution and would-be founders of a new State; but the adverse vote was relatively too heavy to be wholly accounted for by irregular methods of voting and counting. So, to borrow the famous phrase of Mr. Ingalls, of Kansas, the "State of Jefferson" was no longer even "an iridescent dream." The "Jefferson" constitution was a very comprehensive and creditable document, and many of its provisions are incorporated in the present constitution of the State of Colorado. Its fate was much deplored by its advocates, who were generally the more substantial citizens, and who were sick of the unorganized conditions here and of the trying consequences they entailed.

The people of the Pike's Peak country having rather overwhelmingly expressed a preference for a Territorial form of government, the next step was to make provisions for carrying the public will into effect. While the trails of ambitious politicians were to be seen over all these proceedings, including the defeat of the State proposition, and may still be traced, the general situation was a rather serious one for the earnest citizens who cared less for politics than they did for good order, and some stability in local affairs. The communities had been a year practically without law, and that kind of existence had become intolerable. So, they began the habilitation of the proposed Territorial Government without much delay. This enterprise has been stigmatized as a scheme of self-seeking politicians, and it probably had in it some element of that kind. But it promised the people something in the emergency, and almost anything in the form of organized government were better than the condition of no government, at all.

On September 24th "a meeting of the citizens of the Mountains and Plains"—as the record states it—was held in Auraria to begin the work of organizing a Provisional Territorial Government, with J. M. Ferrell in the chair, and J. D. Henderson the Secretary. Methods of procedure were briefly discussed when, on motion of W. P. McClure, a committee consisting of John C. Moore, and S. W. Wagoner of Denver; Henry Allen, of Auraria; L. W. Bliss, of Golden City; and J. H. Gest, of Mountain City, was appointed to prepare an address to the people of the Pike's Peak country, setting forth the necessity for immediate action, and recommending that the several precincts hold elections on Monday, October 3rd, to choose delegates to meet in convention at Denver City on October 10th "for the purpose of forming a Provisional Territorial Government."

The meeting then resolved "to report its proceedings to a popular meeting to be held at seven o'clock this evening in Denver City, of the citizens of Denver and Auraria, for ratification;" and then adjourned.

There was a large assemblage of men at Blake & Williams' "Denver House" that evening to consider the report of the Auraria meeting, and was presided over by William M. Slaughter. The address committee had been industriously at work in the short interval, and had their document in shape. After a few unimportant changes it was approved by the evening meeting, and two thousand copies were ordered printed and sent forth over the country. In general character it was much like that of the one sent out by the preliminary State convention in the previous spring; reciting conditions, anticipating large immigration early the next year, and urging the election of delegates on October 3rd. In this address it was also pointed out that the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory could not be extended over this region so long as the Indian title to the country remained in effect, citing the 19th section of the act of Congress creating Kansas Territory, in which it was said appeared a provision that all territory to which the Indian title had not been extinguished should not be regarded as within the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory until the occupant tribes should voluntarily consent to have their lands placed under Kansas jurisdiction. This, said our pioneer statesmen, the Indians here had not done; and they cited that provision of the organic law of Kansas as one of the strong arguments for the immediate independent action they proposed. They also stated that by that provision of the Kansas organic act all courts of criminal jurisdiction, and of appeal, were barred from this region.

To some extent this view was erroneous. The provision of the Kansas organic act referred to, applied only to Indians with whom treaties had been made; and these at that time were the Indians located in central and southeastern Kansas, on what was then the frontier. Not having anticipated that a settlement would spring up far off in the heart of the Indian country, the government had made no treaties with the Indians in this region; and while they had not been specifically placed under, or set apart from, the Kansas jurisdiction, the title to the region here was, under the common practice of the government, regarded as resting in them. So, under that practice, and in the absence of treaty provisions, it was a question whether Kansas jurisdiction, under any color of claim, extended over the Pike's Peak country.

The day appointed for electing delegates to frame the Provisional Government of Jefferson Territory—the legal Kansas election day—was the same that had been fixed by the shifty yet prudent "State" constitutional convention of August 1st, for the election of a Delegate in Congress, in the event—which now had come to pass—of the people expressing a preference for a Territorial rather than a State government. Under the arrangements, this Delegate was now to be the Representative of the people in the Pike's Peak country, was to take charge of the Memorial to Congress, take up Mr. Graham's task where he had been forced to leave it, again endeavor to have this region detached from the other Territories, and recognized and organized by Congress as a separate political division.

For this position as ambassador at Washington there were several candidates—Samuel Adams, Hiram J. Graham, C. A. Roberts, R. W. Steele, J. H. St. Matthew, Beverly D. Williams, and George M. Willing. The election was recklessly conducted, and Hollister says "there was terrible ballot-box stuffing." This may have been so, and probably was; but whether there was or not, B. D. Williams, who had been the first manager at Denver, of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, came out of the scrape with a large plurality of votes, and received his certificate of election. Out of a total of 4,386 counted votes, he was given 1,911. It was in behalf of Willing that the worst of the frauds were alleged to have been committed, and nominally he had most votes. But, as upward of 2,000 of them had been returned from alleged precincts of which no one had ever heard, they were thrown out. But Williams did not get his certificate without much noisy protest. All the returns were questioned, their validity disputed, the Board of Canvassers reviled, and the vote denounced as having been largely fraudulent, by one or another of the candidates, and there was almost no end of wrangling over the result as at last formally determined.

Beverly D. Williams.
(Photographed 1890.)

For that matter the whole proceedings were without authority of law, but all the contention and outcry had finally left Williams in possession of his plurality and his certificate. This immediate Denver region, as a part of Kansas Territory, had been, was, and would be represented in Congress by the Delegate regularly elected in Kansas Territory, who would continue to represent the whole of that Territory until Congress decreed otherwise. However, Williams went to Washington, but all that he could and did do was to act as the general political agent there for the people in the Pike's Peak country, and to endeavor to persuade members of Congress to provide a new Territorial government for them, as prayed for in the Memorial, of which Williams carried thither what was regarded as the "official" copy. But more than a year elapsed before the prayer of the Memorial was granted. Williams was given a left-handed recognition by Congress, admitted to the lobby of the House, and received with consideration at the Departments; but he had no actual standing as a Delegate. He thus served capably, loyally and faithfully during the two sessions of that Congress —1859-61—and was instrumental in securing the final attention and action resulting in the creation of the Territory of Colorado in the usual and regular way in February, 1861. He is now a citizen of Little Rock, Arkansas.

Acting upon the recommendations and appeal made by the Auraria and Denver meetings of September 24th, most of the precincts at which the Congressional Delegate was voted for, elected Delegates to the proposed Territorial convention to be held the following Monday.

These, however, were not the only elections held on that politically busy 3rd of October. There were some men in Denver and Auraria who understood, and appreciated at its full value, the legal status—or lack of it—of all that was going on. "Montana county," as well as the others, of the act of February 7, 1859, having become practically reminiscences, they knew that if any county, whether Montana or Arapahoe, existed here, it was a county of Kansas Territory; and they decided that it was still Arapahoe county. The county organization elected the previous March had not been succeeded by any other attempt at a local civil organization, and almost wholly in theory rather than in practice it had, in its merely nominal way, and with the assistance of the Miners' and other irregular emergency Courts, supplied about all—which was not much—the form and material of local "government" that had thus far been more or less enjoyed in the region. Asserting that the "election" of Legislator Smith in November, 1858, and the "county election" of the previous March, had been at least nominally held by the people as citizens of Kansas Territory, these men did not allow the opportunity to pass without doing something in Arapahoe county, on the regular election day in October, consistent and in harmony with the laws governing that Territory, so far as they were able. On the eve of the election of a Delegate in Congress and of the Territorial constitution delegates, a full county ticket for "Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory," was quietly arranged. The mass of the people had become enthusiastically loyal to the movement for a new and independent Territorial government, but the sponsors of this county ticket went through the forms, on October 3rd, of holding their county election; and their candidates were "elected" by a small vote cast in only two or three precincts. But, it was a formal though nominal recognition of Kansas law.

This extremely muddled state of affairs, this impending change from practically no government to two or three active varieties of it, impelled the Rocky Mountain News to editorially say, with a note of lamentation, in its issue of October 6th:

> "So it goes; one day we understand that we are cut off from Kansas; the next, we have cut ourselves off, and will pay no regard to Kansas Legislation, but have an independent provisional government of our own; and the very next, when there is a chance for a petty office under Kansas laws, there are hundreds ready to enter the lists, and before their certificates of election are dry in their pockets you will hear them lustily advocating 'independent government,' and 'let Kansas go to the dogs.' When this county scheme was started, why was it not carried out, and members of the Kansas Legislative Assembly elected, also? Nobody seems to have thought of that except two or three shrewd ones who, we learn, received a few votes for Representative, and under them will claim seats in the next Kansas legislature, not the representatives of the people, but of a few of their friends."
>
> "Here we go, a regular triple-headed government machine. South of 40 [parallel] we hang on the skirts of Kansas; north of 40 on those of Nebraska. Straddling the line, we have just elected a Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Jefferson; and ere long we shall have in full blast a Provisional Government of Rocky Mountain growth and manufacture. This last we hope may succeed, and swallow up the delectable uncertainty of law now existing; when one man claims that he lives in Arapahoe county, while his neighbor asserts that he is in Montana—where one man acknowledges Kansas laws, and another says he is on Indian land where no law can reach. A compact of the people under any name, state, territory, or provisional government, if either can be effected, is better than the present, and if some such is not soon adopted, with a determination to abide by, and respect it, we bid fair to out-Kansas Kansas herself."

The "Montana" mentioned by the News was the "Montana county" of the Kansas act of February, 1859, and which embraced pioneer Denver; but the provisions of that act, as recounted fully in Chapter LII, appear never to have been carried into practical effect.

The Provisional Government convention assembled in Apollo Hall, Denver, on Monday, October 10th; twenty-seven precincts were represented by eighty-seven delegates. Those from Denver City were Hickory Rogers, W. P. McClure, Samuel Bennet, John C. Moore, P. Talbott, A. G. Baber, S. W. Wagoner, B. D. Williams, O. B. Totten, Drake McDowell, and C. H. Blake; from Auraria, W. M. Slaughter, Thomas Warren, C. L. Goldsir, Henry Allen, R. L. Wooton, Thomas Pollock, H. R. Hunt, John M. Clark, W. H. Middaugh, M. D. Hickman, and —. Jeffards; from Highland, E. R. Parks. R. W. Steele was made temporary President, and L. W. Bliss temporary Secretary.

The permanent organization was R. W. Steele, President; H. P. A. Smith, J. W. Farrell, Henry Allen, G. E. Spencer, and W. G. Preston, Vice Presidents; O. B. Totten and G. L. Wood, Secretaries. The convention then went into Committee of the Whole, indulged in speech-making, and formally decided it to be expedient to at once organize a Provisional Government; after which it adjourned for that day.

On Tuesday, H. P. A. Smith, who had objected to being made one of the Vice Presidents, threw into the convention what he supposed would be a bombshell. He had actively participated in all the movements for an independent government, but now entered a protest against, and in a speech denounced, the objects and purposes of this convention. His speech was a rather fervid elaboration of his protest; the latter, reduced to writing and placed on the minutes of the convention, having been as follows:

> "The undersigned on the part of his office in this convention, hereby solemnly protests against the action of this convention in attempting to organize a Provisional Government, for the following reasons, viz.:
>
> 1. We now have all the laws that exist in Eastern Kansas, adopted under the constitution of the United States.
> 2. We have no legal right to form such a government.
> 3. This is not called for by the People, nor is it necessary or proper.
> 4. It will abrogate all legal rights, and throw the country upon the results of a gigantic Vigilance Committee.
> 5. Before such a government can be formed we shall have a proper and legal government from Congress.
> 6. We have elected a Delegate to Congress asking for a Territorial form of Government, and repudiating at the same time the laws of the United States."

Notwithstanding that most of Smith's propositions were sound, from a legal standpoint, the convention, beyond receiving and placing them on its minutes, gave them no heed, but went ahead with its work. Though of fewer members than the "State" convention of August 1st, it was an expeditious, business-like body. In a session of three days ending on the evening of the 12th, it prepared a Territorial constitution which was of unusual brevity and compactness, in compensation, perhaps, for some of its defects and omissions. Still it was a fair document, and its crudities could be remedied afterward if need be.

The Territorial constitution retained and confirmed the name "Jefferson," and defined the boundaries of the Territory exactly as they had been outlined for the State. The constitution was in substance a condensed adaptation of that of the "State" except as to details arising from the differences in form of government provided for. The division for legislative purposes was into eight Council districts, one member from each; and into nineteen Representative districts, from which twenty-one members were to be elected; the extra ones coming from the Denver and Auraria districts, each of which was given two members. Denver and "Russellville" constituted the First Council District; Auraria, Plum Creek, and Fort Eyrie the Second; Highland going with Golden City, Golden Gate, and the town of Arapahoe to form the Third. The First Representative District consisted of Denver and "Russellville;" and the Second, of Auraria, Plum Creek and Fort Eyrie; Highland and Arapahoe constituting the Fifteenth. Provision was made for an election to be held on the fourth Monday of that October—the 24th—at which the constitution was to be voted on and Territorial officers elected subject to approval of the constitution. To avoid conflict with the previous local election and other acts of the people, Section 7 of Article VIII of the constitution was made to read:

> "Contracts heretofore entered into are hereby affirmed, as also the official acts of officers; and all elections, and other acts of the people in their sovereign capacity with the officers-elect at such elections are hereby endorsed."

To complete all preliminary arrangements the convention nominated candidates for all the Territorial executive offices, and these men issued an "address" a day or two later of the general tenor of the several preceding documents of that kind, and of which there appears to have been an abundance in that year. After the convention adjourned, an independent ticket was nominated with rival candidates for nearly all the offices; the two tickets having been as follows:

Convention Ticket.

For Governor—R. W. Steele;
For Secretary—L. W. Bliss;
For Treasurer—George W. Cook;
For Auditor—C. R. Bissell;
For Attorney-General—R. J. Frazier;
For Chief Justice—A. J. Allison;
For Associate Justices—J. N. Odell, E. Fitzgerald;
For Clerk of Supreme Court—O. B. Totten;
For Marshal—John L. Merrick;
For Sup't Public Instruction—Henry McAfee.

Independent Ticket.

For Governor—J. H. St. Matthew;
For Secretary—Frank DeLa Mar;
For Treasurer—R. L. Wooton;
For Auditor—R. S. Parks;
For Attorney-General—Samuel McLean;
For Chief Justice—S. J. Johnson;
For Associate Justice—L. W. Borton;
For Marshal—Hickory Rogers.

At the election on October 24th the constitution was ratified by an almost unanimous vote—1,852 to 280; a total of less than one-half that alleged to have been cast at the election for Delegate in Congress three weeks before. Denver City gave 208 for the constitution and 11 against it; Auraria 319 for, and 13 against. Steele was elected "Governor" by 1,547 to 460 for the head of the independent ticket; and his associates on his ticket were chosen by about the same vote. Of course, there were charges of fraud, corruption, false counting and all the rest, but they availed nothing; though some of the election proceedings were not entirely above suspicion.

The reader will recall that under the miserable system of Territorial government in vogue in this country, the executive officers of a Territory are the appointees of the President, and the elective Legislature is a body of limited powers. In earlier times the Governors were usually non-residents and often sadly decayed politicians, thus sent into a semi-retirement in order to get rid of them. Happily, the system has nearly exhausted itself through lack of Territories for its perpetuation.

Robert W. Steele, Governor of "Jefferson Territory."
(Photographed 1895.)

This "Jefferson" Territorial convention had relieved Congress of all trouble in creating a new Territory here in the west, and President Buchanan of all embarrassment in selecting from his hangers-on the usual complement of officers to be sent out to govern, or misgovern, it. The "Territory of Jefferson" had sprung from its own soil, and the men who were to manage its affairs had been chosen directly by the people whose servants they were to be. There had been no lack of candidates. Their abundance had proved that everybody was not working in the mines, driving ox-teams on the plains, or engaged in other occupations that could not have been unfixed at a day's notice. As the convention had named the candidates on one of the general tickets, the only remaining good chances for the surplus willing ones to participate in the new "government" were in the direction of the "Legislature;" and for places in that body there had been a fine scramble.

All this had been well done, under the circumstances; and by the great majority of those who caused it to be done, was well meant for a good and most important purpose. But it was not legal. The new "government" had no standing in law, and as a legal fact was destitute of authority. The "Territory of Jefferson" was still a part of the old Territories, and would remain so until Congress enacted otherwise.

Patriots in all places and in all ages have been subjected to unjust accusations in connection with political affairs. As to the "purity" of this "Jefferson" election Judge Wilber F. Stone presents the following evidence:

> "As Fountain City was the only important settlement south of the 'divide,' it must needs be looked after, and so Hickory Rogers was sent down from Denver to see that the right of suffrage was properly exercised. Si Smith had been previously appointed by the Governor of Kansas a Justice of the Peace, being therefore the first jurist that sat on the bench in the Arkansas valley, and he administered some of his oaths to the election judges, who proceeded to open the polls and receive the votes of the settlement, amounting to about seventy-five, all for the Jefferson government. The returns were duly certified and sworn to, and delivered to Hickory to take to Denver, which at that early day assumed to 'hog in' the capital. The first night out, old Hickory sat down and deliberately added 150 names to the poll-book. As the returns were properly sworn to there was no going back by the canvassing board on the population of Fountain City, and thus early in the history of the now proud Centennial State, did the honest American voters of the Arkansas valley vindicate the glorious boon of the ballot-box.

There was almost no end of vindicating the glorious boon of the ballot-box in the Pike's Peak country in 1859. Late in October, about the time the "Jefferson" constitution was ratified by the people, a movement was inaugurated here for holding still another election. It was prompted from eastern Kansas, and was the first positive assertion of Kansas authority the people here had encountered. On the 4th of that month the people of the Territory of Kansas had ratified what was known as the "Wyandotte Free State Constitution." The western boundary of the proposed State of Kansas had been fixed on the 102nd meridian, and that part of the original Kansas Territory lying west of that meridian—the Pike's Peak country—was to be cut off and continued as Kansas Territory, and to be provided with a Territorial Government made up, it was alleged, of eastern Kansas politicians who could not be provided with places under the proposed new State of Kansas. At the election to be held on November 8th, a full complement of State officers was to be elected; and this was the basis of the new movement here, though this part of the country was outside the limits of the proposed State of Kansas. Certain of the Cherry creek politicians, who very well knew the illegal character of the "Jefferson" proceedings, made this election the occasion for holding still another county election—the third in that year—and for choosing a representative from Arapahoe county in the Kansas Legislature. In this they were joined by a few of the citizens here in favor of remaining under Kansas jurisdiction and of respecting and obeying Kansas authority.

As may be imagined, this movement aroused the utmost indignation among all the Jeffersonians, and was denounced bitterly. The Rocky Mountain News emptied the vials of its wrath upon it, stigmatizing it as "a vile scheme;" appealed to the people to "let that 'election' pass without casting a single vote;" and branded it as a sham and a pretense under which a few men sought office and which would enable some eastern Kansas politicians to become rulers of the contemplated "sawed-off" Kansas Territory. With fierce vehemence the News thus repudiated the whole Kansas jurisdiction and the election about to be held under it:

> "What show of authority is there for ordering an election in Arapahoe county—Kansas never had a right to organize it—it is at best a farce; as well might she extend her jurisdiction, and organize a county on the coast of Africa as to legislate over Indian lands!"

However, the election was held on November 8th, but it was the merest form, the people having responded to the appeal of the News, and but few votes were cast. By that time the machinery of "Jefferson Territory" had been put in motion, and a very large majority of the people then considered its jurisdiction and the "laws" it had begun to formulate to be the only authority they should acknowledge, aside from the general laws of the United States. The only precincts appearing to have taken part in the election were "Henderson's Island Township," "Beaver Creek Township," Denver City, Auraria, and two or three of the Clear creek mining towns. The returns from the mining towns were delayed in reaching Denver beyond the limit prescribed by Kansas law, and therefore were not counted. The official returns showed that S. W. Johnson had received thirty-eight votes for Member of Congress from the proposed State of Kansas, and W. J. Parrott twenty-two. Of these sixty Congressional votes, thirty-three were cast in Denver City, and only three in Auraria. For Representative in the Kansas Legislature Captain Richard Sopris received the highest number of votes—219, to seventeen for David Gregory, the opposing candidate. There were two county tickets, but the winning one was elected by an average vote of about 250, to a few scattering ones—twenty-five or thirty—for the other candidates. Further particulars of this county election will be found in our historical account of Arapahoe county. Sopris took his seat in the Kansas Legislature and served his term as the member from Arapahoe. The authority of the county officers elected was soon asserted, as evidenced by "legal notices" published by them in the News as officers of "Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory," and the validity of the election was to some extent recognized by the "Jefferson Legislature" in its "act" approved December 7th "confirming the election of J. H. Kehler, Sheriff," who had been one of the officers chosen. In this mixed-up condition of public affairs it is not surprising to find it recorded that many of the people in the Pike's Peak country were hopelessly bewildered in their efforts to decide where they were "at," politically.

There is no record of any vote here on the Kansas State constitution, on October 4th, nor for State officers on November 8th. The constitution was ratified in Kansas by 10,421 to 5,530. Under it Kansas was finally admitted as a State on January 29, 1861; and a month later the Territory of Colorado was substituted for the proposed new Territory of Kansas in the Pike's Peak country.

Notwithstanding the suddenly precipitated assertion here of Kansas authority in the matter of the election of November 8th, "Governor" Steele and the other "Jefferson Territory" executive officers had been promptly installed in office. The constitution provided that the "Legislature" should meet at Denver on the first Monday in November, and that it might adjourn to any other suitable place; the session to be limited to forty days, Sundays included. Therefore, on November 7th the "Jefferson Legislature" met in Denver City in its first session. For the Council (or Senate) Henry Allen represented the Auraria district, and N. G. Wyatt that of "Denver City;" the other members of the Council having been W. D. Arnett, Eli Carter, James Emerson, Mark A. Moore, D. Shafer and James M. Wood. In the House of Representatives the Auraria district was represented by William M. Slaughter and M. D. Hickman, and that of Denver by John C. Moore and W. P. McClure; the other members having been J. S. Allen, William Davidson, A. J. Edwards, Thomas S. Golden, James A. Gray, C. P. Hall, J. N. Hallock, Z. Jackson, Edwin James, S. B. Kellogg, A. McFadden, Miles Patton, C. C. Post, Asa Smith, J. S. Stone, and David K. Wall. There was not a full membership in the House, as the records show it to have been short one Representative of the number provided for by the constitution. The "Legislature" organized by electing Henry Allen President of the Council, and James A. Gray Speaker of the House, and at once dived into legislation. "Governor" Steele sent it an excellent, conservative message full of good advice and worthy suggestions. Considering all the circumstances, and especially the haste and confusion in which its members had been chosen from the multitude, the "Jefferson Legislature" was a creditable body; and, indeed, the whole "Provisional Government" had in it the making of a fairly good government—far better than that of the average outfit bestowed in those days upon Territories from Washington.

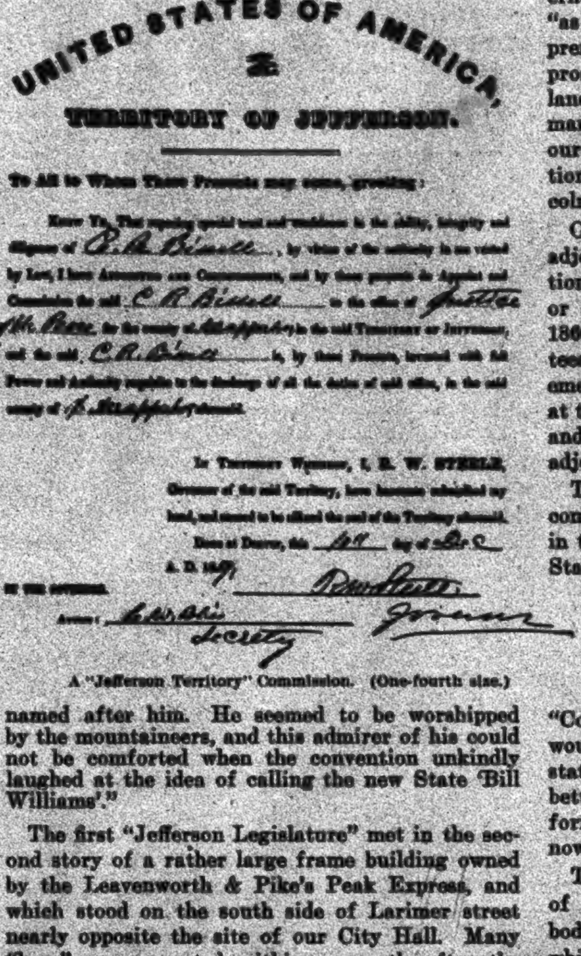
The Rocky Mountain News was a loyal supporter of the new, home-made establishment. From its "mast-head" it had at once discarded the legend, "Kansas Territory" and substituted that of "Jefferson Territory." Editorially it said in its first issue after the "Legislature" met:

> "We hope and expect to see it stand until we can boast of a million of people, and look upon a city of a hundred thousand souls, having all the comforts and luxuries of the most favored. Then we will hear the whistle of the locomotive and the rattle of trains arriving and departing on their way to and from the Atlantic and Pacific. * * * The future of Jefferson Territory—soon to be a sovereign State—is glorious with promise."

From the beginning here until Colorado Territory was finally organized there was a variety of opinion as to the name that should be given to the new National division destined to arise here in the west. This continued until Congress made the decision and bestowed upon the Territory of Colorado that distinctive and appropriate name when it organized the Territory in 1861; and which, fortunately, was not changed when the Territory became a State. In our account of the Territorial organization of Colorado elsewhere in this volume, other names suggested at that time are stated. We have already mentioned Governor Denver's prophetic suggestion that a new Territory would be needed in the Pike's Peak country, and which he contemplated calling "Shoshone." In these several "Jefferson" conventions some men proposed "Cibola," the Spanish word for buffalo, as a name for that commonwealth; others said "Pike's Peak" would be a suitable name, and cited "Rhode Island" as a precedent for such a choice; still others urged that it be called "Platte." But all of these met with little encouragement. Of other proposed baptismal names at that and a later time, Mr. William N. Byers, in a recent reminiscent article in the Rocky Mountain News, (February 23, 1899,) said:

> "We wanted our territory named Jefferson. Why? Because it was part of the great Louisiana purchase, effected by Jefferson in 1803; and not only did President Jefferson purchase this country, but he sent out the early exploration parties into it, like the Lewis and Clark, and others. This country was ever the object of his fondest hopes and confidence, and this State might with propriety and justice have been named after him.

But Congress would not have it so. They said no State should be named after a man, Washington alone excepted. They didn't consult us as to our wishes, but finally chose the name Colorado, the others under discussion having been Jefferson, Idaho and Montana. Colorado is a more euphonious and romantic name than Jefferson would have made, and none of us objected to it. But I have always thought that one State carved out of the great Louisiana purchase should have been named after Jefferson. When we started the movement for a State in 1859, and were discussing a name, one delegate from the mountains rose in the argument, and made an impassioned appeal in favor of calling the State 'Bill Williams.' Bill Williams was one of the earliest of the mountaineers. He seemed to be ubiquitous, for there were all sorts of places all over the mountains named after him. He seemed to be worshipped by the mountaineers, and this admirer of his could not be comforted when the convention unkindly laughed at the idea of calling the new State 'Bill Williams'."



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

TERRITORY OF JEFFERSON.

A "Jefferson Territory" Commission. (One-fourth size.)

The first "Jefferson Legislature" met in the second story of a rather large frame building owned by the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, and which stood on the south side of Larimer street nearly opposite the site of our City Hall. Many "laws" were enacted within a month after the "Legislature" met; among them one defining the outlines of twelve counties, for nine of which, including Arapahoe, organizations were provided and for some of which "Governor" Steele appointed certain "officers" to serve until the regular county election on the first Monday in January, 1860, as provided for in the "act" creating the several counties. The Legislature appointed committees to prepare full civil and criminal codes and report them to a later session to be called by the "Governor" whenever these committees had completed their work and were ready to make their reports. Early in the proceedings a "law" had been enacted consolidating Denver City, Auraria City and Highland, under which an election of our "first city officers" was held on December 19, 1859. The "Legislature" levied a poll-tax of one dollar to defray immediate expenses, and on December 7th adjourned to await the readiness of the code committees.

By proclamation dated December 10th "Governor" Steele appointed Thursday, December 29th, "as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for our preservation, prosperity and happiness in this newly-discovered land of gold." The day was duly observed by many of the people. It has usually been held that our thanksgiving custom, by official recommendation and request, originated with President Lincoln.

On December 10th, also, three days after the adjournment, the "Governor" issued a proclamation calling the "Legislature" to meet in special, or adjourned, session in Denver on January 23, 1860, to act upon the reports of the code committees, and to provide such other legislation as the emergency demanded. The law-makers assembled at the appointed time and, after enacting the codes and several more but unimportant general "laws," adjourned without day on January 25, 1860.

The civil and criminal codes were quite full and comprehensive, but were, after the usual practice in those times, copied wholesale from those of the States and Territories. One of the factional "Legislatures" of Kansas had amplified this practice by taking the codes of Illinois and merely enacting that wherever the word "Illinois" appeared in them it was to be read, and construed to mean, "Kansas;" leaving the "Courts" to worry with the tangled details that would result from such an avalanche of borrowed statutes. "Governor" Steele's "Legislature" did better than that and put its "laws" into proper form, and had them published in a small volume now very rare and of great historic interest.

That "First General Assembly of the Territory of Jefferson" was a most industrious legislative body. In addition to the civil and criminal codes, which were approved by "Governor" Steele January 25, 1860, it accomplished much other general "legislation." The purposes of the various general "acts" are indicated in the following:

Defining the duties of Territorial officers; further defining the duties of the "Governor;" defining the qualifications of public officers; establishing a judicial system for the "Territory;" defining the duties of the Supreme Court; defining the duties of the District Court; regulating and authorizing writs of attachment and garnishment; to provide for the recovery of property by writs of replevin; for districting the "Territory;" defining the boundaries of counties; for the organisation of precincts and for the election of officers thereof; organizing County Courts and defining their jurisdiction; providing for the election of county officers and for other purposes; establishing the office of county Treasurer; for appointing Notaries Public and defining their powers and duties; for establishing, opening and repairing county roads and highways; providing for raising "Territorial" and county revenues and collecting the same; defining the manner of taking up farming and other claims; concerning irrigation; for a general incorporation law; to provide for the incorporation of towns; to prevent intentional firing of woods and prairies in the Territory; concerning enclosures and trespassing animals; regulating wills; to create mechanics' and other liens; regulating licenses; establishing Courts of Justices of the Peace; to provide for payment of certain officers, and regulating fees; to give legality to decisions of Miners' Courts, and of meetings for other purposes; to provide a docket fee in the District and Supreme Courts; regulating fees in certain cases; authorizing officers to use private seals; further defining the powers and jurisdiction of Courts in the "Territory;" to authorize the formation of military companies; defining judicial districts and times of holding Courts; confirming election of J. H. Kehler as Sheriff, and fixing the limit of his jurisdiction under the "Provisional Government;" to provide for the expenses of the "First General Assembly;" to provide for payment of warrants; to provide for the redemption of warrants; to provide for payment of Commissioners for the codification of the "laws"; providing the form of warrants; regulating taking up and posting of estrays; joint resolution providing for a "Territorial Seal," and for other purposes.

In addition to the foregoing "general laws" there were several "special acts" of that "Legislature." The most important one was that consolidating the Cherry creek towns into one municipality, the particulars of which are given elsewhere; the others were as follows, and some of them are still the basis of existing property-rights:

An Act to incorporate the South Platte River Improvement and Lumbering Company, with William A. McFadding, J. D. Henderson, J. C. Sanders, C. J. Stevens, and John Easter, as incorporators. Approved November 28th. This company was authorized to improve the South Platte river from Auraria City to a point twenty miles above the mouth of Platte canon, for floating timber, lumber, and so forth down the river.

An Act to incorporate the Consolidated Ditch Company, with the following-named persons as incorporators: W. Green Russell, B. F. Chase, J. M. Wood, R. W. Steele, C. R. Roberts, Wilkes DeFrees, A. H. Owens, Henry Allen, W. M. Slaughter, and G. W. Cleveland. Approved December 2d. The work of this company has already been mentioned.

An Act to incorporate the Arapahoe Ditch Company, with S. B. Allen, C. R. Harris, and H. H. Tomheart as incorporators, to construct a ditch from near Golden, along Clear creek to the mouth of Ralston creek. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the Denver Mutual Insurance Company, with the following-named incorporators: Amos Steck, R. B. Bradford, D. P. Wallingford, E. W. Cobb, William Davidson, Jones & Cartwright, Hunt & Clark, M. D. Hickman, and H. H. McAfee. Approved December 7th. This was Denver's first fire insurance company.

An Act to incorporate the Golden Gate Town Company, with incorporators as follows: T. L. Golden, J. S. Rogers, Charles Fletcher, H. S. Hawley, and W. G. Preston. To lay out and plat on six hundred and forty acres the pioneer town of Golden. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the St. Vrain, Golden City and Colorado Wagon Road Company, with John W. McIntyre, J. M. Ferrell, Harry Gunnell and Lucien W. Bliss as incorporators, to build a toll wagon-road from Fort St. Vrain by way of Golden to "Saratoga West" on the Blue Fork. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the Denver, Auraria and Colorado Wagon Road Company, with Joseph Casto, Horner Fellows, Christian Dorsey and Solomon Shrop as incorporators, to build a toll wagon-road from Denver City by way of the South Park, through Tarryall to "Saratoga West" on the Blue Fork. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the Cibola Hydraulic Company, of which J. W. McIntyre, D. C. Vance, D. McClery, A. McPhaeder, and F. B. Chase were incorporators. Approved December 7th. This company was authorized to dam Clear creek four miles above Golden City, and to convey water by a ditch to that town and adjacent camps.

An Act to incorporate the Boulder City, Gold Hill and Left Hand Creek Wagon Road Company, with T. J. Graham, E. D. Steele and William Pell as incorporators, to construct a toll wagon-road from Boulder City to Gold Hill and Left Hand creek. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate a Wagon Road Company from Auraria and Denver Cities to the South Park, with J. H. Cochran, Samuel Brown, and Joseph M. Brown as incorporators, to build a toll wagon-road from Auraria by way of Piedmont to the South Park. Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the Fountain City Bridge Company with William H. Green "and associates" as incorporators, to build a toll bridge across the Arkansas river at Fountain City (Pueblo). Approved December 7th.

An Act to incorporate the Clear Creek Lumbering Company with John C. Wall, John E. Carter "and their associates," to improve Clear creek by dams and chutes for driving timber and lumber. Approved December 7th.

It was easy enough for the "Jefferson Legislature" to enact "laws," but enforcing them by its authority-lacking executive officers, against those who offered any resistance, was quite another matter. On January 2, 1860, the day appointed by the "Legislature" for local elections in the several counties it had defined, the voters of "Mountain county," embracing the upper Clear creek districts, held an election to decide whether there should be such a county, or not; notwithstanding that the "Legislature" had already enacted one into existence there. The vote was ninety-five in favor of, and 395 against, the county proposition. So, that was practically the last of "Mountain county;" and as if this were not enough, the rebellious miners up there joined in a protest, signed by between six hundred and seven hundred of them, against paying the poll-tax of one dollar, and sent it down to "Governor" Steele; thus cutting off at one slash their large proportion of the sinews of war and politics.

Much the greater part of the fealty to the "Jefferson government" existed in Denver and the other towns out of the mountains. While the mining camps had participated in organizing it, a large majority of the miners preferred the short, sharp and effective government afforded by their own Courts, and which they continued to maintain. But in the "valley," as the plains along the foot-hills were then often called, "Jefferson" received the moral, and in most respects the unreserved, support of a large majority of the people for several months, and until its inherent impotency became too plain for even its most ardent partisans to deny. Its "laws" could not acquire enough momentum in the confidence of the general public to get away from under the cloud of illegitimacy that gradually lowered upon them. The Denver City consolidation "act" acquired as much vitality as any other product of the "Jefferson Legislature." A city government was organized under it, because it was the most available "authority" at hand; and made a promising beginning under whatever virtue the "act" carried. But that city government broke down far inside of a year, and the consolidation of the towns had eventually to be done over again by the first Legislature of Colorado Territory. Through it all, the authority of the county officers elected under Kansas jurisdiction on November 8, 1859, was recognized by practically all of the people here when it came to the more serious affairs, such as pertained to real estate titles and technical legal questions. While nearly all the men directly interested in the Cherry creek Town Companies actively participated in the proceedings that resulted in the organization of "Jefferson Territory," the companies, as such, never recognized it. In all their transactions they kept within "Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory," as shown by their old records, their deeds and their town-lot certificates. Our researches in the preparation of this work revealed no instance of a local transaction in real estate in which the property involved was described as having been situated in "Jefferson Territory."

Nevertheless, the "Jefferson" Courts started off with considerable prestige and for a few months transacted the bulk of the business outside of the mining camps. Yet their jurisdiction had to be divided with rival establishments. The Miners' Courts jealously maintained themselves in the mountains, but here in the "valley" there was a sort of joint but mutually hostile occupation by the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory and of "Jefferson," with neither very firmly established. Then the Arapahoe County Claim Club went into the business independent of all Territories, and in the autumn of 1860 the city of Denver under a new "Provisional Government" of its own contriving, set up an Appellate, and a Common Pleas Court with facilities for doing business claimed to be superior to those of any of the others. Commenting on these unique conditions of jurisprudence, Hollister, a participant in some of the legal proceedings and a victim thereof, says:

> "Such as felt friendly to one, patronized it with their business; and so of the others. Sometimes changes of venue were taken from one to the other, and between them litigants were well fleeced, at least."

An election for "county officers" for Arapahoe as defined by the county-making "act" of the "Jefferson Legislature," had been held on the day appointed, January 2, 1860, as had been authorized and directed by the "Jefferson" "law". Only a County Judge, Recorder, Treasurer, and Attorney were elected, and the last-named three were the same men chosen for the same places at the election of November 8, 1859, under Kansas jurisdiction. So, County Attorney Collier, for example, was in a position to accommodate both preferences as to jurisdiction. He could prosecute under that of Kansas or that of "Jefferson" as circumstances might require.

In the civil code of "Jefferson Territory" was a provision with relation to persons competent to testify in the courts, that now reads like a scrap of history far more ancient than it really is. Section three hundred and seventy-eight reads like this:

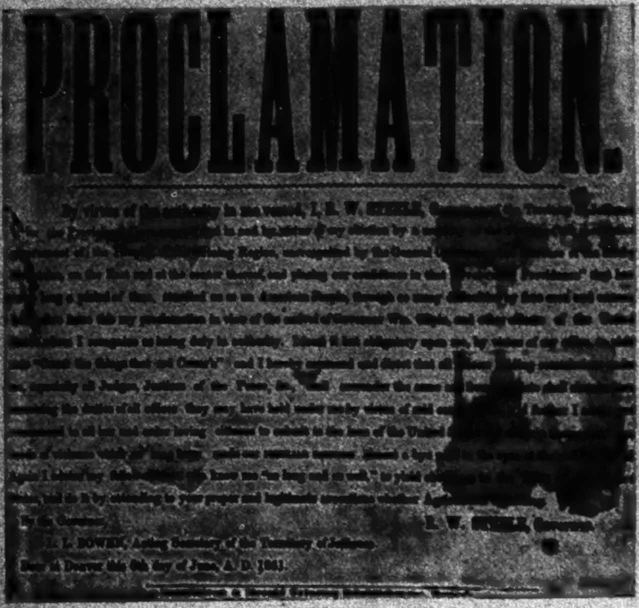
> "Every human being of sufficient capacity to understand the obligation of an oath, is a competent witness in all cases, both civil and criminal, except as otherwise herein declared. But an Indian, a negro, or mulatto or black person shall not be allowed to give testimony in any cause."

The ballot was also denied to Indians, and to "negroes, mulattoes or black persons."

The license system of "Jefferson Territory" put a special tax on every occupation except those of farming and mining. Merchants, gamblers, showmen—all of them were included. On storekeepers the tax was one-fourth of one per cent on all merchandise offered for sale that was "not the growth, manufacture or product of the 'Territory'"—a home-made protective tariff. The tax on gamblers was two dollars and fifty cents per month "on each table or other appliance used for gaming." This was an open, specific licensing of gambling.

The last act of the first "General Assembly of Jefferson Territory" was the joint resolution providing for a territorial seal. The seal was to be two inches in diameter, the device and legends to be as follows:

"The Rocky Mountains to appear in the distance, at their base the foot plains reaching and covering the foreground of the same, on which an emigrant wagon is to be shown with emigrants carrying mining tools; with an inscription around the edge of the same (surrounding the above engraving) 'The Great Seal of the Territory of Jefferson;' and in the upper side of said circle to appear the words, 'The people are the government.'"


PROCLAMATION.

Abdication of "Jefferson Territory."

The proposed historic symbolism of the seal was appropriate and striking, but they appear not to have obtained their seal, nor did they ever have much use for it.

The twelve counties into which the "Legislature" divided the enormous area of "Jefferson Territory," were Arapahoe, Cheyenne, El Paso, Fountain, Jackson, Jefferson, Mountain, North, Park, Saratoga, Steele, and St. Vrain. Some of these names are retained in those of Colorado counties, but the boundaries of the old divisions are not preserved in any of them; therefore, we did not deem it important to state here their carefully specified definitions. Each was large enough to make a fair-sized State, yet few of them ever attempted to perfect county organizations under the "Jefferson" jurisdiction.

Within six months after the "Territory of Jefferson" and its "government" had been organized, the entire establishment betrayed much debility, both in itself and in the estimation of the people; and steadily grew weaker toward the autumn of 1860. Not entirely disheartened by the situation, "Governor" Steele on September 18th issued his proclamation from Denver, the "Territorial capital" for an election of "Territorial officers" and a "Legislature" on October 22nd, the constitution having provided for annual elections on the fourth Monday of that month. The proclamation concluded with the following frank warning:

"All persons who expect to be elected to any of the above offices should bear in mind that there will be no salaries or per diem allowed by this Territory, but that the general government will be memorialized to aid us in our adversity. All officers whose fees are fixed by law will, of course, receive them as therein directed."

An alleged census of "Jefferson Territory" was taken at that time, and which accorded it a population of 48,000. This enumeration was a very questionable one in every way, and it is extremely doubtful if there were then two-thirds that many people in the whole of the vast area of the "Territory," for the portentous news of events and impending events in the States had caused thousands who might otherwise have remained here to return to their former homes.

At the election on October 22nd "Governor" Steele and several of his associate "Territorial officers" were re-elected, the complement chosen having been R. W. Steele, Governor; L. W. Bliss, Secretary; C. R. Bissell, Auditor; Samuel McLean, Attorney General; J. B. Smith, Chief Justice; William Brackett and C. C. Post, Associate Justices; and R. Borton, Marshal. Members of the "Legislature" were claimed to have been elected in nearly all of the counties, but whether they were or not was not at that time a matter of great public interest. The total vote was very small, that for "Governor" having been the larger—983. By that time outright opposition to further attention to "Jefferson" had arisen, and it had become especially strong in Denver in consequence of the "Jefferson government" having recently come into conflict with the city's new "Provisional Government" of its own making. On October 22nd a vote, not authorized by the proclamation of the "Governor," was taken on the proposition to at once abandon "Jefferson" and let it pass into oblivion. In Denver alone 795 votes were cast in favor of so doing, as the city thought her new "Provisional Government," of which we elsewhere give some account, far the better of the two.

The "Second General Assembly" met at Criterion Hall, in Denver, on November 12th. "Governor" Steele sent it an excellent message, but the hand of death was upon it. It had extreme difficulty in getting and keeping a quorum, and in the excitement over the Presidential campaign in the States, and over the startling news of threatened secession in the south, the "Assembly" commanded little public attention. It accomplished some "legislation," and on November 27th adjourned to Golden City, the principal inducement for doing so having been, according to the News, that "board is offered at six dollars a week—wood, lights, and hall rent free." As these law-makers were serving without pay, the Golden City attractions were persuasive. At Golden the "Legislature" dragged out the remainder of the forty days' session with barely a quorum. Members were indifferent and had lost all interest in the proceedings, which had by that time become mere playing at law-making. So, the second and last of the "Jefferson" "Legislatures" passed away.

However, it had made one heroic effort to revive public interest in a new movement for the immediate organization of the "State of Jefferson." By an "act" approved December 12, 1860, provision was made for holding a convention to prepare a constitution for the "State of Jefferson," but the proposition was not favorably received, and nothing came of it. It was then confidently expected that Congress would soon settle the matter of a government for the people here; which it did in less than three months after that last and rather pathetic endeavor to make the Pike's Peak country the "State of Jefferson."

"Governor" Steele and his associate executives bravely, though nominally, held on until the Territory of Colorado came into existence. Steele was a pioneer of the spring of 1859, and a man of ability and strong force of character. Born near Chillicothe, Ohio, June 14, 1820, he removed to Fairfield, Iowa, in 1846 and there studied law. Entering the Cincinnati Law School, he was graduated in 1852, and then located in Indianola, Iowa, where he practised until 1856 when he removed to Florence, Nebraska, and became a member of the Nebraska Territorial Legislature of the winter of 1858-59. Coming hither in 1859 he proceeded to Mountain City (Central City) where he engaged in law practice, mining and other enterprises. After "Jefferson Territory" abdicated he was engaged in mining in the upper Clear creek districts until 1865, when he returned to the States. Coming back to Colorado in 1878, he resumed mining and continued in it some ten or twelve years, and then settled at Colorado Springs where he lived in retirement until his death on February 7, 1901.

"Jefferson Territory" made its last gasp in June, 1861. On the 6th day of that month "Governor" Steele issued from Denver a proclamation announcing the arrival of Governor Gilpin, and the institution of the government of the Territory of Colorado under the act of Congress signed by President Buchanan February 28, 1861. In his proclamation "Governor" Steele said:

> "I deem it but obligatory upon me by virtue of my office to 'yield into Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' and I hereby command and direct that all officers holding commissions under me, especially all judges, justices of the peace, etc., etc., shall surrender the same, and from and after this date, shall abstain from exercising the duties of all the offices they may have held, and yield obedience to the laws of the United States, and do it by attending to their proper and legitimate avocations whether agriculture or mining."

Thus ended the most interesting and picturesque endeavor of an isolated community to establish and maintain within itself a government of and by law, that the student of self-government will find in the history of this country. In any other country and among any other people it would have been impossible. The old Tennessee "State of Franklin" bore some resemblance to it; the embryo provisional government of Oregon was nearer like it; an attempt in the old Territory of Dakota had something similar in view. It is true that in June, 1861, the "Jefferson" Cæsar had little left to render his successor; but, considering all of the circumstances and conditions that had brought "Jefferson" into existence, and that had afterward surrounded "Governor" Steele and his "government," and the really great service it had been to the people in many ways, in the emergency, he conveyed to Governor Gilpin the memory of what may properly be termed the conspicuous political romance in the history of the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHERRY CREEK TOWNS BY THE "JEFFERSON LEGISLATURE"—ELECTION OF CITY OFFICERS—RATIFICATION OF THE UNION BY CITIZENS—ENCROACHMENTS ON CHERRY CREEK—S. W. BEALL'S MISSION—S. S. CURTIS' REMINISCENCES—SECOND DUEL—BROADWELL HOUSE—FIRST FIRE—TRANSACTIONS OF THE TOWN COMPANIES—DENVER CONDITIONS IN 1860—CHANGED ROUTE OF STAGE LINE—FIRST DAILY PAPER—"COLORADO" JEWETT—SCENES AT STAGE STATION—FOURTH OF JULY, 1860.

The second winter at Cherry creek had been quite different from the first. Instead of two little groups of forlorn cabins cut off and shut out from the world, the combined population made a town of considerable size. Twelve months before, the fate of the settlements had been discouragingly uncertain, and they had had little but hope to sustain them; now, there was no limit to their ambition. This second winter was not one of isolation. The overland coaches made their trips without much delay or hindrance, though less frequently, and maintained communications with the Missouri river with fair regularity. Business went on briskly, many improvements being made, with preparations for many more in the early spring.

The somewhat comical rivalry and animosity that had existed between the two "de facto" Cherry creek towns from the time of their birth had been sensibly abating through the autumn of 1859, and the proper, reasonable and judicious proposition that the two places be consolidated, was then seriously and earnestly discussed by the more conservative citizens of both towns. It was proposed that Auraria and Denver unite in establishing a stable city government capable of maintaining law and order, and protecting life and property. The town of Highland at that time existed only on paper.

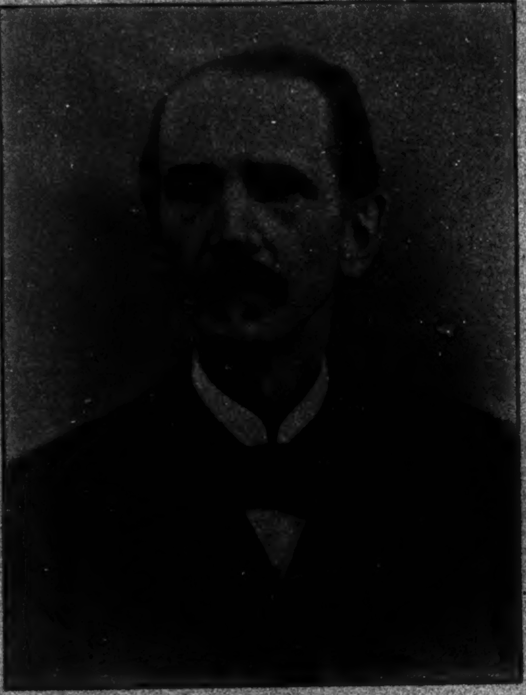
While these matters were informally under consideration by the people, the first "Legislature" met in Denver in its first session. As already related, among its "acts" was one passed and approved December 3rd, consolidating the three towns into one municipal organization, under the title "City of Denver, Auraria and Highland."

Under the "authority" conferred by this "act" an election was held on December 19, 1859, to choose the first Mayor and other city officers. John C. Moore was elected Mayor, and on January 21, 1860, sent his first message to the City Council, which held its first meeting on that date.

While in one sense this was the beginning of the municipal government of Denver, it was not so as a legal matter of fact. It was the first election of city officers, and was duly and regularly conducted under the forms of "law." So far as the actions and purposes of most of the citizens were concerned, the election was assumed to have full force and effect; but having been held under authority conferred by the Provisional government of "Jefferson Territory," it had no better standing in law than had the source from which it derived its power, which was none at all. It was a Provisional city government without power to enforce its ordinances if opposed by legal processes under the laws of the Territory of Kansas. However, it was far better than no city government, just as the Territorial organization of "Jefferson" was better than anything else that was practically available at that time. This original city government served a good purpose for several months, and the fact that the first Legislature of the regularly constituted Territory of Colorado enacted the first legal city charter for Denver, does not detract from the utility, importance and historical interest associated with this municipal organization.

The action of the Provisional Legislature in consolidating the three towns, and the election held under it, crystallized public sentiment on both sides of Cherry creek in favor of making the union more definite and complete by dropping part of the "statutory" name, and simplifying it by calling the consolidated municipality the "City of Denver." With that end in view a meeting of the citizens of Denver and Auraria was held on December 26, 1859, and the conference resulted in a conclusion to do so.

The matter thus rested without definite and final action until the following spring, when it was taken up by the Aurarians. During the last week of March, 1860, a mass meeting of the citizens of Auraria was held in that town to decide the question. After considerable discussion the following was submitted by Andrew Sagendorf, who is still with us, and adopted by the meeting:



Andrew Sagendorf.

"Whereas, The towns at and near the mouth of Cherry creek are, and ought to be, one; therefore, be it"

"Resolved, That from this time, Auraria proper, shall be known as Denver City, West Division, and we hereby authorize the board of directors to change the name on the plat, accordingly."

Mr. Sagendorf's proposition further provided that Auraria should reserve the right to make its own municipal regulations, to maintain its organization as a town company, and to hold the title to the town site, as before; this as a safeguard against the invalidity of the "charter" from the "Jefferson Legislature" consolidating the towns.

Before adoption, the proposition was amended upon a motion by A. R. Steinberger which authorized and directed an election to be held on Monday, April 3, 1860, to give all the people of Auraria opportunity to vote on the question by ballot. The election judges were S. B. Allen, J. N. Bradley and Charles L. Dahler; the result was a majority of one hundred and seven in favor of the proposition; the vote having been 146 to thirty-nine.

A short time before this Auraria election, the first bridge across Cherry creek had been completed at Larimer street, directly uniting the two towns. It would not now be considered a great construction, but it was then, and an important public convenience, as well. On the evening of Thursday, April 6th, a public meeting of the citizens of the two towns, the hearts of which were thenceforth to beat as one, was held by moonlight on that bridge to ratify the result of the election, to exchange congratulations, to rejoice over the marriage, and to listen to the inevitable speeches, without which nothing of a public character is considered properly done anywhere in this dear land of ours. The meeting was presided over by Judge N. G. Wyatt; and A. Jacobs acted as its Secretary, though he had but litttle to do. It adjourned with three big cheers for Denver City, proposed by General William Larimer, Jr., who was the prophetic orator of the evening. So, Auraria, with its pretty name and its picturesque career of eighteen historic months, passed away and became a most interesting memory.

At that time some buildings had been constructed in the creek's bed, and within the next two or three years many more were built there, and the stream almost ceased to be a dividing line. The original surveys had respected the creek, but later both town companies claimed the sandy trough, platted lots in it, and gave deeds for them. This afterward resulted in a large and interesting crop of lawsuits between rival claimants. But the creek in 1864 taught all of them a severe lesson, for it

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Andrew Sagendorf who was conspicuously instrumental in bringing about the consolidation of the three Cherry creek towns and making them the City of Denver in name, as they had been in fact, is a native of the State of New York. Born August 26, 1828, he removed to eastern Nebraska in 1856, and was a citizen of Omaha at the time he caught the "Pike's Peak fever" early in the autumn of 1858. His journey across the plains terminated at Cherry creek November 8th of that year. He engaged in placer mining along the Platte and on upper Clear creek, and at the close of 1859 became Secretary of the Auraria City Town Company in which he had interests of some magnitude. In 1863 when the government bought and took possession of Clark, Gruber & Co.'s premises for the purposes of a "Mint," he was appointed Weighing Clerk there. Later he became Private Secretary to Governor John Evans, and Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue. In December, 1865, he was appointed Postmaster at Denver, a position he filled until June, 1869, when he resigned on account of ill health. Subsequently he received the contract for erecting the government buildings at the White River Ute Agency, and after completion of that work he was for several years engaged in stock-raising in Douglas county. He then removed to Colorado Springs where he established himself in the drug business and resided about ten years. Returning to Denver in 1884, he became Registrar of the State Board of Land Commissioners, serving six years. Since 1884 Mr. Sagendorf has continuously been a citizen of Denver, and true to his pioneer preferences has his residence on what was once part of the ample land-area claimed by the Auraria City Town Company. As the reader will have seen in this note, and elsewhere in this volume, Mr. Sagendorf has been a prominent figure in the history of Denver. —J. C. S.

asserted its ancient rights and washed out, in a whirl of watery wrath, the lots, the lawsuits, the improvements, and everything else that stood in its way.

The energy and ambition of Denver's pioneers had been fairly reflected in an action of the Denver Town Company's Directors late in December, 1859. We copy from their record:

> "By order of the President a Special Meeting of the Board was called on Tuesday, December 27, 1859, when the following gentlemen were present: Williams, Lawrence, Blake, Steck, Curtis, Peers, and Whitsitt. When the President read a letter from S. W. Beall in relation to our interests in Securing Specific Objects at the National Capital."
>
> "When after a lengthy discussion the following Resolution was offered by C. H. Blake. Resolved, by the Denver City Board of Directors That there be and is hereby donated to the Hon. S. W. Beall one original Share in Denver City. It being understood in making Said donation that the Donee shall proceed to Washington City and represent the Special interests of Denver City in the National Capital During the present Session of Congress and before the Heads of Departments in the location of a post office also the Indian agency, Military posts and an Essay office and any other matters that he may be requested to attend by the Citizens of Denver."

This resolution was adopted and a committee consisting of the President, Secretary, and Judge N. G. Wyatt who was the Town Company's attorney, was appointed "to draw up a Contract With S. W. Beall in relation to his agency in representing Denver City." The committee did this and Governor Beall went to Washington.

On the 1st of January he had prepared a memorial to Congress reciting the circumstances of the settlement of this region and setting forth in concise terms its then existing needs. The memorial was signed by nearly all the citizens of the two towns here, and its publication in the Rocky Mountain News brought many requests from citizens elsewhere to have their names attached to it. Governor Beall labored faithfully at Washington, but conditions and circumstances there were much against him. He reported progress within a couple of months, and on March 12th the Directors instructed the Secretary to reply "approving of his course."

One of Beall's propositions to Congress was that an enabling act should be immediately passed authorizing the people here to organize a State government; but in the event of such an act not being passed, to provide that if the Pike's Peak region, on July 1, 1860, contained thirty thousand inhabitants, a Territorial government should be established; and if, on September 1, 1860, the region should contain one hundred and fifty thousand people, a State should at once be organized. While the proposition was not acted upon, it certainly demonstrated the supreme confidence the pioneers had in the country's future, and was the most unique one ever submitted to Congress.

While Beall was not successful in getting all he went for, his services were valuable and important in impressing upon Congressmen and "Heads of Departments" the necessity for government attention to the new community isolated in the Far West. The mail facilities came in the following summer, and Territorial government the next year. While it is not to be said that the Territory was one of the results of Beall's mission, his services at Washington were influential to that end.

Of his experience here in these times and of circumstances that terminated in his appointment as the first Republican Postmaster of Denver, S. S. Curtis relates:

> "During the winter of 1859-60 I occupied as a store the half of the first floor of a two-story frame building on the east side of Ferry [Eleventh] street, nearly a block north of where Larimer crosses it. Buddee & Jacobs occupied the other half as a liquor store, and the second floor was used as a lodge-room by the Masons and the Odd Fellows. Pike Vasquez, and with him Jim Beckwourth, occupied the next building to the south of us, and Dave Moffat was in the next building with his stock of stationery. In the fall of 1859 I had purchased some claims in Pleasant Valley—the lower end of Russell Gulch—and in the spring of 1860, I closed out my stock of merchandise and went to mining. I made enough during the ensuing summer to pay out for my claims—$2,800—but just as I had commenced to make a profit for myself the Consolidated Ditch was finished and I was covered up with tailings from Missouri Flats, and had to quit at a loss of several hundred dollars. I came down to Denver that fall very much discouraged, very much in debt for a young fellow of twenty-two, and hardly knowing whether I could raise enough on my Denver property to carry me through the winter, the current rate for money then being from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. per month. However, I messed with Tom Bayaud on credit during that winter, and on March 7th was made Postmaster at Denver, receiving appointment No. 1, the first made by a Republican administration."
>
> "I opened the Post Office in a two-story brick building on the north side of Larimer street between E and F [Fourteenth and Fifteenth] streets using one-half of the ground floor for post-office purposes, while Dave Moffat used the other half for a news depot and stationery store. Up stairs, Moffat, George Kassler, John Ming, Clarence Clark and myself had our sleeping rooms, and General Case had the Surveyor-General's office. I had at different times John S. Filmore, I. W. Stanton, S. I. Lorah, and George Billings in the Post Office, all of whom rank among the prominent men of the present or of the past in Colorado."

David H. Moffat and Clarence Clarke had arrived early in that spring, March 17th, 1860, with a small stock of books, stationery and cigars, and, as Mr. Curtis states, began business on Eleventh street, in Auraria. When they moved over to the east side of Cherry creek their stock of goods did not seriously crowd Mr. Curtis' Post Office room. Their business also included that of a "news depot," and the store became a favorite evening stopping place for most of the business men of the town. This was the beginning of Mr. Moffat's business career in Denver.

In March of this year of 1860 the second duel in Denver was fought. This one had a tragic and much deplored ending, as it terminated the life of a capable and useful man. The late J. M. Broadwell, related to us that on the evening of March 5th he gave a dinner or banquet at the Pacific, or Broadwell, House, to which he invited many of the prominent men of the town and vicinity. Some other accounts state that the dinner was given by a "Mr. Conklin." In proposing a toast, L. W. Bliss, an ardent anti-slavery man, Secretary of the Provisional "Territory of Jefferson," and at that juncture its "acting Governor," made some remarks which Dr. J. S. Stone construed and believed to be offensive personal allusions to himself. A political and personal wrangle ensued between the two men which resulted in a glass of wine being dashed in Dr. Stone's face. Dr. Stone was Judge of the Miners' Court for the "Mountain City" District, and also its Member of the Provisional Territorial "Legislature"; and a man of extreme southern views. Brooding over the insult he had received, he challenged Secretary Bliss. Mutual friends endeavored to adjust the difficulty and prevent such an encounter, but the matter had now gone too far to permit their efforts to be of avail. The meeting occurred on March 7th at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, on the northward side of the Platte river near the end of the present Fifteenth street bridge. According to the usages of the barbarous code to which hundreds of good men sacrificed their lives, the choice of weapons fell to Secretary Bliss. He named shotguns loaded with ball, which were used at a distance of thirty paces. At the first fire Dr. Stone fell, mortally wounded in the groin. He lingered in great suffering until the following autumn, when he expired on October 10th. This tragedy which reveals so much of the social ideas and conditions of those times, made a profound impression upon the community, and was accompanied by a deep sorrow for the man whose life had been stricken down in the so-called "affair of honor" in which he sought that other figment called "satisfaction due a gentleman." In the ethics of such homicides, Secretary Bliss was held blameless for his part in this one. Dr. Drake McDowell had general charge of the arrangements, while E. W. Wynkoop acted as Bliss' second and W. H. Bates for Stone. A great crowd witnessed the tragedy.

The Broadwell House, later re-named the Pacific House, and still later given its original name, was built in the winter of 1859-60 by James M. Broadwell, who came to Denver in April, 1859. It had been completed only a short time before this tragic affair between Bliss and Stone. Its builder died at his ranche seventeen miles down the Platte, April 17, 1900, in his seventy-third year. His hotel was long the principal one in town. It was originally a good-sized two story frame structure that was raised to three stories in the "Seventies," and stood at the corner of Larimer and Sixteenth streets on the site of the present Tabor Block, to make place for which it was torn down by H. A. W. Tabor. In its time it was a noted hotel. When it was built most of the entire town was arrayed along Lawrence, Larimer, Market, Blake, and Wazee streets for several blocks on each side of Cherry creek, with the open prairie almost bordering on Arapahoe on the east side. Notwithstanding the richness of the Clear creek "diggings," so little confidence was felt in the future of the city by many citizens, that James Broadwell was told more than once while he was building his hotel that he was throwing away his money; and some went so far as to predict to him that antelope would be grazing in the streets of Denver within three years.

On March 18th the first serious fire in the Cherry creek towns occurred. A large new frame livery stable owned by Summers & Dorsett, and located in Auraria, on Twelfth street between Market and Wazee streets, caught fire in some unknown way and was totally destroyed, entailing a loss of about eighteen thousand dollars. The town at that time had no means of extinguishing fires except such as could be improvised by men with buckets, and this one caused great alarm; for the buildings were nearly all dangerously combustible wooden structures.

Few of the transactions of the Denver Town Company's Directors after 1859 were of noteworthy importance. Accounts of some of them appear elsewhere in this volume, and of the others, including those occurring up to the termination of the entries in the old record, in March, 1861, we will make here a brief summary.

On January 2, 1860, the Directors resolved "That the Independent order of odd-fellowship be donated two lots provided they build a house in Denver City in 6 months from this date." On January 9th "Mayor" John C. Moore and Sam D. Hunter petitioned the Board for a lot subsidy for building their proposed theater, and had their petition laid on the table. The Bayaud bridge was still unbuilt, notwithstanding that it had been bargained for in the previous autumn. At this meeting of January 9th the "committee on bridge reported that nothing final had been done." Whitsitt was then authorized to make new terms with Bayaud and have the bridge built, "provided he build the same for 250 lots and $750 cash, one-half on completion and one-half on acceptance of this proposition." This was not satisfactory and the bridge scheme continued to drag. On January 26th Whitsitt was instructed to close a contract with Bayaud "on the most favorable terms" he could make. This resulted in a new contract on March 3rd under which Bayaud built a bridge across the South Platte at the foot of Fifteenth street, completing it before the 1st of May.

Of the conclusion of this deal for building the bridge S. S. Curtis relates for us the following:

"As I had again become connected with the Denver Town Company, I was on a committee to settle with T. J. Bayaud for building a bridge over the South Platte river at the foot of Fifteenth street. After many evenings, and drinking many of his whiskey punches, we finally reached a settlement, paying him largely in town lots which passed into the hands of Charles Heidsick, and are still held I believe by him or his heirs. I formed a strong friendship for Mr. Bayaud, as I believe he did for me, which continued until his death; and I still regard him as having been one of the best of the remarkably large number of very bright men who were brought to Denver by a love of adventure in those early days."

On Larimer street in autumn of 1860—Arrival of a steam boiler hauled from the Missouri river by five yoke of oxen.

Notwithstanding that desirable building lots in the business sections of the city had brought comparatively high prices, others less favorably located commanded but moderate figures. Captain George L. Sanborn, now living in Park county, relates that he bought that spring eight lots on the north side of Curtis street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, for one hundred and thirty-five dollars, Curtis then clearly marking the division between town and country. He afterward sold them to J. H. Filmore for a spring-wagon, two span of mules, and four hundred dollars in money; and congratulated himself upon getting rid of his Curtis street real estate at such exceptionally good values.

The need for a good theater in Denver early became apparent, and Mr. W. N. Byers came near being a pioneer builder of one. In the old record of the Auraria Town Company, under date January 9, 1860, we find the following:

"Board received a petition from Byers & Co. to build a theater building and asking for a donation. Referred to a committee consisting of Sagendorf and Pollock with power to confer with petitioners, and obtain specifications &c, and report at next meeting."

The next meeting was held on January 16th when the following cautious action was recorded:

"On motion W. N. Byers & Co. were donated Eight lots with the condition that eight more be donated if that number be left after paying the debts of the Co. on condition that Byers & Co. built a theater in Auraria."

Hunt and Pollock were appointed a committee to make a contract with "Byers & Co." in accordance with the Board's action. However, other matters claimed Mr. Byers' attention, the arrangements were not concluded, and the Byers Theater was not built.

One transaction of the Directors, at that time, would seem to indicate the low valuation placed on some town lots in 1860. On March 3rd they resolved "that in consideration of Messrs. Fosdick and Cheever presenting the Company one of their Lithographed Maps of the Consolidated Cities, We hereby donate to them the West 25 feet of lot 9 in

Block 71 and release all right to the fraction running into the same." This ground given in exchange for a "present" costing a few cents, is situated on the south side of Larimer street next to the Cherry creek bridge entrance, and is occupied by present buildings numbers 1334 and 1336.

The Directors had ordered new books in which to transcribe records of lot-owners, and to bring accounts of real estate transactions into still more systematic form. Whitsitt did the work, and in payment for it the Directors voted him the share of the unhappy Brindle which they had confiscated the previous autumn. On April 17th the Board directed that "F and G streets be cleaned, all obstructions removed, and a good road graded and made on both streets to the bridge." On May 22nd the company held an election for Directors and elected A. J. Williams, J. R. Jones, Amos Steck, Richard E. Whitsitt, Samuel S. Curtis, Charles H. Blake, and Philip Peers. The Directors made A. J. Williams President, and re-elected Whitsitt Secretary and Treasurer. On June 25th "The Board instructed the Secretary to request Fox Diefendorf, Esqr to take the Census of the City of Denver between the 10th and 25th of September A. D. 1860." It was under this census—an elastic one—that four thousand, seven hundred and forty-nine inhabitants were counted in Denver City.

On August 18th the Directors agreed to give the Missouri and Western Telegraph Company a subsidy of fifty lots upon completion of its proposed line to Denver, but the line was not built by its projectors. On the same day they donated James T. Coleman ten lots as a subsidy for his Democratic newspaper. After that no meetings were held until the following February (1861). In the meantime George Wynkoop had obtained judgment for a relatively large sum against the company which on February 1st was compromised by transferring to him several blocks of lots and paying him two hundred and fifty dollars in money. At this time the Directors also had to reckon with Brindle whose share they had previously taken from him, and twenty-five lots were transferred to him in settlement of his claims.

The Wynkoop case was a locally famous one in its time, and the circumstances out of which it grew are worthy of record. The reader will recall that the Denver Town Company after having taken possession of the "St. Charles" town site, sent E. W. Wynkoop to the capital of Kansas Territory to have the Denver Town Company incorporated. Such things then had to be done by a special act of the Territorial Legislature. Wynkoop was also authorized to transact other details of the company's business at the Territorial capital, and was made a sort of general agent for the Denver Town Company. When Wynkoop arrived at the capital he found the Legislature in session, with a bill before it to charter the "St. Charles" Town Company which claimed the same town-site. Wynkoop opposed the passage of this bill and tried to procure in its stead the passage of a bill for his own company. To further his purpose, he as agent of the Denver Town Company, offered his brother, George Wynkoop, then a resident of Lecompton, an original share of Denver Town stock if he would use his influence in the Legislature to defeat the "St. Charles" bill and secure the passage of the Denver Company's bill. The offer was accepted, but the labor was in vain. The "St. Charles" bill passed and became a law. George Wynkoop applied to the Denver Company for his share of stock and it was refused him, the company repudiating the acts of its agent, E. W. Wynkoop. George then instituted suit in the "Jefferson Territory" District Court, alleging the validity of his claim and that he had been at great expense of time and money in endeavoring to forward the interests of the Denver Town Company. He was given a judgment for eleven hundred and seventy-five dollars. Judge A. J. Allison, Chief Justice of "Jefferson Territory," presided in the trial of the case, which was disposed of at the April, 1860, term of court.

The last meeting of the Denver Town Company's Directors of which their record contains an account, was held on March 11, 1861. After stating the conditions attaching to some lot donations for hospital and school purposes, the record closes with the following entry:

> "Resolved that this Company have never sanctioned the building on any of the Streets or levees of the town and protest against the action of the Council of the People of Denver in permitting Genl L Bowen to occupy that portion of E Street on Which he has placed a foundation. Resolved that a Copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the Council."

1860 was the second year of the first high tide of prosperity for Denver, and in that year its more or less permanent population had rapidly increased. Nevertheless, the town was still a rough aggregation of buildings; some new ones of brick, many of frame, but still a large number of log cabins some of which were used for business purposes. On the outskirts were many tents and wagon camps, the biding places of part of the host which had streamed into the country at the rate of one thousand a day for a while.

Dr. O. M. Clark, of Chicago, who crossed the plains in 1860, and afterward published a little book entitled "A Trip to Pike's Peak," thus records his impressions of the Denver of those days:

"At 10 o'clock on the morning of June 6, 1860, we camped on the highland [Capitol Hill] just above the city, which presented a very neat appearance and was far more extensive than we had conceived it to be. Before us were the abodes of civilization and refinement, while to the right were the smoky wigwams of the aborigines amid which could be seen the dusky forms of stalwart Indians, filthy squaws and naked children, lazily basking in the warm sunlight. Denver City is situated partly in the river bottom and partly on the sides and summit of a sloping bluff which sets back some distance from the river. The city has a population of about 6,000. [?] The bottom below the city is covered here and there with groves of cottonwood and affords good camping ground to the emigrant. At the time we reached there, it was covered with numerous tents and wagons. The business of Denver is large and increasing. Wagon trains are continually arriving, bringing provisions and goods, filling the capacious warehouses and stores."

"The streets are swarming with miners from the mountains, and with arriving emigrants and the din and bustle of trade, the hurry of preparation, the hoarse cry of the auctioneer, furnish a scene of activity that is pleasing to look upon."

In the previous year the men interested in Boulder City had made a great effort to divert a part of the immigration that was pouring up the Platte valley, across to their new town. One of them, the enterprising Henry Clay Norton, constructed a toll-bridge across the South Platte at Fort St. Vrain to make available a fair wagon road that in the meantime had been put in shape from the bridge to Boulder. But this worthy enterprise proved unavailing. The people streamed by the bridge and on to Cherry creek just as if the bridge and road were not mutely inviting them to turn their way; and the crowds which came in 1860 gave them but little more attention and patronage.

W. G. Chamberlain, Pioneer Photographer.

(Many of our illustrations are from photographs made by him.)

The stage company had in the previous summer abandoned its original route into Denver, by way of Cherry creek, past the desolate first cemetery and down the trail that ended in Fifteenth street, and its coaches were coming in by the Julesburg route. The pioneer city of the dead, then far out of town but now within the Capitol Hill district, already had the beginnings of a population, their troubles over, and all permanently situated at last. A considerable portion of those silent dwellers in that growing city of silence, went there through gateways suddenly opened by violence which was death's active assistant in those years. Some of the graves out there marked the end of lives which had left trails of crime and blood and sorrow behind them; and others held what was left of victims of man's iniquity—of those who were stricken down by murderous hands, in the flush of manhood, and with all their hopes and ambitions unfulfilled.

Before April was passed the famous Pony Express had begun its remarkable trips across the continent and was running its ponies into Denver by the branch line from Julesburg. This greatly reduced the time for important communications with the east, and made it seem that the dividing line between pioneer Denver and modern Denver was drawing nearer; a conviction that was strengthened by the appearance of a bright and energetic daily newspaper on the first of May.

On that day Mr. Thomas Gibson, who had, in 1859, been one of the original proprietors of the Rocky Mountain News, but had soon withdrawn from that paper, issued the first number of the daily "Rocky Mountain Herald," a newspaper that had a most useful and influential career.

Among those who put in an appearance here in the spring of 1860 was a man who later gained some notoriety as "Colorado" Jewett, and who came in May. He tried to become a great politician, and posed as a special representative wherever he went, of all that Colorado stood for; and the most remarkable thing associated with him was that so bombastic, shallow and useless a personage could manage to keep himself conspicuous through the many years in which he was widely known by the name he adopted as his special and distinguishing title.

The arrival and departure of the coaches of the Central Overland California & Pike's Peak Express Company, which had succeeded the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Company, were important events. They came and went with nearly as much regularity as passenger trains now move on the railroads, and large crowds assembled at the company's office to await their arrival or witness their departure. The trips between Denver and the Missouri river were begun every day each way, and the distance by the way of the Pony Express route along the Platte was six hundred and sixty-five miles; the time on this better and somewhat shorter way being now about six days. The passenger fare, exclusive of meals, was reduced to seventy-five dollars. The coaches carried the gold to the east, and at times conveyed as much as forty thousand dollars' worth at a single trip. The bullion was usually forwarded once a week in charge of a special messenger, and upon these occasions every passenger in the coach had to be personally known to the company's Denver officers, or vouched for by some person acceptable to them. This, of course, was a precaution against pre-arranged robbery by coach passengers.

Passengers were not permitted to carry gold-dust in their baggage or concealed on their persons. The stage company demanded special pay for transporting it, and its officers were quick to detect its presence in the clothing of an individual.

Occasionally a passenger succeeded in smuggling some through the journey; there is a story of one who did so, and was forcibly detained at the river by the company until he paid for its transportation.

The arrival of a coach was of greater general interest than its departure. The incoming one brought the mail which was delivered from the company's postal annex to its building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets. It was a large two-story frame structure, and the annex was a long, low, one-story wing extending the distance of half a block. Near by was the office of Hinckley's Express, which, by an arrangement, forwarded mail matter from Denver to the mining camps for about twenty thousand miners working in the streams and gulches.

But the departure of a coach always attracted a motley crowd in which a few Arapahoe Indians were usually conspicuous, standing in silent wonder at all that was going on around them. There was something of pathos in the interest aroused by the movements of the coaches, the only direct connections between the mountains and the distant regions of civilization, traversing the plains back and forth like shuttles in a great loom.

A Denver visitor in the summer of this year thus records his impressions and knowledge of some of the bystanders waiting to see a coach start for the east:

> "That symmetrical dark man of thirty, a swarthy Adonis of the plains, has been a Kansas Border Ruffian, a Nicaraguan filibuster, a prisoner among the Mexicans, wearing a chain and working upon roads for more than a year, a surveyor of the Panama railroad, and a wanderer through the world at large."
>
> "Here is the sanguine owner of a quartz mill in the mountains, which he is persuaded will make him a millionaire. His interlocutor has just sold his quartz mill for half its cost, and is returning to the States declaring the gold region a humbug."
>
> "When I first met that elderly gentleman, he was a wealthy Pennsylvania banker, in broadcloth and fine linen, who had narrowly escaped being made Governor of the Keystone State. When I next saw him he was arrayed in buckskin and corduroys, in a Pike's Peak cabin, cooking flap-jacks for his own breakfast. He is now a candidate for Congress."
>
> "The tall, thin-faced person with mutton-chop whiskers is the famous 'wheel-barrow man,' who trundled his entire outfit across the plains, bringing just ten cents in his pocket. Now he is also an aspirant for Congressional honors."

The great holiday event of 1860 was the celebration of the Fourth of July. Preparations for it had begun several weeks in advance, and the entire population of the city with a good share of that of the Clear creek mining camps enjoyed the festivities. There were artillery salutes and "a grand procession." The crowds finally assembled in the cottonwood grove then on the ground now bounded by the Platte, Fifteenth, Wazee and Sixteenth streets, where local orators voiced the most fervid patriotism and distinguished themselves in the eyes of their fellow-citizens. The pioneer women had made a handsome silk flag which was presented to the city to be kept until Colorado should be admitted to the Union, and then delivered to the Governor of the new State. Nineteen years later Mayor Sopris passed the flag to Governor Pitkin and it is now in the Capitol building with the State's other historic banners.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Zenith of Placer Mining—Thronged Denver—General Notes—Further Progress of Mining—Building Operations—Agriculture—Women and Children—Pioneer Bankers—Crowded Streets—Stage Coach Mails—Institution of United States Mails—New Theater—Apollo Hall—Second Daily Paper—Pony Express News—Third Daily Paper—New City Government—Outcasts, Saloons and Gambling Houses—Background of the Picture.

While the year 1859 had been a busy one in the "Pike's Peak country," 1860 was still more so. Everything was centered on mining which, in those times, was in a general way surface work that reached its zenith in that year. The mountain diggings were, of course, more certain and more profitable than those of the bars, and the beds of streams; but in 1860 the beginning of the end of these surface stores of the precious metal was visible to the more experienced men, and the unsolved problems of extracting gold from the refractory vein matter were rising like clouds in the not far distant horizon; before the summer closed.

The country was literally swarming with people who crawled over the mountains, through the canons, and up the gulches, nearly everywhere, searching for signs of gold. Denver was crowded. While it contained as permanent dwellers only a small fraction of the people in the country, it was, as it had been from the beginning, the heart of the new gold territory; the financial, commercial and social headquarters of all the populated region around it.

The region was still nominally within the limits of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, with their theoretical jurisdictions separated by the fortieth parallel. Denver, now the "consolidated city," was still nominally subject to the jumbled laws of the strife-worn Kansas Territory, but without efficient means of enforcing them. The Arapahoe county organization was the only one having any color of legal authority, but in the face of the divided allegiance of the people, it was limp and inefficient. The futility and impotency of the Provisional Government of "Jefferson Territory"—that political fabric which had inspired so many hopes the year before—were now becoming more and more apparent. But it still retained the good will and support of some of the population, notwithstanding its evident impending dissolution.

The people had to improvise methods for protecting life and property, and for punishing malefactors. This they succeeded in doing most effectively. They were a law unto themselves. When a grave crime had been committed and the offender caught, an informal Court was organized. A substantial citizen served as Judge, with two others as Associate Judges, and a jury chosen from men of character and fearlessness. The prisoner was allowed to have counsel, was immediately tried and if found guilty, sentenced to be hanged within one or two days. There was little delay, and also little probability of making mistakes, in these Courts and in the terribly swift execution of their mandates.

In the hurrying throng of 1860 the previous year's fondness for labelling wagons continued. One arriving outfit drawn by six cows bore the business-like sign: "Family Express; Milk for Sale." "Old Bourbon Whiskey sold Here," appeared on several wagons. Other inscriptions were such as these: "Good-bye, friends; I am bound to try the Peak." "I am off for the Peak; are you?" "The Eleventh Commandment—Mind your own business."

The season had opened most promisingly throughout the whole extent of the Pike's Peak mining region, and Denver was the center of extraordinary bustle and business activity. Mining was continued with redoubled vigor from Boulder county on the north to Lake and Park on the south. The rich placers in the South Park attracted hundreds, thousands, of those who came out that spring and summer, and it was then that the towns there grew like mushrooms in the night. The great Consolidated Ditch in Gilpin county was completed that season, and the result was new working ground and paying places for more than fifteen hundred men, each making an average product of five dollars per day, where before no work was possible. The yields of that district, of parts of Boulder, of the diggings in the South Park, and on the Blue and Arkansas rivers were very large. Fortunes were made in a single season. California Gulch, the present site of Leadville, revealed its astonishing riches, and many an old tin can was filled there with gold dust and nuggets in that spring and summer of 1860. Nearly three millions of dollars were taken from that gulch in that and the next three years. For all this activity Denver was the busy, crowding, surging headquarters.

View of Auraria in autumn of 1860 from near the mouth of Cherry Creek.
(Copy of a somewhat inaccurate picture drawn from a rude sketch in Barber's "Western States and Territories.")

But the Clear creek districts were still the objective points for most of the gold-seekers, and within a radius of twelve or fifteen miles from Gregory's original discovery claims there were probably twenty thousand eager, restless, and toiling men, with now a fair sprinkling of women among them. Some of the miners were making a hundred dollars a day while a great many others—a majority—were taking out lesser sums which ranged all the way downward to bare expenses; and then others on still further to nothing. It is related that one of the unlucky prospectors, a former banker from Kansas, who was also, or had been, a Presbyterian deacon, had turned to making and selling pies on Sundays to eke out the insufficient income of the week-days, and that his bakery business was re-inforced by an improvised saloon attachment.

A large number of quartz mills had been brought out, and by midsummer were in awkward operation, one of them being run by an old Boston merchant. Forty or fifty Mexican arastras, each attended by a couple of men, were producing about twenty-five dollars a day apiece. The placer mining was engaging the attention of most of the men, yet its exhaustion was plainly a matter of but a little more time. But the permanent character of the lode, or "mountain diggings," was recognized, and claims fifty by one hundred feet had changed ownership at prices ranging from ten thousand to forty thousand dollars.

While the work of producing the gold was done at a not great distance, Denver was the place for spending it. The town was the thronged and feverish young metropolis. Buildings were springing up. Some of them were of brick and some of adobe; but the great majority was of frame. A few of these early structures are still standing in the older parts of the city on both sides of Cherry creek. The first brick structure, erected early in the autumn of 1859, was a small magazine building or powder house, for Laflin, Smith & Co., in the rear of their store in the middle of the block on the south side of Blake, street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. The first brick dwelling was that of Sheriff J. H. Kehler on the site of the Windsor Hotel, built early in 1860; and about the same time Russell, Majors & Waddell built the first brick structure in Auraria—a warehouse that long stood on the west side of Eleventh street, between Larimer and Market streets. By midsummer of 1860 bricks appear to have been by far the cheaper building material, a good quality selling, according to Richardson's statement, as low as six dollars per thousand; a remarkably reasonable price for those times, if that writer were correct in his quotations—which may be doubtful. In sharp contrast was the cost of lumber—usually five dollars per hundred feet that season. Log cabins of twelve months' antiquity were being pulled away to make room for new and larger business blocks in the then central parts of town, and for frame and brick dwellings on the streets near by. Real estate in the business center had advanced in price, and choice corner lots there which eighteen months before would have been presented to anyone who would build a cabin on them, sold for several hundred dollars.

Denver appeared to have taken on the confident air of a permanent town and its future began to look bright and promising. The pioneer daily newspaper, though six hundred miles from the nearest telegraph station, was delivered by carriers at fifty cents per week. Eastern newspapers, of which several hundred arrived weekly, and were usually then ten or twelve days old, sold readily for twenty-five cents. A fore-sighted man had stored a supply of ice the previous winter and now in these warm days of the summer was making his rounds reaping a harvest of profit and blessings from his customers—without any of the obloquy heaped upon his patient and long-suffering successor in our times. The milkman came early and was now doing his daily duty administering to the wants of the people for a consideration equal to twenty-five cents per quart—of milk; and the vegetable vendor was keeping him company, with a plenty of as fine garden products as the soil ever yielded anywhere.

Many of those who had found only disappointment in the mines had turned their attention to the soil, and had learned that Ceres and Pomona could be most generous in their rewards in Colorado. The extraordinary fertility of the land when properly irrigated, had been demonstrated near Golden the previous year. Vegetables, garden fruits, and grain grew amazingly and yielded most bountiful harvests. These planters were supplying the miners and towns-people, and some of them were making as much money as any of their customers. In this summer of 1860 Denver grocery stores were abundantly supplied with home-grown vegetables—potatoes, pumpkins, beets, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, and so forth. There were cabbages weighing twenty-three pounds, beets of thirteen pounds, and a turnip weighing fourteen pounds, exhibited.

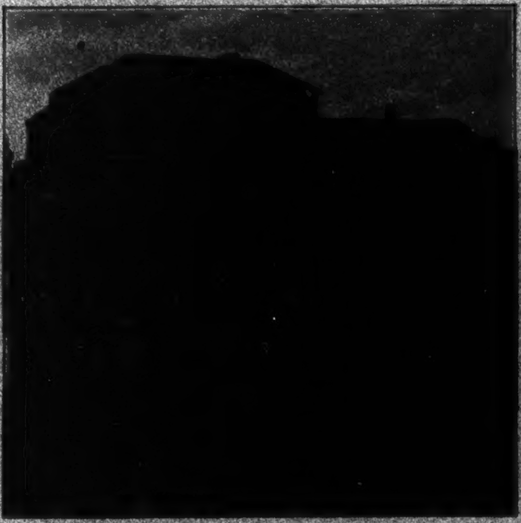
Women, who had been so few and far between a little more than a year previous and who had been gazed at curiously by the primitive citizens, were no longer subject to such distinguishing attentions; and children, who were not much in evidence a twelve-month before, were now important and fairly numerous members of the community. Women and juvenile pioneers had arrived in considerable numbers with the later throngs, and they were hostages to better order and conditions, and to the demands of civilization, in the reckless frontier city. Their presence meant the establishment of homes; and that further meant an end to the roughness of a mining camp infested by scoundrels of all degrees. The two could not exist side by side, as the Vigilance Committees were demonstrating to the conviction, if not the satisfaction, of the element which had to give way.

The miners and other people who had gold-dust but no safe places to deposit it, carried it on their persons in belts and buckskin bags, and paid their bills in bullion delivered on the spot. The C. O., C. & P. P. Stage and Express Company transported most of the gold sent east, and in doing so had drifted into a little semi-banking business in the way of accommodation. But before the middle of June, the brothers George W. and Samuel Brown, opened a bank, the first one in the new country, and its senior founder became and long remained one of the honored of Denver's citizens. Late in that month Turner & Hobbs opened the second banking establishment; then Clark, Gruber & Co., built their banking house and mint at the corner of Sixteenth and Market streets, and on July 20th opened their noted establishment in it. The building was later purchased by the United States, enlarged for the purposes of a Mint and assay office, though no coining was done by the government. With the addition of these banking facilities the business affairs of the community were immeasurably convenienced; though there are traditions that interest rates ranged, upon occasion, all the way from ten to twenty-five per cent. a month. The historical details of these and other early financial and banking undertakings will be presented in what is deemed a more appropriate place in this volume.

By midsummer of 1860 Denver including the town of Highland embraced about three thousand acres of building lots all nicely staked off, and represented by plats and drawings which were works of art on the part of the real estate men of those days. The regular town population numbered upward of four thousand—or, according to the uncertain census taken in the autumn of that year, four thousand, seven hundred and forty-nine—but there were hundreds of transient people, and others from the outlying mining districts, thronging the business streets. Blake, McGaa and Larimer were as crowded with people of all kinds and conditions, as our Sixteenth now is with buyers in the holiday shopping times. There were merchants, miners, traders, teamsters, stage drivers, speculators, gamblers, swindlers, on down to the dregs of a frontier population. Women, good, brave mothers and daughters of established households, brightened the motley concourse; and many others, far from good, exhibited themselves in the public places. The sanguine newspapers left few events of consequence unrecorded, and the town in every way was a reckless, feverish, conspicuous example of the American frontier "city," of conditions and circumstances that will never be again.

As in the previous year, the dominating stage and express company was still carrying mail matter into and out of Denver, and conducting a lucrative postal business of its own at a charge of twenty-five cents a letter, with proportionate rates for other matter. When the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company began operations, the Postmaster at Leavenworth was directed from Washington to deliver all mail matter for the Pike's Peak region to the company so long as the coaches would carry it across the plains free of expense to the government. This gave that Express Company and its successor organization a monopoly in handling the mail, and which continued until past midsummer of 1860.

Upon the arrival of the mail coaches nearly every man in town expected, or pretended to expect, some letters, and the only way to serve them impartially was to require them to form in lines, and thus approach the delivery windows, at the Express Company's office in turn. This resulted in the spectacle, a common one in 1860, shown in the adjacent illustration. By that time the Leavenworth and Pike's Express Company had been succeeded by the Central Overland, California and Pike's Peak Express Company under practically the same ownership, and which had built a large frame building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets, to accommodate its business. The mail delivery was in charge of a young man who is now known so well by our people as Judge Amos Steck. His proficiency in his work and his familiarity with names and faces were so thorough that he could recognize individuals far down the line, and by calling out that no mail awaited them relieve them of the slow and tiresome task of tediously hitching along to the delivery windows. Much time was consumed in delivering the mail. The recipients had to pay the carriage charge of twenty-five cents for each letter, and in most instances that small value in dust would have to be carefully weighed out.


At the Stage Company's Post Office, 1860.

Many men in the mountains experienced great difficulty in hearing from home, a hardship that appears to have been chiefly due to their failure to instruct their friends how to address them. A large portion of the letters coming to the region was addressed simply "Pike's Peak" without the name of any town or camp. All of these came direct to Denver, and if the persons addressed were not here, the letters were sent on to the mining camps. The express companies were at great care and trouble to make delivery, and persistent in their efforts to locate men for whom they had letters, but their endeavors were often defeated by the migratory habits of many of the miners. Another circumstance that prevented numerous letters reaching the persons for whom they were intended, was the adoption of the same name by several individuals. It was not a rare thing for a man upon arrival in the new country to discard his old name and take on a new one, for reasons well-known to himself. Such changes were usually to some common, simple one, and therefore "John Smith," "Tom Jones," and the like, applied to quite a number of gentlemen.

Some of the miners remotely located made great sacrifices of time and toil to get an occasional bit of mail from the nearest express office, though the nearest might be distant more than a day's hard tramping. An incident which fairly illustrates this, is related of one Noah Davis who was mining in Park county in 1860. He had received no tidings from his wife for a long time, and one day he was told by a friend from Gregory Gulch that four letters were waiting for him at the office in Mountain City. There was no way to get them except to walk over the mountains to that place, and poor Smith accordingly tramped the entire distance of ninety-four miles only to find that some other man of the same name had taken the letters from the office.

It was not until the summer of 1860 that the transmission of United States mails to and from Denver was regularly and permanently inaugurated; although for a few weeks in 1859 some had been transmitted to and from the settlements, and a Post Office had existed. The C. O., C. & P. P. Stage and Express Company had realized early in 1860 that the people would not much longer tolerate the old and costly methods, and therefore procured a contract for carrying the mails. The influence of its owners secured the appointment of W. P. McClure to be Postmaster at Denver, in July of that year, and he, by direction of the Stage Company, established his office in a building on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Larimer streets. On Friday, August 10th, the re-established post office received its first mails under the new arrangements, and under the regular postage rates. Its business was relatively a very large one from the start, and has ever since been one of unusual volume in proportion to the number of people it serves. In connection with our accounts of the various stage and express companies of the pioneer era, we will present some further details of postal operations on the plains and at Denver, including those pertaining to the first United States Post Office at Cherry creek, established in Auraria City in the summer of 1859, and that had a very brief career.

In August of 1860 an important theatrical improvement was undertaken by E. W. McNeal, Henry Murphy, Frank Amsden, Alvin McCune and Henry Hitchins. They then began the erection of the Platte Valley Theater on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, which, for its time, was a pretentious place of amusement. It was completed that autumn and opened early in December by a company brought here by George Harrison of Central City, a somewhat notorious pioneer theatrical manager. In 1861 the house was bought by Jack Langrishe who made many improvements in it, and gave it the name "Denver Theater." Its opening under his management, on November 30th, was a conspicuous social event of that period. As a theater it was conducted by Langrishe on a far higher plane than any other place of amusement in the town; and it was also utilized in subsequent years as a place for holding public meetings. The most important of the railroad meetings later in that decade, in which construction of the first railway to Denver was discussed and planned, was held there; and at other times many distinguished men addressed the people of Denver from its stage. The building lives in local history as "the old Denver Theater." Two of its original builders, McNeal and Hitchins, are now living in Helena, Montana; the others are dead.

The pioneer Apollo Hall drinking and gambling establishment, with its theatrical department on the second floor was, in the summer of 1860, as it had been for nearly a year, one of the boisterous centers of attraction in the town. In the autumn of that year the theater had passed into the hands of Jack Langrishe who toned it down, somewhat. But before his time the audience room was neither ceiled nor plastered, and the little illumination it possessed came from a dozen or so of candles stuck around on the undecorated walls. It contained rude benches which would afford crowded seats for three hundred persons, the price of admission was one dollar, and the "standing room only" sign was usually needed, even if it were not hung up at the entrance. Not infrequently some of the most pathetic passages and scenes on the stage were provokingly interrupted by the clinking of glasses, rattling of billiard balls, and boozy attempts at vocal melodies from the uproarious regions below.

On August 27th the pioneer of the Denver newspapers, the Rocky Mountain News, which had theretofore been published weekly, began issuing a daily edition which has continued without interruption from that day to this. Early in November it began publishing telegraphic news, the first newspaper service of that kind received in Denver. These dispatches did not come all the way through by wires, for there were then no wires anywhere near Denver, but came from the Missouri river by the Pony Express. The first dispatch, with news of Lincoln's election, left St. Joseph on the afternoon of November 8th and was published in the edition of the News of the 13th of that month. This service was continued in 1861 from the advancing end of the overland telegraph until the wires themselves made connection between Denver and the outside world. The Pony service made the news somewhat late according to our present notions, but the enterprise was a notable one for that time.

Face of envelope containing message with news of Lincoln's election. (Reduced one-half.)

Though Denver had two daily papers, the third one now made its appearance. So far as national politics were concerned the first two were advocates for the young Republican party, but politics had not figured a great deal in local affairs. On August 25th Coleman & Moore began publishing the daily and weekly "Mountaineer," the first Democratic paper in the Rocky Mountains country.

Of these by-gone times in Denver, Richardson, whose book preserved many reminiscences of events that came within his own knowledge, remarks:

> "It was a fascinating country for a journalist. Over his devoted head daily and nightly hung the sword of Damocles. An indignant aspirant for Congress, meeting the editor of the Denver Herald in the street, spat in his face. Mr. Byers, of the News, whose establishment after the first murderous assault was a well stocked armory, * * * by taking a bold stand, verified the proverb that threatened men live long."

So great had been the influx of people this year that by the end of this last summer month the mining region around Denver was estimated to have contained upward of fifty thousand men. But, while hundreds had been coming, other hundreds had been going. So, the aggregate of those here did not begin to represent the immigration of that year, nor was more than a small proportion of it in the country with intentions of permanency.

The city government organized under the "Jefferson Territoty" "charter" had become weak and inefficient before the year 1860 was half gone, although it had entered upon its career with a spirit and briskness that promised well. Toward autumn of that year the government had become practically impotent. "Mayor" Moore, who was a southerner and a sympathizer with the intentions of that section if the Presidential election went against it, was giving little attention to the office to which he had been elected under the "Jefferson" "charter." The rest of that city government had practically disintegrated, and so the city was going alone.

In consequence of this condition of affairs a public meeting of citizens was held early in September at Apollo Hall to provide some form of city government that would effectively hold together until the organization of a Territorial government, anyway; for in that autumn it had been determined to again appeal to Congress at the session of 1860-61 to establish a separate government for this region, the impotency of the "Jefferson" arrangement having become generally recognized and conceded. The meeting decided to organize "The People's Government of the City of Denver," and appointed a committee to draft a form of local government under that name and title. Another meeting was later held at which the report of the committee was received and adopted, and it was also decided to hold an election on the first Monday in October to ratify the new "city constitution" and to elect officers under it. The "constitution" was ratified and officers elected; and the new organization gave the city a far more effective and useful government than had hitherto been enjoyed, although it was lax in some respects. Additional particulars of this movement will be found in connection with the history of our city government elsewhere in this volume.

It was thought in the spring of 1860 that building operations had attained as high a pressure as there was any likelihood they would reach during the year, but as the season advanced they were pushed forward with still greater vigor. During the summer months buildings of every variety and for almost every purpose were erected in large numbers, and at a rate of speed that was limited only by the supply of material to be had. The saw-mills and brick-yards could not meet the demands made upon them. On some structures work continued day and night until they were completed. In many instances both store buildings and dwellings were occupied before they were more than two-thirds finished. Carpenters, bricklayers and other house-building mechanics commanded fabulous wages, and were autocrats of the situation. Five, six, and eight dollars a day, and even higher prices in emergencies, were paid men who could build houses and do it without the unnecessary delay of an hour.

In the midst of all this ceaseless activity, honest toil, and worthy endeavor, were scores of human leeches and parasites; robbers, gamblers, desperadoes, petty thieves, and poor wrecks of womanhood. Like buzzards which detect their unsavory food from afar, these outcasts had come in flocks in the spring months of 1860, after the fashion of migratory birds that move by night, following the vernal influences and presenting themselves to-day where they were not to be seen yesterday. Such people had come in comparatively great plenty the year before, but this year they came as an invasion. The deeds of some of the worst of these were of such a character that they afford, together with the remedies applied, proper subjects for a chapter by themselves.

House occupied by Richardson in 1860—near intersection of Nineteenth and Stout streets.

If enterprise and industry were always well-directed, the founders and keepers of the 1860 crop of saloons and gambling houses should receive a share of praise. In establishing themselves and in maintaining their resorts, which graded from the fairly kept to the unspeakably vile, they did work enough to have yielded them a livelihood in any worthy occupation. Proportionately, there were more of these wretched blemishes in Denver in 1860-61 than in any other period in the city's history. In some localities they shouldered each other in rows, and from one week to another, through the months, night and day, their doors were never closed.

It is related that in these good old times, when two friends approached a bar, and one asked the other—not if he would drink, for that would have been superfluous west of the Missouri river in those days, but what he would drink—a dozen or so of the ever-present loungers would immediately step briskly forward with the remark that they would take sugar in theirs. Usually, this was all right, for frontier hospitality was laid down on broad lines, especially for ceremonies and refreshments of the bottle.

From all these thronged highways and places of confusion, exultation, and despair, where success and failure jostle one another, where viciousness glares at virtue and menaces it, and in which we see man's eagerness for gain leading him along avenues varying in character from the straight and narrow path where honor and integrity walk together, to the devious ways trailing downward to the depths of vice and iniquity, the author of "Beyond the Mississippi" invites us to turn away, and with him consider the noble picture that forms the back-ground of these shifting scenes. As he saw it in 1860, it is now, and ever will be, until the end of the world:

"But look up, beyond the city, the tufts of trees and the green prairie! Eighty miles to the south, Pike's Peak, like an old castle, 'majestic, though in ruin,' lies dim and dreamy against the sky. Seventy miles to the north stands Long's Peak distinct, rugged and corrugated, its feet wreathed in pine, and its head crested with snow. A dark, irregular, variegated wall, at the verge of the sensible horizon, sweeps grandly between; and beyond, on either end, merges into the debatable ground between earth and sky."

"It reveals every hue, from the dark, rich purple of the nearest hills, to the unsullied white of the Snowy Range; every form, from the long, flat summit of Table Mountain, to that perfect cone, waiting to impale the dying sun. Gaze on it daily for months and you shall never find the same picture, but always an endless variety, a perpetual delight."

"Here at the door of our rude cabin, Nature spreads before us such a panorama as never feasted the eye of monarch in his palace. Last night that furthest mountain was arrayed in a fiery glory too dazzling to look upon. Now it is robed in the pale, unearthly light of another world. Does it seem that you could ever reach it by mortal means, or clothed in mortal body? You can only think of the Celestial City, as it burst upon the vision of the pilgrim Christian; or those Sabbath evening pictures of heaven opening to earth, received in childhood at your mother's knee."

"The sun goes down, but the cold air assails you in vain. Still you lie upon the sward in silence, that 'perfected herald of joy,' until the last fold of night's curtain has fallen and shut out the miracle. How the glories of painter and poet, earthly ambitions, human life itself dwarf before it! In wonder, humility and thankfulness you remember the work of the Great Artist."

CHAPTER XXXV.

REIGN OF THE LAWLESS—OUTRAGES BY RUFFIANS—METHODS OF THE PEOPLE'S COURTS—HOMICIDES IN 1859—WAR AGAINST "CLAIM JUMPERS"—THE "TURKEY WAR"—SERIES OF WANTON HOMICIDES IN 1860—REMARKABLE CASE OF JAMES A. GORDON—ATTACK ON THE OFFICE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS—GREAT ORGANIZATION OF HORSE THIEVES—GRIM FATE OF ITS DENVER LEADERS—OTHER TRAGEDIES—DEATH OF HARRISON AND McCLURE—EFFECT OF EXECUTIONS BY PEOPLE'S COURTS—NOT THE WORK OF MOBS.

In the reminiscences of Denver's pioneers none of the narratives surpass in thrilling interest those which recount the tragic events associated with the brief reign of the lawless in 1860, and tell of the grim but merited retribution that ended the conflict between defiant criminals and determined men who demonstrated their power to protect their lives and property. It was not until that year that Denver was literally overrun by ruffians, thieves and gamblers, and every man's life and property put in peril. From the autumn of 1858 to April, 1859, there was no bloodshed and little or no thieving. Through 1859 three homicides had occurred, and one duel had been fought. Aside from the fatal duel of March, 1860, that year's homicides in and near Denver, then a comparatively small town, aggregated nearly a dozen, most of them cruel, wanton murders; and with these death-dealing acts of violence, robbery of persons, and all manner of thieving were of almost constant occurrence.

As the spring of 1860 passed into the summer outrages by desperadoes in some defiant form became daily happenings. Frequently one of these scoundrels, inflamed by the vile liquor retailed over most of the numerous bars, would draw his revolver upon some peaceable bystander, compel him to drop on his knees, submit to every vile epithet, and beg piteously for his life. The ruffians who committed such acts seemed for the time to be insane from the liquor in them. It was noticeable, however, that these wretches were never drunk enough to attempt their outrages on men known to be dangerous. These and kindred conditions came to such a pass that the citizens, while about their daily business, had to go heavily armed to protect themselves from wanton assaults by such ruffians.

The mining camps were not so seriously beset by these murderous villains. It was about two years after the Gregory and Jackson discoveries until the regularly organized and constituted Territorial government of Colorado was established and in working order, yet during that interval only two murderous homicides are recorded as having occurred in the mining camps in the Denver region, and there were not many criminal cases of any grade brought before the Miners' Courts. One reason for this was the dread of the certain and instant retaliation that would follow outrages there, and which suddenly did follow them here; and another was that the desperadoes, influenced by their gregarious instincts, took more naturally to the town where there was at the time less unity of purpose among the people and more individual absorption in personal affairs. Furthermore, there was the feeling of security and the disposition to be aggressive that the presence of numbers usually inspires among such men; and the familiar character of the haunts and dens open to them, with the congenial atmosphere and surroundings they afforded, combined to make the town more attractive, and the preferable place for the kind of lives they chose to lead.

The chaotic political condition had contributed not a little toward making the lawless element more reckless. A large portion of the citizens claimed that the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory had been displaced by that of the "Territory of Jefferson" which, they maintained, was the government of the region. The minority portion contended, and with technical correctness, that "Jefferson" was legally a myth, devoid of authority and devoid of power to do anything. Naturally, the vicious element in the population accepted each statement as offsetting the other, and therefore assumed that there was no government by law, at all. The "laws" of the Provisional Government of "Jefferson" had been published, but much of the novelty of the new "government" had worn off by the spring of 1860, and it was unable to find ways and means of effectively enforcing its "laws" for the preservation of public order.

For other causes the Kansas jurisdiction was almost as inefficient, and it was at times discredited by some of its own partisans.

But defiant crime culminated, as it always does, and brought the heavy hand of retribution upon itself from Vigilance Committees, which administered the only adequate remedies for conditions that had become intolerable. Aside from these there were troubles enough that were incident to the isolated situation and to the neglect of the National government; and therefore the people turned to the only effective available means of dealing with the miserable devils who were wantonly tormenting them.

There is some impropriety in terming these People's Courts "Vigilance Committees," because the latter conveys some implication of hasty, inconsiderate action by mob. There was none of that in the conduct of these impromptu tribunals. They deliberately but relentlessly did the work called for by the emergencies, and there is no record that they ever made a mistake and sent out of the world an innocent, undeserving man. The evils with which they had to deal justified their methods and their applied remedies.

North side of Larimer street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth sts. in early Sixties. Second building is the old "Apollo Hall."

The deeds of the lawless element and the vigorous retaliation dealt out to such enemies of the community, were thought by some observers to have left an impress on the people that manifested itself in a recklessness of life. It were not strange if such a heritage lingered through some of the succeeding years. However that may have been—if these tragedies did exert a hardening influence that somewhat blunted sensibilities—it did not survive in the substantial element of the community.

While the reign of the lawless did not begin until 1860, there had been, as we have stated, three homicides in and near Denver in 1859. The circumstances of one of them have been related, and we will include here some further account of the other two before passing to consideration of the evil deeds which followed in the succeeding year.

On April 7, 1859, the first murder in or near the new settlements, occurred. An old German named Biencroff, with his two sons, and his son-in-law named John Stoefel, who was a Hungarian, were in camp on Clear creek near its mouth. On the date above stated all of them set out to look for their cattle, and when they returned to camp, Thomas Biencroff, one of the sons, was missing. The next morning Stoefel came into Denver, and the elder Biencroff and his surviving son started to search for the missing man. His body was found with a bullet-hole through the head. In the meantime Stoefel had reached town and disposed of a little sack of gold-dust to R. L. Wooton at his store in Auraria. This dust he afterward confessed he had taken from the body of the dead man. The elder Biencroff and his son, after they had found the body of their murdered relative, followed Stoefel into Denver and caused his apprehension. Stoefel at once confessed the crime, and stated that he had followed his victim from the east for the purpose of killing him. The citizens decided to give the man the form, at least, of a trial. A People's Court was organized with S. W. Wagoner presiding. Twelve men were called as jurors, and a pioneer lawyer was appointed to see that the man was fairly tried.

Stoefel's confession left little for his attorney to do. The jury speedily returned a verdict of guilty and Stoefel was sentenced to be hanged the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon; and hanged he was at the appointed time from the limb of a cottonwood tree that stood near the intersection of Tenth and Wazee streets; a frontiersman nicknamed "Noisy Tom" acting as executioner.

Of this first execution here, Wooton, who was a participant in the trial and a spectator of the final proceedings, says in his recollections of these times:

> "Three men got into a two-horse wagon and were driven under a cottonwood tree on the bank of Cherry Creek. These three men were the prisoner, the executioner, and a minister who had found his way out from the east along with the great crowd of gold-seekers. A rope was placed around the murderer's neck and thrown over a limb of the tree. Then the minister, a good Christian man, kneeled down in the wagon to offer up a prayer, and the executioner also got down on his knees. The fellow who was to be hanged didn't follow their example, but stood up, until the executioner poked him in the ribs, and asked him if he didn't know better than to act like a heathen. After prayer the wagon was driven out from under the tree, and the man who had murdered his friend, to get possession of a few dollars' worth of gold-dust, was left dangling from the cottonwood limb until he was pronounced dead, and cut down."

The difference between newspaper practices in those days and at the present time is indicated by the brief but concise account given of this affair in the first issue—April 23rd—of the Rocky Mountain News. Instead of columns of details the following few lines were deemed sufficient:

"On the 7th instant four Germans, an old man, two sons and a son-in-law, set out from their camp on Vasquez's fork to look for cattle. But one, the son-in-law, returned. After returning he acted so strangely as to arouse suspicion that all was not right, and he was arrested, when he confessed that he had murdered his brother-in-law. A search was instituted and the body of the murdered man found, shot through the head. The murderer was put upon his trial before Judge Wagoner, found guilty on his own confession and forthwith executed by hanging to a tree."

After the two April homicides there were no more fatal affrays in the Cherry creek towns until the following autumn. On October 20th W. J. Paine shot and killed Oliver Davis. Both were colored men, citizens of Denver City, between whom bad feelings had existed for several weeks. In the fatal encounter Davis was the aggressor, but Paine, who afterward made no attempt to escape, was too quick for him. Paine was tried and honorably acquitted, his act having been clearly proved to have been one of self-defense. This affair occasioned but little excitement in the communities, and through the remainder of that year there were no other happenings out of the usual course of events. It was not until the close of the following January that a season of turmoil was inaugurated in the two towns—the "war against the claim-jumpers" in Denver City, and the "turkey war" in Auraria."

On January 30, 1860, a party of men of which William H. Parkinson and two of his close friends named Thompson and Mickie were the leaders, "jumped" some Denver town lots beyond the northeastern outskirts of the built-up part of town. "Jumping," as we have heretofore stated, was, in the parlance of those days, a more or less successful attempt of one party to take possession of and hold a plat of ground previously claimed by another. At this time but few improvements had been made in the part of Denver where Parkinson and his associates began operations, and they at once prepared to build on the lots, which were claimed as the property of the Denver Town Company, which had, as the reader has seen, acquired title by much the same method. But for all that, lot-jumping could not be tolerated in Denver when these attempts were made, for no man's title to ground would then be any better than he could make it by standing guard with a loaded rifle in his hands.

Therefore, a public meeting of Denver's citizens was held in the forenoon of January 31st, with "Mayor" John C. Moore as President, and Samuel S. Curtis, Secretary, to take action and to provide further protection against this new danger. Lot-owners had previously organized what they called the "Arapahoe County Claim Club" for mutual assistance in repelling claim-jumpers, and had adopted rules and regulations to that end. It cannot be said that the "claim club" was always in the right, but its general purposes were well-meant. The citizens' meeting adopted firm but conciliatory resolutions against "claim-jumping," the men present pledged themselves to sustain and abide by the rules and regulations of the "claim club," and to assist each other in the maintenance of their rights. The meeting then adjourned and about eighty of its members went out to warn the "jumpers" to discontinue their work.

But it was one thing to warn them and another to make them quit. When the delegation came within a hundred yards of the scene of operations it was called to halt by four men who had been working on a building, but now stood with rifles at their shoulders. The delegation consulted and then sent "Mayor" John C. Moore forward with a flag of truce. On his return he reported that the jumpers had about forty loaded rifles in their arsenal and that they proposed to fight. The deputation again had a consultation, and while some of its members insisted on immediately charging the enemy, a majority opposed a battle, and the party withdrew, leaving the "jumpers" in possession. When the deputation got back into town another meeting was held, in which vigorous speeches were made, but no definite line of action agreed upon.

Thus matters stood throughout the following day the excitement steadily increasing. On the night of the 31st some parties went to the "jumpers'" first and nearly finished building, tore it down and chopped up the material. The next morning, after the "jumpers" discovered the destruction of their building, they armed themselves and set forth to hunt down R. E. Whitsitt, the manager of the Denver Town Company, whom they accused of the destructive act. Whitsitt, unconscious of danger, was met on the street by one of the "jumpers" who levelled a rifle at him, but was prevented by one of Whitsitt's friends, from shooting. Other armed men continued on the streets all that day searching for Whitsitt, but without finding him.

The citizens met again in the afternoon of February 1st, but no definite course of action was agreed upon, though many more speeches were made. After its adjournment Major R. B. Bradford who had taken part in it, was met by William H. Parkinson, who was heavily armed and in company with a half-dozen friends who were interested in the "jumping" and likewise equipped. Parkinson accused Bradford of having made false statements in the meeting, which the latter denied and proceeded to sustain his denial by testimony from some bystanders. Parkinson refused to hear them and, drawing a revolver, fired three shots at Bradford. Though but a few feet distant Bradford was not hit. This affair came near precipitating a pitched battle and would have done so had it not been for a few cool-headed men in the community.

On Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock—February 2nd, a meeting of the citizens of Denver was held at Apollo Hall to take decisive action. It was largely attended and an unmistakable determination was manifested to instantly suppress "lot-jumping." A few brief but incisive resolutions were adopted, but before the meeting finished its work, E. W. Wynkoop, on behalf of the "jumpers," submitted a written proposition from them for peace. They proposed that if the Denver Town Company would reimburse them for their expenses and losses they would vacate the land on which they had entered, and abandon their purpose. At a meeting held in the evening of that day the proposition was accepted. This ended active operations in the "war against the claim-jumpers," but the affair left many bitter personal feelings which did not entirely disappear until several years afterward. In none of the emergencies he had to meet did Whitsitt exhibit more of his absolutely fearless and determined character than in this one.

West side of Eleventh street between Market and Larimer in the early Sixties

Auraria's contemporary turmoil grew out of quite different circumstances. The year 1859 had brought into the country a horde of thieves whose operations ranged all the way from robbing clothes-lines to stealing a saw-mill. Of the last-named enterprise Wooton relates the following:

> "It is an actual fact that one of the first steam saw-mills set up near Denver, was stolen, not by the man who put it up, but before he got possession of it, from St. Joseph, Missouri! It had been shipped to that point from St. Louis, and while aboard the boat on which it had been forwarded to St. Joseph, waiting for the owner to come and claim it, it was unloaded one night to a flat-boat, and pushed some distance up a small stream running into the river. Then it was taken off the flat-boat, loaded on to wagons, and brought through to Colorado. The man who bought it to go into the milling business in Denver, a year or two after it was first brought to the country, hired a man to set it up for him, who identified the stolen property, and it had to be paid for the second time."

The two towns had been infested for several months by a particularly pestilent gang of thieves self-named and styled the "Bummers;" and membership in it was openly and boastfully proclaimed. Many depredations had been committed during the early months of that winter which were attributed to the "Bummers." In the afternoon of January 30th a ranchman who had brought a wagon-load of turkeys to Auraria was robbed of most of his fowls by the "Bummers."

The citizens of that town, determined to end such proceedings, held a meeting and appointed a committee to investigate the affair. The committee promptly did so and reported that "Bummers" Thomas Clemo, William Todd—alias "Chuck-a-luck," and William Karl—alias "Buckskin Bill," were the active agents in the theft. When this became known the excitement increased, for the despoiled ranchman had vociferously denounced the community that permitted such outrages to be perpetrated.

The "Bummers" prepared for war, marshalled all their forces, and carrying guns and revolvers in their hands, paraded the streets, defying the people of Auraria to molest them. During the night peaceable citizens were halted by these armed scoundrels and ordered off the streets, and it began to appear that the "Bummers" had possession of the town. About nine o'clock in the evening, W. H. Middaugh, who had been active in that day's movement against the thieves, while standing outside the door of the Vasquez House on Eleventh (Ferry) street, was fired at by one McCarty, a "Bummer." The bullet missed Middaugh and passed through the door into the hotel. Middaugh went inside, and in a few minutes another "Bummer," named George Harvey, came to one of the windows through which he took a shot at Middaugh. This one also missed its target.

A military company, the "Jefferson Rangers," had been organized in Auraria two weeks before, and news of the night's condition of affairs was sent to its drill room where, fortunately, the messenger found its members assembled for drill. The "Rangers" at once marched forth to the scene of disturbance. The "Bummers" had left, with threats that they intended to burn the town that night. Therefore, the "Rangers" went on patrol duty which they continued until morning. Just before the patrol had been posted, Thomas Pollock, one of the bravest of men, had encountered McCarty who had shot at Middaugh. McCarty threatened Pollock with a huge bowie knife, whereupon Pollock cracked the "Bummer's" skull with a blow from a rifle barrel. Just after this happened Harvey came up and drew a revolver on Pollock, but the clicking of several revolvers in the hands of the citizens who had in the meantime joined Pollock made Harvey run away into the darkness.

No further disturbance occurred during that night, the vigilance of the rangers overawing the "Bummers." The next day, in the forenoon, another meeting of the Auraria citizens was held at which a resolution was adopted declaring that "Todd, Harvey, Clemo and Karl must leave the city within five hours, under penalty of being hanged if found within the city limits at the expiration of that time, or ever afterwards." On the morning following this order, George Steele, a Denver City desperado, who six months later figured in a tragedy on the east side of the creek, and who had been warned to keep out of Auraria, appeared in that town, using violent and threatening language against certain citizens who had led the movement against the thieves. The "Rangers," learning of his presence, started out to dispose of him; and he, learning of this movement, fled back to Denver City. Todd, Harvey and Clemo had promptly obeyed the citizens' mandate and left Auraria; but Karl lingered. On Friday night, February 2nd, he was found by a committee, secreted in an Indian lodge. He begged for his life and promised to leave at once if it were spared. He was given five hours more time; and he left and was never seen here again. Vigilant guard was maintained by the "Rangers" in Auraria for several nights longer, but the "turkey war" was ended by the smashing of McCarty's head and the banishment of the other leaders of the "Bummers." Several months afterward two or three of the leaders sneaked back but, as they behaved conservatively, they were not hanged.

This vigorous action broke up the thieves' organization and brought an end for a time to the more flagrant depredations from which both towns had suffered. While it did not stop all pilfering, the operations of the thieves were not again of the defiant, daring character they had assumed, though they again became very exasperating early in the following summer.

After the "war with the claim-jumpers" in Denver City, and the "turkey war" in Auraria, there was another brief season of comparative peace in the two communities. It endured for about six weeks, when the first of the many homicides that blackened the history of 1860, occurred.

On the afternoon of March 13th Moses Young deliberately shot and killed William West, using a shot-gun loaded with fifteen buck-shot, all of which entered West's body from a distance of less than twenty feet, and caused his death in about fifteen minutes. Both men were from Leavenworth, Kansas, and were old acquaintances, if not friends. The shooting occurred in front of West's cabin which stood on the west bank of Cherry creek between Larimer and Market streets. Young immediately attempted to escape. He eluded his pursuers until evening when he was captured. The next day he was tried by a People's Court which met in "Denver Hall," and which was officered by a presiding Judge and two associates, the Sheriff, a Secretary, and a jury of twelve men. The names of none of these men are of record except that of Sheriff Kehler. Young was given a fair trial, but the evidence was overwhelmingly against him, and he was sentenced to be hanged the next morning, March 15th. A scaffold was put up on the spot where he had killed West; and there he was hanged at the appointed time. On the scaffold Young admitted the fairness of his trial and the justness of the swift retribution that came upon him. In his last hours and moments he was given by "Father" Kehler such comfort as he was capable of receiving.

On Friday, March 30th, John Rooker shot Jack O'Neil, in Auraria, the wounded man dying in a few minutes. Both were well-known pioneer citizens of that town. Rooker disappeared over night but turned up the next day and demanded trial. The Rocky Mountain News says he was given "the form of a trial" and discharged, but does not state where or by whom. It appeared that a difficulty had arisen between the two men a week or so before, which O'Neil proposed to settle with bowie knives in a dark room. Upon Rooker declining, O'Neil denounced him as a coward. O'Neil was then charged with having said evil things about Rooker's relatives, which led to the encounter. This affair caused no little excitement in the community.

On April 20th a Sioux squaw whom the white people called "Pocahontas" came into town, sold some pelts and got drunk on the proceeds. In the "Mountain Boys'" saloon in a scuffle with its French keeper named Labine, she shot and mortally wounded him, his death ensuing the next day. "Pocahontas" disappeared and nothing further was known of her.

On June 12th Marcus Gredler killed Jacob Roeder southwest of Denver near the mouth of Bear Creek canon. They were from Leavenworth, and in the morning of that day had passed through Denver on their way to the South Park. A dispute arose between them during the afternoon, and in camp that night Gredler killed Roeder with an axe, cutting off his head. The murderer was captured and brought to Denver the next day and immediately tried by a People's Court which met in "Apollo Hall" and was presided over by William M. Slaughter, with John W. Kerr and Charles P. Marion sitting as associates. There was nothing in Gredler's favor on which he could make defense, and he was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged on the following day—June 15th. A scaffold was put up on the east bank of Cherry creek at the Curtis street crossing, and there, in the presence of between three thousand and four thousand people, Gredler paid the penalty.

On June 20th William T. Hadley, a wagon boss, killed one of his employees named J. B. Card, with a butcher knife. The murder, which was a brutal and atrocious one, occurred where the present stock yards are located, and was a consequence of a trifling altercation between the two men. Hadley was brought into town and tried on the 24th by a People's Court, presided over by William Person, with A. B. Babcock and George Wynkoop as associates. The trial attracted a great crowd, and was held outdoors below Wazee street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth. The case was prosecuted by H. R. Hunt and John H. Sherman, while the prisoner was defended by Judge G. W. Purkins, the jury consisting of the regular number of men. The proceedings were short, sharp and conclusive. The jury found him guilty, and the Judge asked the prisoner if he had any reasons to offer why sentence of death should not be passed upon him. To this Hadley replied: "I have nothing to say." Then the Judge addressed the four hundred or five hundred spectators, saying: "Gentlemen, you who believe this verdict is just will say 'Aye.'" There was an overwhelming roar of affirmatives. "Contrary minded will say 'No.'" One voice responded with the solitary negative in the great crowd. With immovable serenity the prisoner heard the question of his life or death submitted to the assemblage, like a point of order or a resolution, and with calmness received the all but unanimous decision. He was sentenced to be hanged on the 26th, having been given two days in which to arrange his affairs and write to his family; in the meantime being turned over to the custody of some men who volunteered to guard him. During the night of the 24th, through the collusion of a prominent man in town, and a physician at that, his guards were bribed and he got away, stealing a wagon and a pair of mules to facilitate his departure from Denver which never harbored him again. Some later incoming people reported having met him far down the Platte, and stated that he had boasted to them of his crime and of his escape. The citizens here were greatly exasperated over this case, and bitterly reproached themselves for not having hanged Hadley while they had him.

North side of Blake street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth in the early Sixties.

A conspicuous devil of those days in Denver was one Charles Harrison, who was a leader among his associate gambling desperadoes. On July 12th Harrison was playing cards in the "Cibola Hall" saloon and gambling house on the Auraria side. A negro named Stark entered the place and proposed to join Harrison in the game. This enraged the desperado who said he did not wish to be insulted by a "nigger," and told Stark he would give him about as much time to take back what he had said as it had taken him to say it. Stark, who was a big, burly fellow, replied that he would take nothing back, and that he was just as good as a white man; whereupon Harrison jerked out his revolver and shot the negro three times. Stark died of his wounds on the 21st. He had bought his freedom from his Missouri master, and after coming to Denver in 1859, had picked up the trade of blacksmith. Harrison afterward claimed that Stark first drew a weapon, and that his act was in self-defense. Strangely enough, no arrest of Harrison was made nor was there any attempt to bring him to trial. He figures still further in these bloody annals.

The next act in the fearful drama, after Harrison killed Stark, was one of the most thrilling, throughout its long stages, that is found in the early annals of Denver. James A. Gordon, a young man still "in his twenties," was one of the desperate scoundrels then infesting Denver. He had the heart and mind of a fiend when drunk, and his reputation as a desperado accredited him with having killed three or four men before he came here to enter upon his Denver career of crime. On Wednesday evening, July 18th, he "liquored up" and started out to make trouble for somebody. Entering a house of evil repute on Arapahoe street, he wantonly shot down its barkeeper, a young man named Frank O'Neill who, despite his occupation and environments, was not an offensive man. O'Neill afterward recovered from his severe wounds. On Friday evening, July 20th, Gordon again set out on a murderous foray. Entering "Denver Hall," which had become a vile drinking and gambling place, he encountered a low character and loafer commonly known as "Big Phil." A few words passed when Gordon drew his revolver and shot twice at the man. "Big Phil," being of no particular value, escaped injury and made off at the top of his speed.

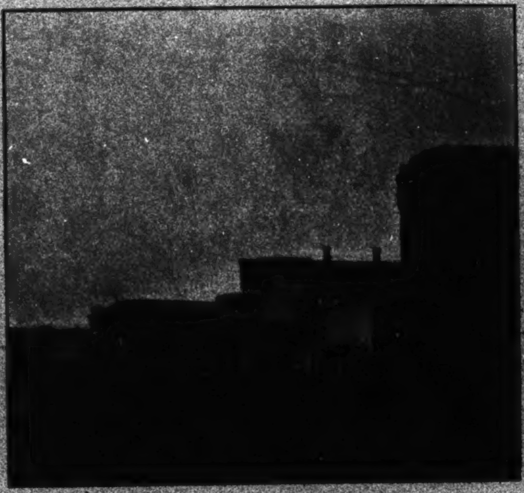
From "Denver Hall" Gordon, after a few rounds of drink, went with two companions named Fitzpatrick and Rookerbone, to the "Louisiana Saloon" which stood in the bed of Cherry creek at the Blake street crossing, and called for more liquor. Standing in the saloon was a young German named John Gantz, a stranger in Denver, who had recently come from Leavenworth where he was very well and popularly known. After drinking, Gordon and his companions broke their glasses on the floor and then, without warning or provocation, Gordon struck Gantz and knocked him down. Gantz jumped up and ran out of the place, but Gordon followed and caught him, dragged him back, again knocked him down, and then sitting on the prostrate man, held his head by the hair and shot him through the brain, after having four times ineffectively snapped the revolver. Gantz died instantly.

Gordon immediately fled and took refuge in Fort Lupton, some distance north of Denver, and then used by Blake and Williams as the headquarters of a large ranche. A party of pursuers, headed by a citizen named Babcock, followed him and surrounded Fort Lupton, when Gordon rode out on a fleet horse and dashed away. A shower of bullets whizzed about him but he made his escape to the eastward. Three of his pursuers, including Babcock, took after him on horseback and within ten miles came within shooting distance. They fired and disabled the murderer's horse, but Gordon escaped on foot, secreted himself, and afterward made his way toward the Indian Territory.

In the meantime public feeling in Denver was aroused to the highest pitch. A citizens' meeting was held and a large sum of money contributed to pay the expense of following and capturing Gordon wherever he might be. W. H. Middaugh volunteered to follow and capture the outlaw. Proceeding to Leavenworth he had himself appointed Deputy United States Marshal, obtained a warrant and in company with a Leavenworth Deputy named Armstrong, set out to find Gordon, whom they captured on the prairie, near Humbolt, Coffey county, Kansas Territory. Instead of bringing him direct to Denver they took him to Leavenworth. There the United States court set him at liberty upon a writ of habeas corpus sustained by technicalities. Leavenworth contained a considerable German population which, after learning the atrocious character of Gordon's crime and the identity and nationality of his victim, assembled in a mob, seized the murderer and three times had a rope around his neck, in frantic determination to hang him then and there. But his Denver pursuer assisted by the Leavenworth officers, rescued him each time. Every shred of clothing was torn from the miserable wretch, and his body covered with bruises from kicks and blows received in the scuffling. He begged his protectors to give him up or kill him at once.

The officers succeeded in getting him away from the mob and took him to a hotel, whence he was taken to a military prison by a detachment of United States troops. The authorities at Leavenworth refused to allow Middaugh the custody of Gordon, therefore he at once started for Denver by coach to obtain authority for bringing the outlaw here. Affidavits and other evidence of Gordon's atrocious crime were prepared, and Middaugh with several witnesses went back to Leavenworth where, after some delay, the prisoner was turned over to him. The party returned to Denver with the prisoner without noteworthy incident, arriving here at 2 o'clock in the morning of Friday, September 28th. Gordon's hands and feet were manacled and the shackles attached to a heavy chain fastened about his waist. Middaugh had traveled between two thousand and three thousand miles in his journeys, all the expenses of which were promptly and willingly defrayed by voluntary contributions by citizens.

Arrangements for trying Gordon were made on the day of his arrival, a preliminary meeting of citizens being held under a cottonwood tree near the corner of Wazee and Sixteenth streets, for that purpose. The People's Court assembled the next day with A. C. Hunt as Presiding Judge, and Charles Bartlett and William Person as Associates. Gordon's counsel were S. W. Wagoner, J. H. Sherman, H. R. Hunt, W. P. McClure and John C. Moore. The people were represented by Hiram P. Bennet, James T. Coleman and Jacob Downing. Judge Bennet and Major Downing are still living in Denver. The trial, which was held in the grove below Wazee street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, lasted until the following Tuesday afternoon, October 2nd; the Court adjourning over Sunday. The evidence was direct and conclusive, and the jury found Gordon guilty of willful murder. To hear the verdict a great crowd assembled in front of Nelson Sargent's Tremont House in Auraria. There was a balcony in front of the hotel, and on that the Judges stood, and after submitting the verdict to a vote of the assemblage, which was almost unanimously affirmative, Judge Hunt sentenced Gordon, who stood in the street



South side of Larimer street eastward from Fifteenth in the early Sixties.

below, to be hanged on the following Saturday afternoon.

The desperado was given more than the usual time in which to prepare for death, in the meantime being carefully watched by a strong guard of armed sentinels against rescue by his friends. On October 6th he was executed on a scaffold erected on the east bank of Cherry creek in the rear part of what later became Governor Evans' homestead lots at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, and not far from the spot occupied by the scaffold on which Gredler had been hung on the 15th of June; Middaugh acting as executioner at the prisoner's request.

Gordon was interested in the "Cibola Hall" drinking and gambling den in Auraria, which had been used for theatrical purposes in the previous year. He was only twenty-three years old, and when sober was intelligent and well-behaved, though naturally a desperado. In consequence of his youth and reputed kindness to his aged father and mother, some sympathy was aroused for him, but it availed nothing.

Considered in all its aspects Gordon's case was the more remarkable of these crimes and their punishment. The wantonness of his offenses, the determination and persistence of his pursuit, his rescue from the Leavenworth mob, his return to Denver for trial and execution, combined to make it one of unusual interest. No Court in the world could have acted with more fairness than the one which ended his career. No tribunal of the people ever bore itself more admirably, or executed its stern decree with greater firmness, notwithstanding the entreaties for mercy inspired by misplaced sympathy, and the many threats of rescue and vengeance by Gordon's criminal associates and desperado kindred.

Pending Gordon's execution his friends had made every effort to save him, and a petition to that end was circulated for signatures, but to no purpose. Thomas Warren, who had lost some of his standing as a citizen, was active in the outlaw's behalf. He quarrelled with R. E. Whitsitt who was always for maintaining order at any cost, and challenged him to fight a duel. Whitsitt at once accepted, but the affair was prevented by other citizens.

A tragic sequel came about three years later and brought death to the intrepid Middaugh. He was travelling on his way to the Missouri river and when near Julesburg was assassinated from an ambush. The deed was attributed to some one of Gordon's friends, several of whom had vowed to avenge his death, but who actually fired the shot was never known.

While Gordon's first pursuers were tracking that wretched man they incidentally transacted some effective business with three other but lesser scoundrels whom they encountered down on the South Platte. These were Jesse Ogden, Frank Milligan and Samuel K. Dunn, a trio of well-known horse-thieves, who broke and scattered as soon as they saw Babcock's party and comprehended what it was. Ogden escaped and was not seen again in this part of the country; Milligan was drowned as he attempted to escape by swimming the river; but Dunn was captured. This worthy promised to leave the country and never come back, if his captors would liberate him. They brought him to Denver, where he was tried, and sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes on the bare back, and be banished. Dunn collapsed under the first dozen lashes and the rest were not inflicted. He then eagerly left town and never more appeared in these parts.

The Rocky Mountain News in its issue of July 25th vigorously denounced the murderous deeds of that month, as it had the others which had preceded them. It denounced the vile "Criterion Saloon," in which the worst of the gamblers and desperadoes made their headquarters, as vigorously as it condemned the crimes. This notorious resort, started by Ned Jumps in 1859, stood on part of the ground now occupied by the Railroad Building, on the north side of Larimer street near Fifteenth, but Charles Harrison had, in the meantime, become the keeper of the place. The attitude taken by the News came near costing its fearless editor his life. After that issue of the paper Harrison and his associates at the "Criterion"—which was a criterion for everything bad—vowed vengeance on the newspaper and its editor. On Tuesday morning, July 31st, a horde of them were congregated there drinking and otherwise preparing themselves to execute their threats. About the middle of the forenoon a deputation of these scoundrels headed by Carroll Wood and including George Steele, both desperadoes, set out from the "Criterion" and boldly proceeded to the News office which was then located in a frame building in the westward side of the bed of Cherry creek, at the Market street crossing. Here they seized Mr. Byers and by force dragged him up to the "Criterion." When they entered the News office Captain George L. Sanborn, then working at one of the cases as a compositor, ran up stairs into the attic, got his gun which he aimed down between the joists threatening to shoot Steele if Mr. Byers would give the word. The editor told him not to shoot, and went with his captors.

When captors and captive arrived at the "Criterion" the crowd of drunken wretches declared that Byers should be killed. Harrison was there, and after roughly ordering Steele and Wood to stand aside, took Mr. Byers into a back room and thence to a back door, telling him to return to his office and shoot the first man who molested him. Harrison at that time regarded, or pretended to, the News' strictures good-naturedly, and to this day Mr. Byers considers that he owed his life to the desperado's action, whatever the motive may have been. Soon afterward, Harrison professed friendship and regard for the fearless editor, and in token thereof had made a large gold ring which he presented to Mr. Byers and which the latter still preserves. Harrison, though a thorough desperado, had kept a few good qualities in his blood-stained character.

As soon as Wood and his party learned that Harrison had let Mr. Byers out the back way they determined to make an attack on the News office. Mr. Byers in the meantime had returned there and he, with the others employed in the office, barricaded the doors and windows in preparation for an attack. Wood and his followers left the "Criterion" and went down on Market street where they took a position behind a log building about fifty yards from the News office and kept sharp watch for an opportunity for a shot at Mr. Byers or one of the other inmates. No chance presenting itself, Steele, growing impatient, mounted Wood's horse and rode past the building. After he had gotten fairly by he turned in the saddle and fired two shots into the office, which hit no one. Sanborn, and John L. Merrick who, also, was then one of the News' compositors, returned the fire. Merrick's shot caught Steele under the arm and passed through his body. The desperado reeled but did not fall. Crazed by drink and his wound, Steele rode rapidly down Thirteenth street, crossed the Platte river bridge, turned to the right to the other bridge which he crossed, and then galloped up Sixteenth street.

In the meantime tidings of what had happened spread quickly through the town and citizens were arming themselves for a reckoning with the desperate ruffians. One of these citizens was the brave and ready Thomas Pollock, the Auraria pioneer blacksmith. Pollock mounted a horse and started eastward on Blake street to intercept Steele, which he did at the corner of Sixteenth, and brought the desperado down with a charge of buckshot in the head. Steele tried to shoot Pollock, and both fired at nearly the same time, but Pollock made the better shot. Steele tumbled off his horse, and was later taken to the pioneer "City Hospital" where he died that afternoon. His body was buried in the old cemetery out on Capitol Hill, and after the "funeral" the usual untrue story about having been "a good, clever fellow when sober," was told of him.

When Wood and his confederates saw Steele shot from the News office, and a few minutes later learned that he had been brought down by Pollock, they fled into hiding from the wrath of the aroused and outraged people. All of them were captured that day and evening. Wood, having been regarded, next to Steele, as the worst of the party, the voice of the people was for instantly hanging him. But it was later decided to give him a trial. A court was organized with S. W. Beall as Presiding Judge, and a jury of twelve men. Judge G. W. Purkins rather lukewarmly prosecuted the case, and Wood was defended by John H. Sherman, J. C. Moore, and A. C. Ford. It was a tedious trial, and the jury after a long wrangle, reported that no agreement could be reached; eleven men being in favor of hanging and one opposed to it. Judge Beall then submitted the case to the crowd—whether the punishment should be hanging or banishment. Wood's friends had packed the room, and there was a majority vote for banishment. Wood had previously begged that he might be permitted to leave the city and country, and this decision of the majority was agreed to by the others. He was profuse in his thanks, declared that the whole affair and this leniency had taught him a lesson he would never forget, and that thenceforth he would be a changed and better man. So, he went away, but did not reform. He turned up early in the civil war as a Confederate guerrilla, and became a noted and cruel leader of bushwhackers in Missouri. He survived the war to be killed in 1865 by a comrade in a drunken brawl in Texas. Wood's associates in the attack on the News office were ordered out of the city and country by the People's Court and immediatey obeyed the command.

According to Richardson, who was sojourning here in 1860, and again in 1865, there was a thrilling sequel to the death of Steele. Richardson says Steele had a brother who resolved to take the life of the worthy man who tumbled the desperado from his horse near the corner of Blake and Sixteenth streets. The brother made no secret of his intention, and for two years he and his intended victim were on the outlook for each other. Once they met on a highway, each armed with a rifle, but before the would-be avenger recognized the other traveler the latter's weapon was leveled. With rare magnanimity the threatened man told his adversary to pass, but held the rifle on him for instant use until the retreating figure was out of range. Subsequently the two met face to face in New Mexico, but the brother was not quick enough, and then and there he met the same fate that befell his relative in Denver on that summer day in 1860. The survivor of this encounter was long a respected citizen here, esteemed for his sterling qualities and for his services to the community in these tragic affairs.

Between the time of the attack on the News office and the return of Gordon, there occurred a series of three executions that were, in many respects, more extraordinary than any of the others we are considering; and as the offenses charged against the men were parts of an organized system of robbery, if not of graver crimes, the cause and manner of their taking off may properly be considered in one account. In the summer of 1860 the thefts of horses, mules, and oxen in and near Denver, and along the routes of travel, rose to alarming proportions, and by August had become of wholesale character in and near the city. In the last week of that month, upon different nights, twenty-six horses and mules were taken from Bradley's ranche, thirty-three from Mallory's, and forty-seven from Kershaw's.

The despoiled owners arose in arms, and on Saturday, September 1st, near the headwaters of Cherry creek, captured a man with several stolen horses in his possession. This thief proved to be a white man who had for some time been in and around Denver, but was known only by the nick-name of "Black Hawk." We have heretofore mentioned him as possibly having been the person of that nick-name who was with Jackson and Golden in the winter of 1858-59. "Black Hawk" was brought to Denver and confined in the cellar of the Cherokee House, on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets. On either that Saturday night or the next day his case was investigated by a secret tribunal or a secret meeting of a Committee of Safety, and he was condemned to be hanged. On Sunday night "Black Hawk" was taken up Cherry creek to a spot not far above the present location of the Chutes Park, and there hanged to a cottonwood tree. No one knew who participated in his trial or in his execution.

Northwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets in the early Sixties.

In his terror after his capture, "Black Hawk" confessed that he was a member of a great organization of horse-thieves that operated through the country all the way across from southern Wisconsin to Denver; that the organization was divided into districts with a leader or Captain at the head of each; that Denver was the headquarters of the western district, with A. C. Ford in charge, and one John Shear as his lieutenant; that stock stolen in one district was passed along through the others until it could be safely disposed of; and that all taken here on the western end of the field of operations was usually run down into the Indian Territory and sold.

"Black Hawk's" confession was believed to have accounted for the retail and wholesale stealing of stock that summer. What evidence there was, other than his confession, to implicate Ford and Shear in the operations of the extended association, was never publicly known. As the reader will have learned, Ford was a rather prominent lawyer here. He came to Denver in 1859, was a man of decided ability, and by his acquaintances frequently called "Judge." Whatever of truth there may have been in "Black Hawk's" confession, it was certainly true that Ford had acted as the habitual professional defender of the thieves and scoundrels by which the community was beset in 1860. Without having openly committed any flagrant act himself, he had become regarded as the counsellor, guide and friend of those who did, and could usually produce evidence to extricate his clients in an emergency. Furthermore he had made himself an object of suspicion to many citizens who believed he regularly shared in the proceeds of much of the thieving that was going on in the town. Still, he was a man of agreeable manners and very pleasant address. Shear, who was a big, fat and rather dissipated man, had come to Denver in the spring of 1859, and in December of that year had been elected a member of the City Council under the "Jefferson Territory" "charter;" a position he still nominally held. He made his home at the Vasquez House on the Auraria side, gambled some, was usually well supplied with money, and was an associate—a sort of factotum—of Ford's.

The secret Tribunal that tried and condemned "Black Hawk," also decided that Ford and Shear should be executed. So, late on Monday night September 3rd—the night after "Black Hawk" had been disposed of—Shear was taken from his bed, hauled to the bank of the Platte river, just above the Larimer street crossing, and hanged to a leaning cottonwood tree. As in the other case, the public had no knowledge of the identity of those who condemned and executed him. When his body was found next morning, a note scrawled on a scrap of paper and fastened to a stump near by, was also discovered, and which read: "This man was hung. It was proved that he was a horse-thief."

On that Monday, when Ford heard of "Black Hawk's" execution, he at once began preparations for flight. He engaged passage to the Missouri river on the stage due to leave the next morning; but his intentions were soon known to that grim Committee, or Tribunal, whichever it may be termed, and Ford's willingness to leave town, and indicated desire to get away in haste, did not avail him. It had been decreed that he should not escape to become an enemy of society in another community, and that nothing he could do should avert the tragic death to which he had been doomed. Preparations to intercept him in his flight were promptly made; nine men being detailed to that duty, on Monday night. This party was divided into two mounted groups, one of four members and the other of five; and about two hours before dawn next morning they left town, a group on each of the two stage routes to the east. The smaller group went out the old "cut-off" road to a point not far beyond the eastern limits of the present suburban town of Montclair, and about seven miles from the Denver of those days. There they awaited the coming of the morning east-bound coach. It came on time, and when they halted it they found Ford among its passengers, the others of whom at once became greatly alarmed by the stoppage. Ford was cool, and quietly left the coach when he was told to do so; and the driver was then ordered to proceed on his journey, which he did without delay.

Ford was taken nearly a mile from the road, to a little slough or depression where the grass was high, and there summarily shot; his body being left where it fell. Ford died bravely, but without bravado. On September 8th the body was found by one of the parties which had been searching for some trace of the rather prominent lawyer who had so mysteriously disappeared. The breast was riddled with buck shot.

Those who found the body discovered that some one had preceded them, and had taken from it whatever of value there was upon it, including a fine gold watch Ford was known to have carried. The Denver Tribunal soon learned that an individual had left town the day after Ford's death, and suspected him of having first discovered the body. A member of the Committee was put on his trail and tracked him all the way to El Paso, Texas, eight hundred miles distant, hunted him down, found the watch in his possession and made him give it up. It was brought back to Denver and delivered to Ford's widow who had come here from Council Bluffs after his death. Ford had served as a delegate in one of the "Jefferson" conventions, and it was reported here at that time that he had been a "Free Will Baptist" preacher in Iowa before he came to Denver.

Who constituted that grim Tribunal that condemned and executed these three alleged members of the alleged great western association of horse thieves, no one undertook to inquire. Many could have closely guessed; while, of course, some certainly knew. However, it was then sharply understood to be a forbidden topic, and no one cared to disregard that understanding. These circumstantial details were related to the writer by a low-voiced, gentle-mannered pioneer, of those times, who is still a well-known and much esteemed citizen of Denver, and is the only one of Ford's four executioners now living.

Ruffianism, as the reader has seen in the case of the "claim-jumpers," was sometimes encountered in quarters where it might not have been expected. Richardson thus accounts the circumstances of another of these affairs:

> "The Denver people, tired of improvising a vigilance committee after every outrage, organised a city government and elected a full board of officers. The desperadoes—like most scoundrels, great sticklers for legality—refused to recognise its validity. The correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat excited the ire of one of Buchanan's shining appointees, the Denver postmaster, who was also Chief Justice of the embryo commonwealth, under a movement for a State government. One evening this functionary lured the journalist into the post office; then closing the doors, with a cocked revolver at the head of the luckless scribe, he compelled him to write and sign a statement that he knew his published allegations to be false and slanderous when he made them. Under that influence which knows no law, the correspondent made this 'voluntary' retraction. But the people took the matter in hand, and after a fierce struggle, the postmaster, who was a man of wealth, and sustained by all the leading desperadoes, as his only mode of escape from the gibbet, succumbed to the city government, and gave bonds to keep the peace. In the great war he turned up a quartermaster in the rebel service."

W. P. McClure was the Denver postmaster at that time, and O. J. Goldrick the intimidated journalist. However, Richardson was in error in making McClure "Chief Justice of the embryo commonwealth." McClure armed and intrenched himself in his postoffice with several of his equally armed friends, and defied the officers who went to arrest him on November 5, 1860, charged with assaulting Goldrick with intent to kill. He practically dictated terms for settling the matter. McClure was prominent and influential in the community in those times. His tragic fate in the Confederate service will presently be related.

On November 30th Patrick Waters shot and killed Thomas R. Freeman down on the South Platte, two miles below Fort Lupton. The two had gone there after a load of hay. Waters hid Freeman's body, and taking the horses escaped to Nebraska. He was followed by W. T. Shortridge who captured him and brought him back to Denver. He was tried by a People's Court which, with grim significance, assembled in "Criterion Hall" and was presided over by William Person, with E. H. Hart and General F. J. Marshall as associates. H. P. Bennet, L. L. Bowen and J. B. Smith were the prosecutors, and J. J. Hall and C. C. Carpenter counsel for defendant. Waters confessed his crime to have been a premeditated, cold-blooded murder, was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged on December 21st. A gallows was set up on the north bank of the South Platte river near the end of the present Fifteenth street bridge, and from it Waters was promptly swung into eternity on the day set for his departure. This was the last execution in Denver's history by mandate of a People's Court.

though there was a case or two in the interval before the organization of the Colorado Territorial government a few months later, that would seem to have afforded cause for further application of the extreme penalty by the people. The jury that rendered this last capital verdict consisted of J. B. Carter, George T. Clark, William Clayton, L. N. Greenleaf, John Herman, M. A. Hines, C. H. McLaughlin, E. McLaughlin, "Count" Murat, James Stewart, J. S. Travilla, and George Wakely.

On Sunday, December 2nd, Charles Harrison shot James Hill in the "Criterion Saloon." Hill, who was of Harrison's kind, died the next day. His slayer was arrested, tried on the charge of murder to which he pleaded not guilty, and was acquitted upon the proof of self-defense he succeeded in presenting. After this affair Harrison boasted that he intended making his record twelve white men so that he could have a jury of his peers in "hell," as he did not count the eleven Mexicans he claimed to have killed, nor the "nigger" who had died at his hands in the previous July. It was said of him that he had killed three or four men in Salt Lake City before he came to Denver.

South side of Larimer street from Fifteenth to Fourteenth in the early Sixties.

On December 14th Patrick Kelley killed Richard Doyle in the "Club House," an eating and drinking place at the corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, of which the two men were partner owners. A dispute about their business affairs brought on an affray which resulted in the homicide. Kelley was tried in the "Jefferson Territory" Appellate Court, charged with murder, and set up the plea that if he were guilty of any crime, it could not under the circumstances have been of greater degree than manslaughter. The Court construed the "law" under which it acted as conferring jurisdiction only in cases of first degree murder and so instructed the jury, which returned a verdict of not guilty as charged in the indictment. Kelley was released and that was the last of the case.

A short time after Harrison killed Hill in the "Criterion Saloon" he disappeared from Denver. The civil war had then become almost a certainty, and its prospective strife promised abundant satisfaction to his love for bloodshed. Harrison, W. P. McClure and several others from this city joined Sterling Price's army then organizing in Arkansas. In 1862 they persuaded Price that they could easily raise a Confederate regiment in Colorado. Therefore commissions were issued to enough men to make a full complement of regimental officers, and the party started for Colorado to recruit the regiment. The Federal authorities heard of the movement and sent a mounted detachment of enlisted Osage Indian scouts to capture or destroy the band of newly-fledged Confederate officers. The party was intercepted on the southeastern plains and in the fight that ensued its every man was killed, Harrison and McClure among the rest. The Osages cut off the heads of all and carried them back as evidence that orders had been executed to the very letter, and that Harrison had gone to meet his jury down below.

Of the people's methods during those trying times in 1860, Mr. W. N. Byers recently said:

> "We never hanged on circumstantial evidence. I have known a great many such executions, but I don't believe one of them was ever unjust. But when they were proved guilty, they were always hanged. There was no getting out of it. No, there were no appeals in those days; no writs of errors; no attorneys' fees; no pardon in six months. Punishment was swift, sure and certain. Murderers almost always confessed their crimes."

It may be incidentally remarked here that a peculiarly grim practice attended the executions by hanging. To the simple mechanism by which the trap was released a long rope was attached and of which all the jurymen in the case took hold. At a signal from the nominal executioner the jurymen pulled the rope and thus actually inflicted the penalty their verdict had warranted.

The majesty of aroused, outraged public sentiment; the quiet, awful determination of those Courts of the People; and the swift, terrible and unrelenting execution of their irrevocable decrees, appalled the more wanton ruffians and brought to their brutal minds a shivering conviction that they could not successfully defy the whole community. Though most of them oft-times boasted of their preference for dying with their boots on, the sight of yesterday's comrade in deeds of crime, hunted down and shot to death as a ferocious wild beast would have been, as had been the case with both Steele and Ford; or kicking and struggling in midair from the end of a rope as they had seen or known many others to perish, was more than they could bear; especially when each was conscious that it might justly be his turn to next present the same ghastly spectacle to his surviving associates.

These executions in 1860 were not the work of mobs, but that of organized tribunals the proceedings of which, with such exceptions as those of "Black Hawk," Shear, and Ford, who were secretly, and no doubt justly, condemned to death, and that of Steele who was killed in the progress of his murderous foray, were public. Aside from these cases there was not a single instance of execution in or near Denver in that period without public trial and without public knowledge. Later, in that decade, as related in succeeding chapters, there were some instances of what may be called lynching. Many and grossly exaggerated versions of the events we have here been considering and which, in themselves and strictly within the bounds of truth were tragic enough, have been spread over the first three or four years of Denver's history, and have created a belief that it was not unusual, during those years, when the Denver people went forth from their homes in the mornings for them to see the body of a man suspended from a limb of a tree. Such stories of pioneer times in Denver are, with the possible exception of Shears' body having been seen from some distance, pure fiction. But it was a tribute to the forbearance of the people of those times that the trees did not more frequntly bear in the mornings fruit that was not on their branches the night before; for the worthful citizens were daily tormented by thieves, exasperated by the carousals and brawls of drunken ruffians, and provoked by the conduct of the gamblers, swindlers, and other human riff-raff that beset them on every side.

It is not to be understood that the People's Courts of 1860 succeeded in permanently suppressing murder and other forms of crime in Denver. They did, however, have a powerful restraining influence in checking the impulses of those inclined to flagrant deeds of violence. With 1861 came the Territorial Government of Colorado with all its machinery and forms of established law, which theoretically removed necessity for further spontaneous action of the people as crystallized in the People's Courts.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMERCE OF THE PLAINS—ITS MAGNITUDE—OVERLAND STAGE LINES—FIRST LINE TO DENVER—TROUBLE IN ESTABLISHING UNITED STATES MAIL TO AND FROM CHERRY CREEK—FIRST POSTMASTER—VOLUME OF EXPRESS MAIL MATTER—POST OFFICE ESTABLISHED ON "DENVER CITY" SIDE—TRAVELING BY STAGE—CENTRAL OVERLAND, CALIFORNIA AND PIKE'S PEAK EXPRESS COMPANY—FAMOUS PONY EXPRESS—FINANCIAL MISFORTUNES—OLD-TIME STAGE COACH MEN—HOLLADAY OVERLAND MAIL & EXPRESS COMPANY—OTHER OVERLAND LINES—LOCAL STAGE LINES.

The "commerce of the plains" began at an early day, originating in these parts in the operations of the fur companies. Until Denver was founded there was not much of it in the Pike's Peak region, the business passing to and from either the northwest or southwest. From Independence, Missouri, the southwestern traffic followed the old Santa Fe trail; while that destined for Utah, California and Oregon went to the northwest by way of the South Pass. Some from the southern trail passed this way to the northward, but that happened only occasionally. The acquisition of territory from Mexico was followed by a large increase in the traffic, and the California movement in and after 1849 swelled it tremendously; but, little of the increase passed through this locality.

The establishment of United States military posts, such as Forts Union, Laramie, Massachusetts, Bridger, and others farther west called for the transportation of great quantities of supplies, and by the time of the so-called "Mormon War" the government's freight made business for a large number of men.

The foremost of the freighting contractors west of the Missouri river in that period was the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell. In 1858 these men employed in the regular operation of their business, twenty-five thousand oxen and two thousand wagons, transporting freight, chiefly on government account, to various posts and places between the Missouri and Salt Lake. Of their operations upon one special occasion Fossett gives these particulars:

"W. H. Russell of the leading trading and shipping firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, received a contract to transport the supplies for the entire army destined for Salt Lake, as well as for intermediate posts. This required 60,000 head of cattle, 6,000 wagons and about 1,000 mules, which was subdivided into trains and let to Missouri farmers and freighters. Each of these trains consisted of twenty-six wagons, three mules and about thirty men, with six yokes of cattle to each wagon."

This firm figured in still more important enterprises in the west, as we will presently see. Concerning its operations Fossett further says:

"In 1860 one herd of 4,800 cattle belonging to Russell & Co., were frozen to death in three days in what is now [1876] known as Skull Valley, Utah. When informed of the loss * * Russell made no other remark than 'send the hides and horns east by return (wagon) trains.' These facts are given to show the character of the man and the magnitude of his operations."

But the aggregate of all previous traffic over the plains sunk into insignificance when compared with that which followed the discovery of gold in these mountains, and the founding of Denver. Hauling supplies overland by teams for a small army made a great deal of business, but it was a bagatelle in comparison with that of transporting material for the building and furnishing of a city, and supplies and provisions for not only the people who were building it, but for thousands who were after the golden cause that had called it into existence. Those were the times when the "commerce of the plains" of the old-time "prairie-schooner" variety reached the furthermost bounds of its expansion. The slow-gaited "prairie-schooner" was the contemporary of the overland stage, and they rose, flourished and passed away together. Occasionally, a lone white-topped wagon, the outfit of some restless adventurer, may still be seen creeping along a roadway of the plains, but such sights are now becoming few and far between. These vagrant vehicles bear slight resemblance to the huge, old-time "schooners," drawn by five or six yoke of oxen, or as many pairs of mules, and carrying four or five tons of freight.

They usually went in trains, sometimes as many as thirty-five or forty wagons in a caravan. As a rule there were ten head of animals to each of the large wagons in the trains of the regular freighting contractors, and extra cattle or mules were taken along to fill out the teams in case of death or disability among their members. Each wagon had a man to manage its motive power, and three or four additional train-men were employed in attending to the extra stock, and to miscellaneous duties, the whole outfit being in charge of a wagon-master, or conductor, who was its responsible head. Sometimes such a freight-laden caravan would stretch out for a mile or more in length.

The emigrant wagons, while usually traveling in company, moved more independently and with less system in their progress. Their aim was to get through the best way they could, and the ignorance or impatience, and often both, of their individual proprietors controlled their movements. But with the regular freighting people things went differently and very systematically. With the larger trains provisions were carried in one or two lighter wagons, which also served as ambulances in case of illness or accident, and often carried a passenger or two not in a special hurry to get through. The men of the train were divided into "messes," and each mess had its camp outfit. When camp was made in the evening the wagons were usually driven up together so as to form an enclosure or corrall. When there was no fear of the Indians, the wagons were placed so that the tongues or poles were turned to the outside, the right front wheel resting against the left hind wheel of the wagon next ahead. This left the stock all outside of the corrall for convenience in unhitching, and driving the animals to water and grass. When Indians were menacing, the wagons were assembled with the tongues inside the corrall which brought all the stock inside and prevented the animals from being stampeded in case of attack. The wagons also made good defensive protections, and the hostile Indians were cautious about coming near them.

The prairie freighters observed the old rule of early to bed and early to rise, getting a good morning start and usually halting for a few hours in mid-day, for the stock to water and grass. The usual rate of progress up the Platte Valley was between ten and fifteen miles a day. Notwithstanding the heavy expense, the wear and tear, and the danger and loss at times occasioned by the Indians, the business was a profitable one, for freight charges were high and there were no rate wars between rival transportation lines.

From necessity the trains returned to the Missouri river empty, or nearly so. All the traffic, it may be said, was westward and the charges upon it had to be made high enough to cover the round trip expenses of the trains. Some idea of the magnitude of the business may be formed when it is considered that provisions, clothing, mining machinery and supplies, building hardware and other material, merchandise of all sorts for the people of Denver and the thousands in the surrounding region of which it was the metropolis—and an extravagant, wasteful lot of people they were—all had to be wagoned from the Missouri river, until the railroads made their way westward. In the summer of 1860 the rates of freight from the Missouri river across the plains to Denver were from ten to twenty cents a pound—not a hundred weight, but a pound of sixteen ounces, and there was an enormous business going on. The outbreak of the civil war checked it as it did everything else, but after the war was over, it rose to greater proportions than ever. It was estimated that in 1865 five thousand men and forty thousand mules with a proportionate number of wagons were regularly employed in freighting on the plains, the government freight in consequence of having many new military posts in the west and because of troubles with the Indians, furnishing a large portion of the tonnage. As the railroads pushed themselves westward after the war, the "prairie schooners" plyed to and from the advancing termini of the roads, completing the unfinished transportation, until the railways came through and swept the wagon-master and his picturesque caravan into retirement from which they will come forth never again.

Freight caravan on the Plains.

The overland mail and stage line on the central route had its beginnings at the California end. As early as 1851 the mail had been carried on mules and afoot between Sacramento and Salt Lake by Woodard & Chorpenning. By 1858, Chorpenning & Company, through combination of different local lines in California had a local mail and passenger line of coaches running to Salt Lake from the coast, but its mail contract required the transportation of mail between Salt Lake and Sacramento only once a month each way.

At that time there was a line of coaches running from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake, by way of Fort Kearney, the Platte valley and Fort Laramie; and known as the "Hockaday Line," from the name of its principal owner, John Hockaday. It was not a robust establishment though it had been in operation several years. It had a contract to carry mails between Salt Lake and the Missouri river six times each way between the first of May and the first of November, and three times each way between the first of November and the first of May; a total of nine mail trips each way during the year.

As will be seen, these were, in their true character, local lines and their mail contracts were for local mails, none of which were for any point in Colorado, for the good reason that there was then no Colorado, nor was there any "point" here or anywhere near here until near the close of that year. These lines connected at Salt Lake, and California passengers went through by them, but having no through mails, and being separate local establishments they can not be said to have constituted a transcontinental line, in the sense that the southern, or Butterfield, line was such. At this time the greater part of the mails for California were carried by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company by way of the isthmus, from New York to San Francisco within limits of twenty-two days; though the Southern Overland Stage Company carried a considerable bulk of them.

That stage company operated the longest stage route in the world in the four years preceding the civil war; southwest across the plains, and through the arid regions of New Mexico to California. The route was from St. Louis to San Francisco, by way of El Paso, Texas, which was near the half-way point; the total distance along the great angle from St. Louis to El Paso and thence to San Francisco being 3,203 miles. The more direct and more practicable route would have been through this way, but the political influences dominating in Washington at that time decreed that the southern route, as it was called, be followed, through Arkansas, across the corner of the Indian Territory, through Texas and New Mexico to California. It was the first "fast line" between the Mississippi river and the Pacific ocean, and carried a limited quantity of mail twice a week each way for a compensation of $600,000 per annum. Of this first through overland mail contract and of those to whom it was awarded, the Second Assistant Postmaster General, at Washington, supplied us with the following information:

> "I have to inform you that Route Number 12,578, St. Louis, Mo., to San Francisco, Cal., 3,203 miles and back, twice a week, with a branch from Memphis, Tenn., to Fort Smith, Ark., was let by order of July 2, 1857, to John Butterfield of Utica, N. Y., William B. Dinsmore, of New York, N. Y., William G. Fargo, of Buffalo, N. Y., J. V. P. Gardner, of Utica, N. Y., M. L. Kingon, of Rome, N. Y., Alex. Holland, of New York, N. Y., and Hamilton Spencer, of Bloomington, Ill., at the rate of $600,000 per annum. By order of March 12, 1861, service of this route was discontinued."

The coaches ran with great regularity—except when interrupted by occasional Indian depredations—following a time table with such exactness that, it is related, in one season for a period of two months, the coach from St. Louis met the one from San Francisco every trip within a thousand feet of the same place midway on the long journey; and for an entire year there was not a failure to deliver the mails at either end of the line on schedule time. The through fare for passengers was only one hundred and fifty dollars, with an additional expense of from fifty cents to one dollar for each meal taken along the way. The coaches rolled on day and night, stopping only to change teams at stations from twelve to twenty miles apart—the drivers being relieved at longer intervals—and to give the passengers a chance to get something to eat. They made the trip usually in twenty-one days, although the mail contract allowed twenty-five.

The outbreak of the civil war stopped operations in 1861, and the outfit of stages and mules in Texas and other places down that way was confiscated by the Confederates. Early in March of that year, Congress by law had directed this company to change from the southern to the central route, and the transmission of mails over the southern was ordered discontinued. The further proceedings of the company will be narrated by and by.

Late in 1858 the persistent stories of gold discoveries in the Pike's Peak region and the excitement they occasioned along the Missouri river and to the eastward, had made it apparent that there would be a great movement of people to the new country in the following spring. Therefore, the plains freighting firms of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and Jones & Cartright joined forces in the winter of 1858-59, and under the firm name of Russell, Jones & Co., organized the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, a line of stage-coaches to run between Denver, and Leavenworth, Kansas. It was finely equipped with fifty-two new "Concord coaches," and a full quota of the best draft mules money could buy in Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee, and the best ever owned by any stage company. In this equipment and in stations along the way, and for the various incidentals, about a quarter of a millions of dollars were invested. It started and continued as a daily line each way, and in the summer of 1859 when the line was in good working order, the regular fare from Leavenworth to Denver was one hundred dollars including meals; and twenty-five cents per mile from and between intermediate points. We have elsewhere told of the arrival of its first coaches in Denver on May 7th, so it is unnecessary to repeat those details here. At the start the route was by way of the Republican river and north of that of the present Kansas division of the Union Pacific Railway eastward from Denver; but after running for about six weeks over that route, the line was transferred in the middle of June to the Platte valley route followed by the old Hockaday coaches on their way to the west.

The distance travelled on the earlier route from Leavenworth to Denver was six hundred and eighty-seven miles, and with four—and sometimes six—mules in the team, it was covered within seven days; usually about six hours less than seven days. In that spring of 1859, Junction City, near by Fort Riley, was the frontier post office and settlement of Kansas, and was a point on the stage line; but the company brought mail through from Leavenworth as express matter, or rather as a postal enterprise of its own. Its stations along the way were from fifteen to twenty miles apart, where teams were changed—the drivers being changed less frequently.

The first return coach of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express reached Leavenworth from Denver on May 21, 1859. It carried three thousand, five hundred dollars' worth of Rocky Mountain gold dust, and its arrival there was celebrated with music, and the ponderous speeches of the time which were then always part of every public demonstration that commanded any public respect. The presence of actual gold from the new Dorado, though comparatively small in quantity, was heralded over the country from Leavenworth, and it convinced multitudes that there must be a great deal more where that had been found. As the news of this consignment spread it caused thousands to join the throng headed for Denver, and did much toward contradicting the stampeders' tales of deceit, delusions, disasters and demoralization in all the Pike's Peak region, some versions of which had already reached the Missouri that month.

William H. Russell, deceased.
(Photographed about 1870.)

The time across the plains was reduced in later years to within six days as a result of improvements made along the new routes. Richardson states that he came from the Missouri river to Denver in 1865 in four and one-half days—which was certainly not a regular schedule performance—and that the coaches were going through to a connection with the Placerville, California, railway inside of three weeks. By midsummer of 1867 the Union Pacific Railway was finished to North Platte, about halfway to Denver, and the journey from Omaha to this city was made in about three and one-half days, if the road were fair for the staging part of it.

The reason for transferring the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak line from the Republican river route to that of the Platte grew out of the purchase by Russell, Jones & Co., late in May, 1859, of the old Hockaday line running between Independence and Salt Lake, as a basis for some more extended operations they had in view, and in expectation of having its mail contract amplified to include regular mails to and from Denver. The transfer was practically a merging of the two lines, the one to Denver then being far the more important. After the change the two followed the same route between Fort Kearney and the original Julesburg, or "California crossing," where the Hockaday coaches diverged and proceeded on their way to Salt Lake by way of Fort Laramie.

We have heretofore mentioned the great satisfaction given the people here by the advent of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak coaches early in May, 1859, carrying mail matter regularly to and from the previously isolated towns and mining camps, although a charge of twenty-five cents, in addition to the government postage on outgoing mail, was made for carrying letters either way. Within a couple of weeks the novelty of regularly receiving and dispatching mail wore off, and there suddenly broke out a tremendous clamor against Russell, Jones & Company's alleged extortionate charges. Meetings were held in the towns and mining camps, at which the stage company was denounced with all the freedom of invective possible on the frontier, and the columns of the Rocky Mountain News were burdened with complaints.

This resulted in the people here petitioning the Post Office Department to establish a Post Office in one of the two towns at the mouth of Cherry creek; and late in June, 1859, "Auraria City, K. T.," was made a Post Office town with Henry Allen as Postmaster. Allen had been Postmaster at Council Bluffs, Iowa, before coming hither. In previous historical accounts of our pioneer times, W. P. McClure has been represented as having been the first Postmaster here. This is an error; Allen preceded him by more than a year, and was appointed within eight months after Auraria had been founded.

In the midst of this clamor against them, Russell, Jones & Company had bought the old Hockaday stage line and its mail contract, with the expectation of extending its mail route by a branch from Julesburg to Denver. Negotiations to that end had previously been set on foot at Washington and were supposed to have been practically concluded, when a hitch suddenly occurred which resulted in the Post Office Department refusing to further consider the proposition. Russell, Jones & Company were so confident of securing the mail extension that they had given notice through the News that regular United States mails at regular postage rates would be inaugurated by their coaches within a few weeks.

The failure of these negotiations occurred about the time Allen was appointed Postmaster, yet no other provisions for conveying mail to and from Auraria received any attention at Washington. The propriety of establishing a Post Office and appointing a Postmaster without providing any mail facilities is not apparent at this time; but that was the way it was done. When news of the collapse of mail negotiations at Washington reached Denver, Postmaster Allen cast about for some way to get mails to and from his post office, which he had fitted up in Pollock's hotel building. Many of the people believed Russell, Jones & Company had been insincere in their endeavors to have regular mails established, and that they had preferred to retain their monopoly of carrying letters at twenty-five cents each. Under the postal regulations of that time a Postmaster was authorized to contract and pay for mail carriage to and from his office so far as the cash receipts of his office, less other expenses, would enable him to do so. Therefore, Postmaster Allen thought he had found a way to relieve the people of their cause of complaint against the stage company, as stated in the following that appeared in the Rocky Mountain News of July 9, 1859:

"Mail Notice"

> Messrs. Editors:—Please inform your readers that I have made arrangements with Mr. Willis, one of the employees of the United States Express Company, to carry the mail from Auraria to the Missouri river, the contract to commence on Monday next [July 11th], and continue to depart every Monday morning until further notice. Therefore, 3 cents postage will convey the letters to the States, and the same back, as soon as the agent gets through.
>
> July 8th, 1859. H. Allen, P. M.

At the time this arrangement was made the United States Express Company was operating as far west as Fort Kearney, over the line of the Western Stage Company between Omaha and that point. By the contract with Willis, Auraria was made the first duly established and operated United States Post Office in the entire Pike's Peak region. Commenting on these mail matters and troubles, the News in its issue of July 23, 1859, said:

> "We know of but one legally appointed Post Office with a duly commissioned Postmaster, which is in Auraria—Henry Allen."

However, the Auraria Post Office did not long survive. The Leavenworth & Pike's Peak stages had continued to carry a large amount of express mail, and at the close of July, after three weeks' service, Postmaster Allen's mail carrier abandoned his contract, and left the Auraria Post Office stranded. Concerning this and the remedy applied, we quote from the News of August 27, 1859:

> "We learn from Mr. Allen, the Postmaster, that Mr. Willis has failed to carry out the contract taken by him to carry the U. S. Mail from this office to Fort Kearney. The letter published in our last week's issue, written by Mr. Sydenham, had referred to the contract with Mr. W., and since his failure can have no reference to future mails.
>
> Mr. Allen has now entered into a contract with the Express Company [the L. & P. P.] by which the mails will be transported three times a week each way between Auraria and Fort Kearney, in U. S. Mail bags which will be opened only by the Postmasters at either end of the line. The charge will be twenty-five cents for each letter and ten cents for each paper, in addition to the U. S. postage—that being the compensation allowed the Express Company.
>
> We can now rely upon having our mails carried with promptness and dispatch, and the compensation is as little as any responsible company or individual will undertake to tranport it for.
>
> Since government has failed to extend to us the privileges and advantages of postal facilities, we are certainly fortunate in being able to secure tri-weekly service, even at a cost of twenty-five cents per letter, in the hands of so prompt a company as Russell, Jones & Company. The mail will leave hereafter, and until further notice, on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of each week, at 6½ o'clock, a. m.
>
> The Express Company will also carry letters and papers to and from their office in Denver, at the same rates as formerly, they paying the U. S. postage."

This terminated the career of the Auraria Post Office as an establishment of the United States, and reduced Postmaster Allen to the level of a mere agent in Auraria for the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company, in which position he continued until the appointment of W. P. McClure as Postmaster in Denver and the re-establishment of United States mails, a year later. The stage company's express mail matter was the source of an important income. On a fly-leaf of the Auraria Town Company's old record book, placed there by Allen who was an officer of the Town Company and who was probably short of account books, is the subjoined statement of account between him and the stage company, covering the first six weeks of his service as their agent in Auraria, and which serves to indicate the value and extent of the company's letter-carrying business; as it covers only that pertaining directly to Auraria. It also shows that Allen's commission of five cents on each letter handled during the six weeks amounted to nearly one hundred dollars; a larger sum than he would have been likely to have received had he continued as United States Postmaster at Auraria:

Jones Russell and Co. Express Co.
In acct with H. Allen.

1859.	Cr.	
By Whole No. Letters Sent from Aug. 3d to Sept. 15th.......	759	
Deduct Free.................	7	
	752	——$188.00
By Whole No. Letters Rec. from Aug. 3d to Sept. 15th..	2639	
Deduct Free..................	52	
	2587	—— 646.75
		$834.75

Contra	Dr.
To Whole No. Letters on hand Sept. 15th, 1705,............	$426.25
Com. on 752 sent..........	37.60
" " 485 paid in money.	14.55
" " 882 Rec...........	44.10
Cash	312.25
	$834.75

Excess, $6.70

The stage company continued carrying mail both ways as express matter until past midsummer of 1860, and probably would have kept it up longer had not the shadow of a competing line appeared on the eastern horizon. Much popular discontent had again arisen over the heavy charges, and the company realized that if it did not change the methods its coming competitor probably would do so. After the inauguration of the government's new fiscal year, and with the active assistance and insistence of "Delegate" B. D. Williams, a contract was made to transport regular mails to and from Denver. By that time, as we will later see, the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express had been merged into the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company.

Alexander Majors, deceased.
(Photographed about 1890.)

In preparation for re-establishing regular postal facilities to and from Denver, Postmaster Allen's commission was not revived, as it would seem it should have been, but W. P. McClure was appointed Postmaster at "Denver City." He fitted up an office in a little building on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Larimer streets, so the Aurarians could conveniently reach it by crossing the Larimer street bridge, the only one then spanning Cherry creek. On August 10, 1860, the "Denver City" Post Office received its first installment of United States mails, and on that day the "express mail" system with its burdensome charges, finally came to an end. McClure's appointment and the location of the office on the Denver side were influenced by the C. O., C. & P. P. stage company and the Denver Town Company; the interests of individuals controlling both companies having been mutual in securing for "Denver City" all the public utilities that came along.

The competing stage line to which we have referred, was that of the Western Stage Company, an organization of which we will presently give some further account. In 1859 it had established a line of coaches between Omaha and Fort Kearney, and in the summer of 1860 prepared to extend that route to Denver. Notwithstanding the hostility of the older line and the influence of its owners at Washington, the Western Company secured a contract to carry local mails between Fort Kearney and Denver. Its first mail coach arrived here on September 21, 1860. However, this rival did not long remain a competitor of the older line. Late in 1861 it was bought out, or off, by the Overland Mail Company which had in the spring of that year, as we will presently relate, succeeded the C. O., C. & P. P. Company, and which also was then on the verge of bankruptcy; the Fort Kearney-Denver subordinate mail contract being assumed by the Overland Company. The Western Company then entered the Denver local field as will later appear.

The coaches used on the great overland lines, and nearly all that ever ran anywhere west of the Missouri River, were then known as "Concord wagons," deriving their name from Concord, New Hampshire, where they were built. The "Concord" was a perfect vehicle for the purpose. It was a compromise between the old-time heavy, lumbering, English stage-coach, itself a load for a fair team, and a good, big, covered spring-wagon; and was very light for its strength and carrying capacity. The body retained the general form of the old coach, and accommodated nine inside passengers, the driver sitting in front on the seat elevated above the passengers. There were seats with the driver for two or three people, a receptacle under his seat for packages and mail bags, and a "boot" behind for baggage, parcels, and other stuff. In durability and strength this smooth-running, easy-riding vehicle exceeded all others ever introduced in the west. Drawn by four good mules, the usual number, the ordinary average speed was from four to five miles an hour, though in emergencies double that speed was known to have been attained. The loads were always stowed to balance well, with the hand-baggage of the passengers on the roof where it was accessible to them when needed. With a fair cargo and a complement of people the coaches moved steadily; but when empty or nearly so, they pitched and plunged more than a solitary passenger would deem necessary to his comfort.

Traveling in the overland stages, especially over the plains, was a most wearisome business for the average passenger. No experience could be more trying and fatiguing than that of the first day and night in a lumbering coach. If the vehicle had a full load, as it usually did have, sitting in one position in the crowded, cramped quarters allotted to each passenger, the heat of the sun, and the dust of the trail if in summer, or the cold winds and driving snow of other seasons, combined to make a journey one long to be remembered. But the bones and muscles of the traveler seemed to become more resigned to their fate after the first twenty-four hours, and were less persistent in their protests against the unusual treatment they were receiving. It was usually the case that passengers would find the closing stages of their journey far more comfortable than the experience of the first day or two. When opportunity offered the travelers would vary the monotony of the trip by walking a mile or two; and the trip did become exceedingly monotonous. The novelty of the plains soon wore away, and their apparently endless stretches became most tiresome to the sight. One of the most confusing things to the novice was his conception of distances. Mile after mile would be traveled along the monotonous trail with some landmark in plain view ahead, and hours would pass, yet the object would appear no nearer than when first observed. The eye could not be trusted to estimate distances in the clear, pure atmosphere; nothing but actual knowledge derived in other ways enabled one to know how far one place was from another.

The drivers were, as a rule, reticent, intelligent men, attentive and courteous to their passengers; and from the necessities of their occupation, were brave and hardy. Furthermore, they were cautious in their driving, and remarkably skillful in handling their teams which were not always models of docility and tractability. Upon occasion, especially on the mountain lines, they drove along at a fine gait over and through places of apparent peril, but they knew what they were doing and how to do it. Stories of their wild recklessness, and foolhardy daring in managing the coaches loaded with people whose lives were entrusted to their care, were generally the products of luxuriant imaginations belonging to passing visitors, who wanted to recount adventures that would thrill the folks back home. These stories were usually built in between an Awful Peril the coach had just escaped, and an Appalling Danger just ahead, upon which its wild reinsman was furiously dashing with his helpless and terror-stricken passengers reviewing the misdeeds of their lives in the few moments presumably left them on earth.

As a matter of fact, the stage companies required their drivers to be careful and to avoid risks and dangers that were avoidable. They would no more entrust a coach and its load of passengers to an incompetent, reckless, foolhardy driver, if they thought him such, than the Superintendent of a railway would now put such a man in charge of the locomotive drawing one of his trains. Indeed, it is probable that those oldtime drivers had to exercise more caution, judgment, circumspection and skill, especially those employed in the mountain districts, than are demanded of the men in charge of the motive power at the head of one of our modern passenger trains; and his position, notably so in times of trouble with the Indians, was one of greater personal danger, and also one forbidding wanton recklessness.

The old freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell which, with several associates, organized the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express, and later the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company, and established the Pony Express, required each of their men to make the following pledge:

> "While in the employ of Russell, Majors & Waddell, I agree not to use profane language, not to get drunk, not to treat animals cruelly, and not to do anything incompatible with the conduct of a gentleman."

While it can not be truthfully said that this promise was always rigidly kept, the men who would very often violate it would have to look for some other employment. These employers in operating their stage lines required their men to follow the same general line of conduct.

Wagon Train Corrall.

Late in 1859 the owners of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak stage and express line, and recent purchasers of the old Hockaday line to Salt Lake, formed an alliance with the Salt Lake & California Mail Company—otherwise Chorpenning & Company—which, as we have stated, was running a line of mail and passenger coaches between Salt Lake and the coast, and made arrangements with it which were the beginnings of their preparations for a transcontinental through stage line. Then, at the session of the Kansas Territorial Legislature in the winter of 1859-60 they obtained a charter for the "Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company"—a long name quite in harmony with the long-distance business the company was preparing to transact. In this movement the members of the firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell were joined by Luther R. Smoot, Ben McCullough, J. B. Simpson, F. A. Bee, and W. W. Finney, who, also, had been and were variously interested in the transportation business on the great plains. The Leavenworth & Pike's Peak line was merged into the new corporation and its separate identity by name disappeared. Jones & Cartright did not participate in this new organization, but withdrew from stagecoaching and continued in their other business of freighting and merchandising. At one time in the early days they had $150,000 worth of merchandise in Denver.

Transportation of the bulk of the California mails had long been in the hands of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Its then current contract would expire June 30, 1861, and a new one would be made with whoever could carry the mails quickest, best and cheapest—the matter of time being of the greater importance. Wells, Fargo & Company, the Pacific coast express organization, united with the Southern Overland Company—the Butterfield line, in which the express company was interested—in an effort to deprive the steamship company of its contract—worth a million dollars a year—get it for themselves, and thus have a monopoly of California mails transportation. They made a competitive trial trip for speed with the steamship company, as the railroads do among themselves nowadays, and beat the ocean route in delivering eastern mail at San Francisco by about a day and a half. This put the prize practically within the grasp of the Southern Overland, and its managers considered that all they had to do was to await the time for the contract to be awarded.

Neither the steamship company nor the Southern Overland Company gave any consideration to the then embryotic central line. They either did not know of the plans of the new corporation or did not regard them as of any importance. At that particular time the line west by way of Fort Laramie was not very conspicuous in the western country and was not making a brilliant record. The occasional mails it carried were so long between times that the establishment having them in charge had been nick-named the "Ox-Mail Line." The Denver line was the pride of the company, but the other was soon to be brought to a standard of equal efficiency. So matters stood early in the spring of 1860, at the time when the men constituting the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company had about completed their preparations for showing the country what they could do in the way of rapid transit across the continent. They also anticipated securing for their contemplated through line of coaches the contract, which would be awarded the next year, for transporting the California mails, and taking that business from the steamship company and the Southern Overland line.

One day late in March, 1860, the following advertisement appeared in the New York Herald and in the Washington Star, the last-named paper having been owned by Russell:

"I will start an express across the continent from St. Joseph, Mo., to Sacramento, Cal., April 3rd, 1860, the schedule time of which will be nine days. Letters weighing two ounces or less, five dollars. Other mail matter especially contracted for at the office, corner of Fulton Street and Broadway, New York City." W. H. Russell.

Simultaneously the following advertisement appeared in several western newspapers:

"To San Francisco in 8 days by the C. O. C. & P. P. Ex. Co. The first courier of the Pony Express will leave the Missouri River on Tuesday, April 3rd, at ——— p. m., and will run regularly weekly hereafter, carrying a letter mail only. The point on the Mo. River will be in telegraphic connection with the east and will be announced in due time."

"Telegraphic messages from all parts of the United States and Canada in connection with the point of departure will be received up to 5:00 p. m. of the day of leaving and transmitted over the Placerville & St. Jo to San Francisco and intermediate points by the connecting express in 8 days. The letter mail will be delivered in San Francisco in 10 days from the departure of the express. The express passes through Forts Kearney, Laramie, Bridger, Great Salt Lake City, Camp Floyd, The Washoe Silver Mines, Placerville and Sacramento, and letters for Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, The Pacific Mexican ports, Russian possessions, Sandwich Islands, China, Japan, and India will be mailed in San Francisco."

"Special messengers, bearers of letters to connect with the express of the 3rd of April, will receive communications for the courier of that day at 481 10th St., Washington City, up to 2:45 p. m. of Friday, March 30th, and in New York at the office of J. B. Simpson, Room No. 8 Continental Bank Building, Nassau St., up to 6:50 p. m. of 31st March."

"Full particulars can be obtained on application at the above places and from the agents of the company."

These were the first public announcements of the famous Pony Express, which was one of the great enterprises for which the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company was organized. They were received with much incredulity and astonishment, and with derision, also, by the great steamship corporation and by the managers of the Southern Overland. It was ridiculous and it could not be done; it was a scheme, or a trick, or a humbug, or all three rolled together, and so on. But it was done at the appointed time, and on time.

In the afternoon of April 3, 1860, a special train arrived at St. Joseph, Missouri, over the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad, then the pioneer railway to the Missouri river, with letters and other messages for the first westward trip of the Pony Express. At four o'clock in the afternoon of that day Henry Wallace, the first west-bound rider, started on his pony from the Patee House in St. Joseph, crossed the river on a steam ferry-boat and put out on his journey. The Express arrived at Salt Lake at 6:25 p. m. on April 9th; at Carson City, Nevada, at 2:30 p. m. on April 12th; at Sacramento at 5:30 p. m. on April 13th; and at San Francisco by river steamer "Antelope" from Sacramento, at 1:00 a. m. April 14th. Its arrival at Sacramento and San Francisco was greeted by great throngs of people. The time was scheduled from St. Joseph at one hundred and twenty-four hours to Salt Lake, two hundred and eighteen to Carson City, two hundred and thirty-two to Sacramento, and two hundred and forty to San Francisco. The first trip was made on time, and as a rule all the trips were likewise made. The first east-bound Express left San Francisco at the same time on the same day, going by the steamer "Senator" to Sacramento, and through from there to St. Joseph on time. Denver was also included in the service by means of a branch route down from Julesburg.

A large amount of money was required to equip the line, which called for four hundred and twenty horses, tough, enduring beasts strong of wind and limb; for when they went they had to go at the top of their speed. As high as two hundred and fifty and three hundred dollars were paid for suitable horses bought west of the mountains. In addition to the regular stage stations and their keepers and assistants, one hundred new stations had to be established on the route, with a keeper and helper at each. Finally sixty riders, picked young men of courage and physical endurance, were employed as couriers. The stations of the established stage line between the river and Salt Lake, with some additions and changes, were well adapted to the needs of the Express; but west of Salt Lake many new stations had to be provided, as the Chorpenning stage line to the coast was poorly equipped with such necessaries. In several places the route west of Salt Lake was shortened.

The operation of the Express, and of the stage lines as well, was attended by a relatively heavy expense in the maintenance of the long chain of stations clear across the continent. While most of these establishments were neither elaborate nor extensive, their recurrence at intervals averaging about ten miles, called for large expenditures of money. In addition to this nearly all the feed for the stock, all the supplies and provisions for the riders and the many other employees, as well as for the stage passengers in transit, had to be transported in wagons the whole length of the line and distributed to the stations, together with all the equipment and material for making good the losses by accident and by wear and tear. The payroll was a fairly heavy one, the pony riders receiving from seventy-five to one hundred dollars a month and the stage drivers from sixty-five to seventy-five. The station agents and attendants were paid much less amounts, but all of them were fed and lodged by the company.

Before the Express started, the stations were from fifteen to twenty miles apart, as they had been established for the stage-coaches. The distances were reduced, in some places in the rougher parts of the route to less than ten miles, to enable the ponies to go at their best gait from one to the other without checking their speed. The ponies were changed at every station, but the riders continued over courses of about seventy-five miles. In emergencies the latter made double that distance without resting, either by covering two courses or doubling back upon their own. The usual gait at first was from seven to nine miles an hour. One rider made a record of three hundred and eighty-four miles, on one emergency occasion, without stopping except to change horses and to hurriedly eat his meals. The original through schedule was arranged on an average speed of eight miles an hour, requiring ten days to cover the entire route. In the summer of 1860 this was reduced to eight days, which called for a continuous speed of about ten miles an hour.

The Pony Express grew out of a necessity for quicker communications between the Pacific coast and the rest of the Union, and that need had existed and steadily grown stronger for several years before Denver was founded. When the unmistakable mutterings of our tremendous civil war were heard the need for some better methods became a National necessity. The established routes had been that of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company requiring twenty-two days from New York to San Francisco; the Southern Overland only a few days better and sometimes not so good; and the disjointed local lines running the best they could on the central route. California contained many Confederate sympathisers and it was not their fault that the State stayed in the Union. It would be hard to measure the value of the services rendered to the Nation by the Pony Express in those critical times, or to estimate the benefits which accrued by reason of the relatively quick communications it established with the Pacific coast.

Pony Express Station.

The men who organized and operated the Express did not expect that it would prove profitable, nor did they anticipate that it would prove so disastrously unprofitable as it turned out to be. They believed that its public utility and its practical possibilities once proved, would be followed by results that would be profitable, in that it would demonstrate the superiority of the central route as a mail highway, and be influential in obtaining the overland mail contract for their stage line connecting through to the coast. Something like it had been discussed by its owners for several years, and the enterprise in the form in which it had been finally inaugurated had been for a much longer period a favorite project of B. F. Ficklin, who became the Superintendent of the company which established it, and who for years had been connected with the plains freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell.

The great achievement of the Express was its transmission of President Lincoln's inaugural address to Denver and across the continent in March, 1861. It was a document that was awaited with the most intense anxiety and interest at that time. The distance of nineteen hundred and fifty miles from St. Joseph to Sacramento was covered in seven days and seventeen hours, an average of upward of ten and one-half miles an hour continuously throughout the journey. The fastest time was made between Smith's Creek and Fort Churchill, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles which was covered by one rider in eight hours and ten minutes at an average gait of more than fourteen and one-half miles an hour. The message was brought to Denver from St. Joseph, six hundred and sixty-five miles by the route travelled, in two days and twenty-one hours—sixty-nine hours, and an average of a little over nine and one-half miles an hour. The pony making the run into Denver actually galloped over his ten miles and eighteen rods in thirty-one minutes; the fastest time any of them ever made. Special preparations were made for that transcontinental feat—which stands unparalleled—by shortening the runs for each horse and reducing the time for the riders to change from one to another to the least possible number of seconds.

The issue of the Century Magazine for October, 1898, contained a valuable and interesting illustrated contribution to western history from Mr. W. F. Bailey, of Denver, one of the executive officers of the Colorado Midland Railway. His subject was "The Pony Express," and we are indebted to his narrative for some of the details presented here, among which are the following:

"All the riders were young men selected for their nerve, light weight, and general fitness. No effort was made to uniform them, and they dressed as their individual fancy dictated, the usual costume being a buckskin hunting-shirt, cloth trousers tucked into a pair of high boots, and a jockey-cap or slouch-hat. All rode armed. At first a Spencer rifle was carried strapped across the back, in addition to a pair of army (Colt's) revolvers in their holsters. The rifle, however, was found useless, and was abandoned. The equipment of the horses was a light riding saddle and bridle, with the saddle-bags, or mochila, of heavy leather. These had holes cut in them so that they would fit over the horn and tree of the saddle. The mochilas had four pockets called cantinas, one in each corner, so as to have one in front and one behind each leg of the rider; in these the mail was placed. * * * The same mochila was transferred from pony to pony and from rider to rider until it was carried from one terminus to the other."

The riders were not often caught by hostile Indians. The couriers rode horses of great speed and endurance, and unless surrounded, could run away from menacing savages. The instructions were not to fight, but to run. Of this, Mr. Bailey says:

"There is only one case on record where a rider was caught, and that was owing to his having been surrounded. This occurred in Nebraska, along the Platte river. He was shot, and several days later his body was found. His pony, still bridled and saddled, was also found, with the mail intact. * * In laying out the route through the Indian country, pains were taken to avoid everything that would afford cover for an ambushed foe. One of the greatest dangers encountered by the pony-express riders was from immigrants and others who mistook them for Indians. In those days it was shoot first and investigate afterward, provided the shooter survived to make an investigation. A number of riders met their death in this way, being mistaken for Indians, horse-thieves, or road-agents. It is a strange but notable fact that the Indians often stood and saw the daring riders fly past, without offering to molest them. There was a mystery about it that made it 'bad medicine' to interfere with them. Superstitious as they were, they seldom bothered with anything that they could not understand."

Financially the Pony Express was an unfortunate enterprise. The government gave it no direct assistance in public compensation as a mail route. Under later arrangements, it carried a limited amount of government mail free and the only return it got for that was the government's sanction of its carriage of private mail. Of its financial operations Mr. Bailey, in his account heretofore mentioned, says:

"The expenses of the line for the sixteen months during which it was operated * * * * was approximately:

Equipping the line	$100,000
Maintenance, $30,000 per month	480,000
Nevada Indian War	75,000
Miscellaneous	45,000
	$700,000

While it is true that the receipts did reach as high as $1,000 per trip, in all they did not exceed $500,000, leaving a net loss of $200,000."

The same writer adds the following details:

"It eventually required when the service got into perfect working order, 190 stations, 200 station-keepers and the same number of assistant station-keepers, 80 riders, and from 400 to 500 horses to cover the 1950 miles from St. Joseph to Sacramento. * * Located about every 200 miles were division agents to provide for emergencies, such as Indian raids, the stampeding of stock, etc., as well as to exercise general supervision over the service. One, and probably the most notorious, of them was Jack Slade, of unenviable reputation. For a long time he was located as division agent at the crossing of the Platte, near Fort Kearney."

The Pony Express delivered in San Francisco news and messages from the eastern States "only nine days old," an achievement that occasioned more wondering comment then than is now bestowed on the everyday fact that knowledge of events occurring near noon at Washington or New York is in San Francisco at nine o'clock a. m. of the same day. Twelve pounds of mail was about the usual amount carried by the Pony Express each trip, though upon occasion as much as twenty pounds was taken. In the beginning the charge for letters weighing up to a half-ounce was five dollars, but later that rate was cut down one-half. Some newspapers, as evidence of their enterprise, printed copies of their papers on tissue paper for transmission by the Pony Express. The mail was all wrapped in oiled silk to protect it from dampness, before being locked in the pockets of the mochila. The Express started with a weekly service, but in June, 1860, it was made twice a week. The rider kept his horse on the full run, and as he approached a station he disengaged the mail saddle-bags in readiness to changing to a fresh steed, which was done in a few seconds. At the end of this run, whatever the hour of day or night, another ready and waiting messenger snatched the mail, struck spurs to his horse and was off like the wind.

The Pony Express was regarded all over the country as a most remarkable enterprise, and its achievements excited wondering enthusiasm everywhere. From the standpoint and under the circumstances of those times it was a notable undertaking. Though the stage lines were making their regular trips over the same route, the Pony Express messenger was to them what a flying mail train is to an accommodation train on the railroads now. The coaches had shown that a railroad could follow their route, and the new express, which was held to be annihilating time and space, demonstrated the great popular utility and importance of quick communications between the eastern and western confines of the country. It was the final confirmation of the necessity and practicability of a trans-continental railroad. The old St. Joseph Gazette thus discoursed and rhapsodized upon the feats of the ponies and their riders:

"Take down your map and trace his foot-prints from St. Joseph on the Missouri, to San Francisco on the Golden Horn—from the last locomotive to the first steamship—more than half across our boundless continent. Through Kansas, through Nebraska, by Fort Kearney, along the Platte, by Fort Laramie, past the Buttes, over the Rocky Mountains, through the canyons, along the steep defiles—Utah, Fort Bridger, Salt Lake City—he witches Brigham with his swift ponyship. Through valleys, along grassy slopes, into the snow, into the sand, faster than Thor's Thialfi; away they go! rider and horse, did you see them! They are in California, leaping over its golden hills, treading its busy streets. The courser has unrolled the great American panorama, and allowed us to glance at the future home of a hundred millions of people. He has put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes. Verily, his riding is like the riding of the son of Nimshi, for he rideth furiously. Take out your watch. We are eight days from New York, eighteen days from London. The race is to the swift."

But the Pony Express did not long survive. Under an act of Congress providing for the construction of an overland telegraph line from Omaha to San Francisco, the wires reached Fort Kearney in April, 1861, and construction was pushed so rapidly that through connection was made in the following October. The Pony Express was continued over the fast diminishing gap between the advancing ends of the telegraph until the completion of the line ended its career on October 22, 1861.

The ominous political events of the winter of 1860-61 had alarmed the Southern Overland Stage Company and caused it to begin preparations for transferring its operations to a route north of the secession zone. In February, 1861, the Postmaster General was directed by Congressional enactment to contract for the transmission of through overland mails to California by the central route—that of the River Platte. The eight days' transit of Pony Express mail from the Missouri river to Sacramento had demonstrated that the central was by far the shorter and quicker route across the continent, and the outbreak of civil war was almost at hand. In the meantime the Southern Overland Company and the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company had abandoned their previous attitude of rivalry for the overland mail contract, effected an union of interests and arranged for a consolidation of properties under the corporate name "Overland Mail Company," of which William B. Dinsmore of the Southern company, had been elected President.

Early in March, 1861, Congress had supplemented its action of the previous month by directing immediate discontinuance of mails over the southern route, and that the company having the contract therefor should arrange for carrying its mails, with large additions thereto, over the central route until the expiration of its contract term, June 30, 1861; the compensation therefor to be at the rate of $1,000,000 per annum. On March 12, 1861 in compliance with the action of Congress in the previous February. The Post Office Department contracted with the new Overland Mail Company for the transmission of mails each way every week day from St. Louis, Missouri, to Placerville, California, for $1,000,000 per annum; the contract to take effect July 1, 1861, and to continue three years. The Second Assistant Postmaster General supplied us with the following memoranda concerning this contract:

> "Under order of March 12, 1861, Route Number 10,773, St. Louis, Mo., to Placerville, Cal., six times a week and back, was established from July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1864, and service awarded to the Overland Mail Company, W. B. Dinsmore, President, and E. G. Alvord, Superintendent, at the rate of $1,000,000 per annum."

As already stated, conditions in the southern part of the country interrupted the operations of the Southern Overland Company in the spring of 1861, and its transmission of mails had ceased in March. The new Overland Mail Company then took over the former company's mail contract for the unexpired months of its term—to June 30, 1861—and the transmission of overland mails continued almost without any interruption in consequence of the change of route. Later in that spring the new Overland Mail Company added to its equipment what had been left of the Southern company's property after the Confederates had confiscated what they considered their share of the outfit.

It was in consequence of these proceedings that the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company, as such, passed out of existence; but it was more a change of name than anything else, as its successor, the Overland Mail Company, was controlled and principally owned by the men who had established and owned the C. O., C. & P. P., the old Southern company's interests having been those of a minority. The C. O., C. & P. P. Company had, before this consolidation, become somewhat embarrassed financially by losses in operating the Pony Express. The new company assumed these obligations, and before long had many others added to them, the load within a short time causing its bankruptcy.

The new overland mail contract taking effect July 1, 1861, required that mails should be taken from each terminus every week-day and carried through in twenty days; enough second-class matter to be added to the letter mail to make an aggregate of 1,000 pounds transported each way daily. Provision was also made for utilizing the Pony Express to carry up to five pounds of government matter, and private mail at one dollar for each half-ounce or less. The contract also provided for daily (except Sunday) mails each way between Denver and the Missouri river, and for a tri-weekly service each way between Denver and Salt Lake City.

On July 1, 1861, the first of the great through mails to California under this contract, was started and went through within the specified time, having been transmitted to St. Joseph from St. Louis by way of the Mississippi river and the Hannibal & St. Joseph railroad. So, the old Hockaday "ox-mail line" had finally become part of the great overland line for mails and passengers. The Overland Mail Company's line, as such, still terminated at Salt Lake City; a connection being made there with the old Chorpenning line thence to Placerville. So, there was not, strictly speaking, a through stage-line under one ownership and management, though practically it was such. In preparation for expediting the mails under the new contract, the route of the Chorpenning stages had been changed to pass around the south end of Salt Lake and thence due west to Virginia City, Nevada.

As already mentioned, the Pony Express was continued in operation between the advancing ends of the telegraph wires until their union at Salt Lake City in October, 1861, finally threw it out of existence. Losses entailed by the Pony Express, and reduced income from passenger travel in consequence of war-time conditions, brought the affairs of the proprietary stage company into bad shape in the autumn of 1861. They quickly went from bad to worse when the distressed government failed to promptly pay the large sums due for the first quarter's transportation of the California mails under the new contract, reaching a crisis at the close of that year and forcing the Overland Mail Company into bankruptcy.

Ben. Holladay, deceased.
(Photographed about 1870.)

Early in 1862 all the property and business of the bankrupt company passed to Benjamin Holladay at an enormous sacrifice to the former owners. The entire property had been appraised by agreement between sellers and buyers, and Holladay took it at the valuation of $700,000, though that sum represented but a part of the company's indebtedness. Mr. David Street, now a citizen of Denver, and to whom we are indebted for many of these details relative to the old local stage lines, was one of the appraisers. He had been Paymaster of the C. O., C. & P. P. Company, and had also been associated with Russell, Majors & Waddell in many of their other enterprises. Notwithstanding their large interests in stage-coach lines, that firm had continued their plains-freighting business, and in it, also, had met heavy losses.

Holladay, before he purchased the stage company's property, had been engaged in many large undertakings in the west and on the Pacific coast. He had at times been associated with William H. Russell in various western enterprises and had accumulated a fortune—to a large extent through Russell's ability to conceive great undertakings and his own to carry them successfully forward. He had advanced large sums of money to the C. O., C. & P. P. and its successor company, and to the men who had established them, with the result that he became their heaviest creditor.

William H. Russell, projector of the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express Company, of the Pony Express, of the Central Overland line, and interested in scores of other western enterprises, was a man of remarkable energy, but of somewhat visionary temperament. He always had more business on his hands than he could properly attend to, and while he was making money in one direction he was losing it in another. He personally became a large shareholder in the Denver Town Company, and later was extensively engaged in mining in the Clear Creek Districts, his interests being looked after by agents and employees. He died September 20, 1872 at the home of his son, John W. Russell, a banker at Palmyra, Missouri.

Alexander Majors, the second member of that famous plains transportation firm, outlived his two associates by a number of years. He died in Chicago in January, 1900, aged eighty-six. For about seven years immediately prior to his death he had resided in Denver, and his erect, commanding figure was a familiar one on our streets during his sojourn here. William B. Waddell never became personally identified with Denver or this part of the country to the extent that Russell and Majors did, and was not generally known here. He died in Missouri some twenty or twenty-five years ago.

After Holladay purchased the Overland Mail Company's property he obtained from the Colorado Territorial Legislature a most liberal charter for the "Holladay Overland Mail & Express Company," of which he was the principal owner. General Bela M. Hughes, then of St. Joseph, but now and for many years past an honored citizen of Denver, was largely interested in it, and became and for several years remained its President. Atchison, Kansas was made the eastern terminus of the line, and Holladay soon became nationally known through his able management which practically dominated through to the coast as well as over the Denver division. In November, 1866, he sold the entire establishment to Wells, Fargo & Company for a consideration of $1,500,000 in money and $300,000 in that company's stock. Soon afterward there was a supplemental story afloat that Holladay had agreed to hold the stock as an investment, but instead of doing so, prudently converted it into cash for investment in another direction.

Holladay's Overland Mail Stage line, including the division from Julesburg to Denver, was probably the best equipped and most efficiently managed ever operated in this or any other country. It passed under a discipline as prompt and methodical as the present management of a successful railroad. To the surprise of all eastern people, who still believed the Rocky Mountain to be the "impassable barrier," mails and passengers were transported across the great plains, through the mountain recesses and on to California a week sooner than by the ocean route by way of the isthmus, and several days quicker than the best that had ever been done by way of the southern overland route. The service in and out of Denver was exceptionally good and its traffic the most profitable of any part of the system. Over the long routes the coaches moved with almost the regularity of railway trains.

The regular and systematic operations of these central stage lines over the plains and mountains removed the last doubt of the feasibility and necessity of a central railroad across the continent, and their successful performances were among the immediate causes that led to the construction of such a road. In the midst of the civil war the work was authorized by Congress and preparations were made for beginning construction at each end of the great iron highway.

In the summer of 1862 Holladay changed the route of the overland line west from Julesburg, abandoning that part of it by way of Fort Laramie, and following up the South Platte to the mouth of the Cache-a-la-Poudre, going thence north westward across the mountains by way of Virginia Dale. This new route having brought the main line within about fifty miles of Denver, a local demand arose for a further change that would place the city directly on it. This was done early in 1863, the through stages coming from Julesburg and going hence northwest by way of Virginia Dale.

The C. O., C. & P. P. stage company was not, as we have seen, without opposition on the route between Denver and the Missouri river; nor did its successor organization escape the same competition. The Western Stage Company, which we have already mentioned as having made its appearance in Denver early in the autumn of 1860, was an ancient establishment. It had its beginning as a corporation in Ohio, early in the century now just closed. It operated many lines of stages in that State, and was successively driven by the advancing railroads into Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and Nebraska. At the time it extended its Fort Kearney line to Denver its coaches were traversing the larger part of Iowa. Its career as a competing through line to Denver was, as we have seen, a brief one; but it was long enough and troublesome enough to impose on the rival company the necessity of getting rid of its competition. This transaction was one of several immediate causes that brought bankruptcy upon that company. The Western then established several local lines out of Denver; to the Clear creek towns, to Boulder, a second one into the South Park, and to other mining points, and remained in the business in Colorado until the railroad era.

Holladay stage-coach office, southwest corner Fifteenth and Market streets.

In the autumn of 1865 a stage line in competition with the Holladay establishment was inaugurated by D. A. Butterfield & Company between Atchison, Kansas, and Denver, by way of the old Smoky Hill route; the first coach arriving here on September 23rd. The new line was well equipped, made a little better time than the other and soon had a good share of the patronage. D. A. Butterfield came with his first coach and was banquetted at the old Planter's House. Butterfield afterward contemplated extending his line to Salt Lake, and in January, 1866, the Colorado Territorial Legislature incorporated for him the "Butterfield Overland Dispatch Company," of which E. P. Bray, William R. Brewster, Charles A. Cook, George E. Cook, William H. Fogg, William H. Gale, George A. Hinsdale, W. A. H. Loveland, and J. H. Messinger were chosen Directors. These elected William R. Brewster, President; W. A. H. Loveland, Vice President; George E. Cook, Treasurer; and Frank Hall, Secretary. It was the purpose of the company to open a stage route across the mountains by way of Berthoud Pass and to construct a telegraph line from the Kansas border through to Denver and on to Central City. Their telegraph line was never built nor were their stage operations extended across the mountains. Later in 1866 this line was bought by Ben Holladay a short time before he sold all his stage properties to Wells, Fargo & Company.

At the period of its greatest extent the Holladay system embraced the main line from Atchison by way of Kearney to Salt Lake, with a division to Denver; the D. A. Butterfield line from Atchison by way of Topeka and the Smoky Hill to Denver, with a branch to Central City; a line from Omaha to Kearney; one from Nebraska City to Kearney; one from Salt Lake City to Helena, Montana; and one from Salt Lake City by way of Fort Hall, to Dalles, Oregon; in all about 3,600 miles of routes over which one or more stages passed each way daily.

The completion of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads in May, 1869, terminated the career of the Overland Stage Line. The Wells-Fargo company had earlier begun disposing of its various branch lines including the one from Cheyenne to Denver, and sold the latter together with their line from Denver to Central City, to John Hughes & Company, of Denver. These purchasers later sold the two lines to Robert J. Spotswood, William F. McClelland and their associates, who were then also operating a South Park stage line, and who continued running the stages between Denver and Cheyenne until the completion of the Denver Pacific railroad. This left the Denver and Pueblo stage-line the only important prairie line of stages out of Denver, and it was soon thereafter driven into retirement by the remorseless locomotive.

As the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads had advanced, the stage-coach business had become unprofitable to Wells, Fargo & Company and had brought them to financial grief which resulted in a reorganization under the slight change of name borne by the present successor company. The Wells-Fargo Express Company is, we believe, operating under the charter granted Ben Holladay by the Colorado Territorial Legislature.

Immediately after the discovery of gold in the Clear creek districts a relatively large tide of travel set in between the Cherry creek towns and the mining camps. The freight business in that summer was not so heavy as might have been expected to arise from the needs of the large numbers of people over there. The principal reason for this was that most of them had brought enough supplies with them to last through the season. It was well that they did so, for the lack of roads in the districts made it a hard job to get much dead weight into the camps that summer.

In July of that year D. B. Castro, in company with a man named Shephard, established an express line between the Cherry creek towns and Gregory Gulch, carrying passengers and light freight up the almost impassable mountain way. This was the first regular public transportation line between Denver and the mining camps. In some places the trails were as steep as a stairway and not much better than mere unimproved goat-paths. Toward autumn they were improved somewhat, but they were still hard roads to travel. Most people went on horses or mules and had experiences they remembered as long as they lived.

Denver and South Park stage-coach.

Through the following winter some successful attempts at road-making and bridging were completed, as the need for better regular public facilities for traveling had become a necessity. On March 4, 1860, Kehler & Montgomery started a daily express stage between Denver and the mining districts in the mountains, which was the first of the local lines that was efficiently equipped for its business. As the season advanced and the people were coming in in greater numbers, the fast increasing business demanded still further facilities, and Sowers & Company put on another line. These lines were soon unable to accommodate the travel, and by midsummer several others entered the field, but were later supplanted by those of the Western Stage Company. In that year a line was established by the Denver & South Park Stage Company between Denver and Fairplay, Buckskin Joe, and Breckenridge, and to California Gulch (site of the present Leadville); and another, by A. Jacobs and his associates, south by way of Pueblo to a connection with stages on the old Santa Fe trail to Santa Fe. In the summer of that year Hinckley's Express began operating between Denver and Central City and other mining towns and camps, with later connections to the Missouri river by the Western Stage Company while that line was running. Among so many rival transportation lines competition became very keen, and to some of them, very disastrous.

Throughout that decade—1860-70—Denver was thoroughly a stage-coach town. As we have stated, the California Overland Mail coaches were routed through the city, and after the Union Pacific road was opened to North Platte the travel to and from Denver became so heavy that three, and often four, coaches were required each way daily to accommodate the local business. When that road reached Cheyenne a half-dozen coaches each way daily were often required. We associate the term "stage-coach town" with lethargy and sleepiness, but conditions here in that decade were far the other way. The coaches of the various local and through lines in company with all the other business by teaming made busy places of the highways in and out of Denver, and crowded the streets of the young city with a noisy congestion of traffic, a large part of the uproar coming from drivers bawling at their ox-teams or swearing at their mules as they made their way along the ofttimes wretchedly bad streets of those days.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DEPRESSING INFLUENCES—EFFECT OF IMPENDING WAR—PROPERTY VALUES—PIONEER PUGILISTS—POPULATION OF CITY AND TERRITORY IN 1861—TELEGRAPH LINES AND RATES—PEST OF GAMBLERS—DEPRESSED CONDITIONS—DENVER'S APPEARANCE—GREAT FIRE—CITY'S EXTENT—CHERRY CREEK FLOOD—HENRY C. BROWN'S LAND ENTRY—REYNOLDS GANG OF OUTLAWS—DENVER'S DREARY ASPECTS—WINDSTORM OF CHRISTMAS, 1864—RAILROAD ANTICIPATIONS.

The history of Denver is not an account of regular, uniform advancement from one stage of development to a greater and better as the years went along. The city has had the extremes of ups and downs, and its experience suggests that of some of its builders on whom fortune alternately smiled and frowned. Perhaps its career is in some degree a reflex of certain characteristics of the great and fascinating industry which brought it into existence. There have been the flowing and ebbing of prosperity's tide; the rising to lofty heights, the sinking to depths that revealed low beaches strewn with the broken hopes of many men; like the tides of the ocean that encounter configurations of coasts which cause the imprisoned waters to lave the lofty slopes and then rush out again leaving the bed-rock bare.

With the beginning that had been made in 1859 and 1860, and with the apparent bright prospects for the future, a sudden interruption of development and growth was hardly to be expected. But it came, nevertheless. Late in the autumn of 1860 there was a consciousness of reverses to come, and with it a feeling of depression. This situation resulted partly from the then impending civil war; partly from the grievous disappointment of thousands who had come into the country anticipating the acquisition of sudden riches; and partly by the increasing difficulties of treating the ore from mines otherwise capable of yielding great values. The imminence of war had induced many to go back to their former homes; the disillusioned went back in droves, war or no war; and the prospects for those who remained began to lose their more alluring aspects.

The departing hosts, only a small percentage of which had come here with the intention of permanently remaining, had proclaimed their loss of confidence in the country and in the prospects for Denver ever becoming a town of much consequence. When the year closed about half of the town's previous maximum population had disappeared over the plains and in other homeward directions.

The creation of Colorado Territory by Congress early in 1861 had a beneficial effect, in that it gave the country for the first time a government of unquestionable authority; but it also inaugurated the long era of political feuds and turmoil. Though some material progress was made that year and the next, it was not great. The outbreak of the civil war added grave dangers to the situation here, with the result that the strifes of war and politics engaged the attention of the people for a couple of years to the subordination of nearly everything else; and war mixed with the old-time Territorial politics made a combination not well calculated to promote the development of a new country's resources or the growth of a far isolated frontier city.

In 1861 town lots had become cheap, even in what were considered the "built-up" sections of the young city; and absurdly cheaper on the outside. The lots on the east side were twenty-five feet front by one hundred and twenty-five deep, and some of those in the neighborhood of the present Equitable Building changed hands in those times at prices ranging from a dollar or two to ten dollars; the latter being for corner lots, and which was considered by some critics in that period to be an extravagant price. In a few exceptional instances lots but little farther away were sold by indifferent owners for less than a dollar. In other outlying sections lot values were no greater. On the other side of the Platte they were even less. There was a great abundance of land around the town, and but few of the people then here cared to invest at any price in small patches of it which were still overgrown with wild herbage and in the possession of prairie dogs.

While town lots were cheap enough at this time, they had been far cheaper early in the spring of 1859 before the mountain discoveries of gold were made. The apparent hopelessness of the situation at that period in the city's career was emphasized by the "values" of "real estate" in the Cherry creek towns. General Frank Hall in his "History of Colorado," (1888) relates the following:

"Mr. A. C. Wright informs me that in March, 1859, he was the owner of 124 lots in Auraria, 80 in Denver, and 136 in Highlands; also the ranch subsequently known as McNassar's, near the present Argo, which he "took up" in September, 1858. Desiring to visit Salt Lake, but having no animal for the journey, he offered all this property without reserve to a Mexican named Joe Merrival for a horse, saddle and bridle, but it was rejected with scorn. Joe felt that his horse and equipments were worth something, while the land was valueless. It is now worth millions. Mr. Wright finally sold the ranch to a Frenchman for a horse and $25 in cash."

On April 6, 1861, the so-called "sport-loving" part of Denver's population was treated to the first prize-fight fought in Denver or anywhere near it. Bruiser "Con." Orem and a nameless antagonist known only as "Texas," battled for a purse of fifty dollars. "Texas" failed to revive on time after the second round and Orem took the money. On August 24th, of the same year, "champion" Orem and a new victim named Davis fought for five hundred dollars a side in a large corral about two miles north of the city, in the presence of some two thousand spectators. The two creatures fought one hundred and nine rounds in one hour and forty minutes, and both were badly wrecked, but Orem was again the victor. On April 16, 1863, a locally famous combat between bruisers William M. McDonough and James Raffle, occurred in a huge pavilion near Parkinson's ranche about one and one-half miles northeast of the city. They battled before a large crowd for a prize of five hundred dollars, through eleven rounds and for about a half hour, when Raffle hauled down his flag. Annals of many later achievements in this line might be added, but it would hardly be worth while.

The town of Golden in 1861 was an active and ambitious rival of Denver, and did not hesitate about declaring its superiority as a metropolis, in consequence of its proximity to the Clear creek minings districts. In population it was nearly as large as Denver, but it was not anywhere near being the metropolis of the region. Denver's possession of that distinction was not at any time seriously menaced. Later, when the Territorial Legislature met there and made it for the time being the capital of the Territory, Golden had many golden visions in its dreams.

Nevertheless the population of the metropolis was habitually and persistently over-estimated through 1860 and into 1861. A special election was held on January 28th, 1861, at which twelve hundred and ninety-one votes were cast. This was the largest vote that had been cast up to that time, yet it was a disappointment to the partisans of the united Cherry creek towns, who made no proper account of the large number of people who had left the country the previous autumn. Of the total, the old Denver City precinct cast seven hundred and forty-four votes; Auraria, five hundred and sixteen; and Highland forty-two. These figures show how far the Denver side of the creek had outgrown the Auraria side, and they also demonstrated how little headway the growth of Highland had made up to that time. It was still a mere hamlet and remained so for several years longer.

The extent to which the population of the country had been depleted was further revealed in the summer of 1861. Estimates of the inflow of people in 1859 had made the aggregate number entering what is now within the domain of Colorado as high as one hundred and fifty thousand. It was known that most of this vast army of fortune-seekers had gone whence they came, before that year closed. In 1860 a number almost, if not quite, as great, was believed to have come into the country on the same mission that had beguiled their predecessors. It was known, also, that most of these had gone away again. Still, it was believed that a large number out of the influx the two years had brought, had found lodgment in the vast region it had overflowed.

The first important act of the regularly established Territorial government was to have a census made of the inhabitants, which was done soon after Governor Gilpin entered upon his duties. The result of this was that the Territory was shown to have had in that summer a population, other than Indians, of only twenty-five thousand, three hundred and thirty-one, according to the census returns which, it was assumed, presented none of the fantastic statistics that had arisen from the "Jefferson Territory" elections. Of that total, twenty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-eight were white males; four thousand, four hundred and eighty-four white females; and eighty-nine negroes.

The people of Denver in these times thought they were having an interminable delay in securing telegraphic communication with the outside world, though it was only relatively a long wait; for, within five years after the town had been founded it was in direct telegraphic connection with the entire inhabited part of the country outside of the Southern Confederacy. The Pacific Overland Telegraph Company had been organized in 1860 to build a line from Omaha to San Francisco as quickly as possible, because of the then threatened civil war. Construction began in the winter of 1860-61, and as the line advanced messages for Denver were forwarded from its end by Pony Express. It was completed through to the coast on October 22, 1861, but Denver was left without a branch line; messages being carried between this city and Julesburg, the nearest telegraph station, by stage coaches or special messenger.

Denver remained without a wire for two years longer. As we later enter into some details of pioneer telegraph construction into the city, we will not consider them here. In the summer of 1863 the construction of a branch line from Julesburg to Denver was begun, and completed about the first of October, affording intense relief from the feeling of isolation that had been one of the trying hard-ships from the days of the city's settlement. The expense of building the line was almost wholly defrayed by subscriptions from Denver citizens. The rates for messages were necessarily very high, in the beginning. Ten words to New York cost nine dollars and ten cents; to Boston nine dollars and twenty-five cents; to St. Louis seven dollars and fifty cents; and proportionately to other places. The cost of constructing the pioneer overland line was excessive; everything had to be hauled out by teams from the Missouri river; and in the building of the line to Denver the conditions were but little more favorable.

View on Larimer street, looking westward, the day after the flood of 1864. This picture suggests the character and extent of "West Denver" at that time.

The work of Vigilance Committees had not dismayed the men who made a livelihood out of gambling, for it had not extended to them as a class. Some of the executed desperadoes had been gamblers, but not all of the gamblers had been murderers; therefore, it was as murderers and not as gamblers that some of the fraternity had suffered. Though the population of the town and region had declined in 1862, the mixed character of what was left still afforded profitable pickings for these gentry, who had become politically influential. In the spring of that year they secured the passage of an ordinance by the City Council that, while pretending to restrict and regulate the vicious business, actually legalized some of the worst practices. One of the Council members, the late George W. Clayton, a pioneer citizen, felt so indignant at the passage of the ordinance that he immediately resigned from the body guilty of the shameful act.

The general situation from a material point of view improved but little through 1862, though some building was done and a considerable number of new enterprises were undertaken, as we will have elsewhere narrated. Denver was by no means a dull town in appearance. The exigencies of war and politics would have kept it animated had there been nothing else going on. But its position as the metropolis of a large region caused its streets to be thronged, though three-fourths of the people might be denouncing their "hard luck" or bitterly complaining of "hard times." It has been characteristic of the city that in every period of depression its general appearance gave the uninformed stranger but little hint of adverse circumstances.

Of the conditions and prospects toward the close of 1862, Wooton, who left here at that time, says in his narrative:

"When I left the place at the end of a four-years' stay, with about twenty times the population it had when I went there, the chances seemed to me to be that it would get smaller rather than larger. The population had fluctuated continually during the four years I remained there, first going up and then down, until I made up mind that it was a good place to get away from. That's where I lacked what you call foresight; but such things all go in a lifetime, and as I have already said, I suppose I am just as well off where I am."

At this period in Denver's career the town in itself and by itself was not a pretty place. Its natural surroundings were magnificent, but no amount of local pride and patriotism, no stretch of partisan and partial enthusiasm, could make the town appear a thing of beauty. Its treeless, grassless, bushless condition gave it an exceedingly uninviting appearance; its motley, irregular, ugly structures of brick, frame, or log were calculated to cause nightmare in the brain of an unseasoned visitor. It is probable that nowhere else in the world were ever seen such architectural horrors, and combinations of architectural freaks and wretchedness, as those presented in the American frontier towns of a generation ago. It would seem that human ingenuity would be incapable of producing results so uniformly frightful—that the law of chance, if it may so be called, ought to and would have brought in an occasional something to vary the dreary monotony and relieve the ferocity of ugliness. But it never did so.

Denver in this stage of her development had her full share of this sort of thing. To be frank about it, she did not have much of anything that was not of that sort; and the consequences of unwatered streets and door-yards added greatly to the general dreariness and forlornness of aspect presented by the noisy, uncouth town. We do not realize how much of the present beauty of the city and of our pleasure in seeing and enjoying it, are due to the combined efforts of the architects, the water company and the humble but potent sprinkling hose.

In Denver in the early "Sixties" a large majority of the buildings were but one-story high—or, to make the best of them, one and one-half stories. The rest were of two stories—none more than that. The higher ones were worse than the lower, in that their loftiness made their frightful ugliness more conspicuous. The accompanying illustrations give the reader an accurate record of the architectural conditions of these times. Should the reader prefer to otherwise verify this narrative, that can be done to a limited extent by visiting the old Auraria quarter which is reached by turning to the right at the first corner after crossing the Larimer or Market street bridges over Cherry creek, or to the left after crossing either of the fine new ones connecting Wazee and Blake streets with the Fourteenth street viaduct across the Platte. In that general locality will be seen some of the buildings of the period we are now considering, which are unchanged, save for the wear and tear of nearly forty years' exposure to the elements, and to the greater wear and tear occasioned by the thousands of their restless, worthy, hopeful, despairing, reckless, or worthless human occupants through past years. On the eastward or "East Denver" side of Cherry creek, and near to it, the stroller along Wazee, Blake and Market streets, outside the old burnt district, and on Fifteenth, too, may see a small number of business buildings that date from this era, and occasionally one that has survived from 1859. In this old section the earlier structures are of a better character than those on the Auraria side. They are easily recognized, as their appearance proclaims the period of their origin.

In the "old" times which we have taken the liberty to call the "early Sixties," these and many other blocks of buildings were fronted sometimes by "sidewalks" of uneven boards that would spring up and down in the most unexpected way, and sometimes by intervening gaps where the foot would take to the native earth. If the wayfarer had been inconsiderate for himself in his encounters with the blandishments held forth by the divers resorts that frequented his path—and there were many such wayfarers—he felt grateful when he left the tripping planks and got upon a stretch of solid earth again.

Up to midsummer of 1862 the town had no organized method of extinguishing fires, and everything had been left to the chances of circumstances. On July 15th, of that year, the City Council by resolution provided for the organization of a hook and ladder company and two bucket companies. This was a beginning, but in the great emergency of the next year the original Denver fire department realized and demonstrated its impotency, for it existed chiefly on paper.

The spring of 1863 was a dry one in this region and high winds were almost daily visitors. On the 19th of April, under such favoring conditions, a fire which became known in the city's annals as "the Great Fire," broke out. It started between two and three o'clock in the morning in the rear of the Cherokee House which stood on the southwest corner of Blake and Fifteenth streets, on which, after the fire, J. H. Fillmore built the building now standing there. A strong but fitful wind was blowing and in two or three hours the heart of the city was a blackened waste, the flames having leaped the streets as they consumed the dry wooden structures that were rich in rosin and burned like tinder. The course of the fire was in all directions from the starting point, and to arrest its progress many small buildings were torn away, but to little purpose. The entire population was alarmed and every able-bodied man was employed in fighting the fire and in endeavoring to save the contents of the buildings.

The burnt-over district was principally within the area bounded by Sixteenth, Market and Wazee streets and Cherry Creek, though in several places the flames spread beyond those boundaries. Auraria was unharmed, yet at one time it seemed that the whole of both towns was doomed. The only buildings within the area mentioned, that escaped destruction were those of Laflin, Smith & Company, Jones & Cartwright, Ford & McClintock, A. E. & C. H. Tilton, P. S. Pfouts, and part of H. J. Brendlinger's. Fear of the fire reaching the large quantity of powder stored in Laflin, Smith & Company's magazine building had caused the greatest apprehension, and the inability of the "fire department" to cope with the spreading flames had intensified the terrors of the situation. So great was the destruction of provisions that prices almost doubled within a few days.

The total loss was estimated to have been three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, against which there was comparatively little insurance, as rates were excessively high. Many men were ruined by that fire. A list made soon afterward, of those who suffered by it, was as follows, the losses ranging from two hundred to twenty thousand dollars:

Arbour, Clark & Fitchie,
Baldwin, Pegram & Co.,
Belden & Co.,
Brannan & Mittnacht,
Brendlinger, H. J.,
Broadwell & Cook,
Campbell & Jones,
Cherokee House,
Cheesman, W. S.,
City Bakery,
Cole, —,
Cook, C. A., & Co.,
Cook, J. A.,
Crawford, —,
Daniels & Brown,
Dixon & Durant,
Dougherty, D.,
Douglass, J.,
Elephant Corrall,
Fillmore, J. S.,
Fink, J. P.,
Ford, B. L.,
Frederickerson & Jackson,
Gottlieb, J.,
Gurnhart, J. H.,
Heatley & Chase,
Hiney, H.,
Hodges, J. H.,
Honore, B. L.,
Jacobs, A.
Kiskadden J.,
Lancaster & Co.,
Lavin, T. W.,
Madison, —,
Mason, B. F.,
McGee & Co.,
Merfield, M.,
Mickley, H. J.,
Moore, —,
Newman, A.,
Nye & Co.,
Palmer, T.,
Pickett & Lincoln,
Poznanski, H., & Co.
Pyles, —,
Rice, S. O.,
Richau, J.,
Riethmann, J. J.,
Roath, W. T.,
Rohlfing & Co.,
Ruffner, J.,
Sanders, —,
Sherwood & Brother,
Smith, —,
Stebbins & Porter,
Towne, A. D.,
Tritch, George,
Ullman, D.,
Voorhees & Hawkins,
Walker, M.,
Whitsitt, R. E.,
Wilhelm, D. O.,
Wilson, —,
Wood, B.

A majority of these men resumed business and nearly all of them who owned the property they had occupied, rebuilt, the work of reconstruction having been started all over the burnt district immediately. The new structures were of brick and gave the town a far more presentable aspect than it had before "the Great Fire." Most of those now standing in that district date from that fire.

Devastating fires would appear to be misfortunes common to Colorado cities, and to mark the line between the first and second eras of their architectural progress. In May, 1874, Central City was almost entirely burned away; in April, 1896, Cripple Creek had a similar experience; and in August, 1899, Victor had a like visitation. While in each instance the flames brought ruinous losses to individuals, they were followed by vastly improved appearances and conditions.

In these times the young city had not extended much beyond the area bounded by the line of Curtis street, Twentieth street and the Platte river, on the eastward side of Cherry creek. On the west side about two-thirds of the area between Curtis street and the Platte were occupied by buildings, but a majority of them were not very imposing structures. The "West Denver," or old Auraria portion of the city territory still contained the larger part of the business and population, though it was not holding its own against the eastern side; and in 1863 its prestige was fast waning.

Larimer street on both sides of the creek was a business thoroughfare, with the larger share of its business importance in the west side; it having been on the east more generally given over to dwellings. Blake was the principal business street on the east side, and the same so far as it extended beyond the creek; with McGaa, (now Market), the present Fifteenth, Larimer, and Wazee streets next in rank about in the order in which they are named. In a general way the business section on the west side was embraced within the limits of the present Lawrence, Tenth and Wynkoop streets; and on the east within those of Larimer, Seventeenth and Wazee streets. On the west the intermediate cross streets were lined with small business houses; but on the east they were less so. It is to be remembered that in these years the "business" carried on in many of these "business houses" was transacted over saloon counters.

Our present stately Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets were then considered as mere by-streets leading to Larimer and its adjacent parallels. They retained this humble place in the public esteem for a long time afterward. Fifteenth fared better, and later became a rival of Larimer as a business thoroughfare; and nothing but subsequent freaks of Fortune kept it from becoming what Sixteenth and Seventeenth now are.

The definitions of the business sections stated in the foregoing are only general. Within the areas specified were many dwellings, so that these districts, as divided by the creek, were not wholly occupied by business structures, by a good deal.

Cherry creek had to be reckoned with, but its broad bed had been farther and farther encroached upon.

On the other side of the Platte there was but little evidence of progress toward making that quarter a built-up part of the city. A few houses had been erected, but the people generally were averse to putting the river between themselves and the town. Considerable and profitable small farming, and gardening, were done over there, but there were no indications that it would become the large and beautiful section of the city that it now is.

In February, 1864, a young man named James D. Clarke contributed a sensation that stirred the community from center to circumference. He was pay clerk at the Denver "Mint" and had charge of a large amount of money. On the 13th of the month he helped himself to between $10,000 and $11,000 worth of gold bullion and decamped. He was a highly respected young man and had led an exemplary life; being prominent and popular in social affairs and a favorite among the business men. He left town on horseback, and was soon vigorously hunted for, as a reward of $1,000 was promptly offered for his arrest. Within a few days he was captured on the plains, of which he was entirely ignorant and destitute of experience, while apparently heading for the Indian Territory. Nearly all of the bullion was found in his possession. Clarke was put in jail and remained there several weeks awaiting trial. One night he succeeded in escaping and in getting far away, for efforts to recapture him were fruitless, and he was never again seen or heard of in this city. It was surmised that through the intervention of influential relatives and friends in the east a way for Clarke's escape had been opened after the slight loss had been made good. Before entering the mint, Clarke had been bookkeeper for the Rocky Mountain News, and was highly esteemed by his employers.

Cherry creek between Larimer street and the Platte the day after the flood.

From the beginning of things here in 1858 until May, 1864, historic Cherry creek had been an inoffensive little stream in certain seasons of the years, and an invisible one in the other seasons with its broad sandy bed hot and dry. The shallow trough in which its waters occasionally flowed was a physical inconvenience through the middle of the town, but the stream was not supposed to be capable of mischief at any time. As building went on up to 1864, dwellings and business houses became thicker along its banks from Lawrence street to Wazee and many had presumed to occupy part of the channel-way. However, nobody thought much about that, and the possibility of danger did not present itself, at all.

For several days prior to May 19, 1864, heavy rains had prevailed in the mountains and over the region of the headwaters of Cherry creek on the Arkansas-Platte "divide;" and the country between that ridge and Denver also had a full share of the down-pour. The old plainsmen and mountaineers had told of having seen the rivers and creeks of this region suddenly become dangerous, flooding torrents, but as they were assumed to be romancers of rare ability, little heed was given their stories, in Denver. Through May 19th the river and creek were observed to be rising here, and toward evening their condition caused some comment, but no one thought of serious consequences. After midnight the creek suddenly became an angry, roaring torrent that exercised its long-reserved powers of devastation without warning. It swept down upon and through the town like a besom of destruction; through the collection of dwellings, saloons and business establishments that stood directly in its course, it tore its way, and daylight on the morning of the 20th revealed the extent of the mischief it had wrought.

The little old "City Hall" that had stood in the creek bed at the Blake street crossing, was gone, and with it the iron safe in which were the town records and various municipal documents; among these were supposed to have been certain papers pertaining to real estate titles in that period, and their disappearance at that time figured in the historic controversy over what became the "City Lot Question," of which we present an outline in a succeeding chapter.

Away had gone the office of the Rocky Mountain News and all its outfit of presses, type and miscellaneous belongings—scattered along and buried in the sandy bed of the creek or in that of the River Platte. The News' establishment then had been in a frame structure on stilts or posts in the Auraria side of the creek bed at the Market street crossing and on the northward side of that street. Its real and personal property was worth between ten thousand and twelve thousand dollars; and every vestige of it was swept away. John L. Dailey, one of the proprietors, and four of the office employees, were sleeping in the building and had barely enough time to gather up some of their personal belongings and escape. Dailey stopped to take the books and money out of the safe, but had to leave the task unfinished as the building began to sway over into the torrent.

The frame building standing on the south side of Larimer street and partly in the creek's bed, on the Auraria side, used by the pioneer Trinity Methodist Episcopal congregation, was wrecked and swept away. It was owned by Henry C. Brown who had built and used it a few years before for a carpentering shop, the church society having later rented and fitted it up for church purposes.

Wreckage piling against the creek bridges, low, wooden affairs, had early in the proceedings loosened them from their bearings and away they had gone. The South Platte had risen to an unprecedented stage, flooding far beyond its nominal limits, and had quickly demolished the bridge at the foot of Eleventh street and another at the foot of Fifteenth.

Auraria lying generally on lower ground was flooded to the depth of several feet and in many instances people in endangered houses were rescued in boats. Nearly all of them were surprised in their sleep by the raging torrent. Houses not carried away were in many cases shifted from their foundations, and in a few instances moved into the streets.

Large areas of land up Cherry creek and up and down the South Platte were covered with water, causing great losses to ranchmen in stock and buildings swept away. From Captain James Reed's ranche on Plum creek four thousand sheep were carried off and drowned.

But the worst of the misfortune was the loss of human life. How many persons perished in the full extent of the flood was not definitely known. In Denver and its immediate vicinity there were eight victims: C. Bruce Haynes who was sleeping in one of the wrecked buildings; Gumble Rosebaum, a clothier; Otto Fisher, a boy four years old; Henry Williams, a ranche-hand; and I. R. Tyson, wife and two children. A woman and two children were drowned in Cherry creek some distance above the town, and another woman with the same number of children lost their lives in Plum creek; August Mertz, of Denver, was carried eighteen miles down the Platte river on some wreckage, before he could get ashore.

The financial loss of this second great physical misfortune to the young city, was principally the value of the destroyed buildings and their contents. The Indian troubles which broke out that summer, greatly augmented normal values by reason of the extraordinary expense they entailed upon the transportation of supplies and materials across the plains to replace what had been swept away; so, it is probable that the estimate of a quarter of a million dollars' worth of loss, direct and indirect, by the Cherry creek flood of 1864 was not far out of the way of accuracy. The bank building of O. D. Cass & Co., was wrecked, and A. E. and C. E. Tilton lost their building, stock of merchandise, and their lot to boot. They had about six thousand dollars' worth of goods. F. A. Clark, General Bowen, August Mertz, J. Q. Charles, and several others lost their buildings with all their contents, and the sandy sites on which they had stood. The minor losses were distributed over a considerable part of both towns.

Large quantities of merchandise were damaged by water in the business districts below Larimer street, on both sides of the creek, where the flood was several feet deep. The streets were left covered with a foot or so of sand and mud which was also left in the buildings to almost as great a depth.

The flood washed away about all that remained of the old sectional feeling between the towns, that had survived the consolidation. In the presence of the common misfortune it disappeared and was never heard of again. Another consequence was somewhat detrimental to the west side, as the flood had shown that its lower situation in its extent of that time made it subject to greater damage by high water than would come to the east side. Therefore, some of the west side residents moved across the creek to higher ground, and in a few instances moved their frame dwellings, also.

Years afterward when Colonel James Archer was sinking the well at the foot of Fifteenth street for the first waterworks, his workmen struck part of the News' old hand press twelve feet below the surface. About the same time parts of the large cylinder power-press were found in a bar in the Platte opposite the foot of Twentieth street, and are still there, and visible in low-water times. In the autumn of 1898 the lever of the old hand-press, with some type, and other printing office appliances were uncovered by workmen digging for foundations in the creek bed for one of the approaches to the new over-the-river viaduct from Fourteenth street. The hand-press relics are now in the Historical Society's collection, and they, with the rusted remains of the cylinder press in the river bar are all that were ever seen of that mechanical outfit of the Rocky Mountain News after the 19th of May, 1864. Within a month after the misfortune Byers and Dailey bought the "Commonwealth" printing establishment and, discarding that paper's name, resumed publication of the News.

Far across the open country to the eastward, on the brow of what is now our Capitol Hill, Henry C. Brown built a little frame house early in the spring of 1864, as evidence of his homestead right to a quarter-section of land on part of which it stood. He entered a claim for the one hundred and sixty acres, consisting of four "forties," on April 15th of that year, as a homestead, at the nominal government price of two dollars and fifty cents per acre. He had previously utilized in eastern Nebraska his pre-emption privilege, and to acquire this land had to take it as a homestead, under the laws and regulations then in force, which forbade more than one pre emption of government land by the same person. But, after six months' residence on the land, a "homesteader," under a provision of the land law, could "prove up," and by making the entire payment at once get the land at one dollar and a quarter an acre. Brown did this on December 1, 1865, paying $200 for the quarter section. Part of the site of the Brown Palace Hotel and ten acres of the fine park of three entire blocks in which the State Capitol stands, are portions of that quarter section. Mr. Brown's donation included the ground occupied by the two streets through the park, and for the remainder, that lying between Lincoln Avenue and Broadway, the State paid other parties one hundred thousand dollars. Not a great while after Mr. Brown entered that land he had an offer of five hundred dollars for the entire tract. After some consideration he declined it, and the man who made it said he was glad to get out of the proposed deal, as he had concluded that the "sand hill" was not worth five hundred dollars and never would be. It later became "Brown's Addition" to the city of Denver, and made its owner a very wealthy man.

View over part of "West Denver," from Fourteenth and Lawrence streets, the day after the flood of 1864.

The little homestead house first stood at or near the present intersection of Sherman and Twelfth Avenues, but later in 1864 Mr. Brown moved it down on the block on which the Broadway Theater now stands, and located it in what is now the side-yard of the Augusta W. Tabor residence there, on the south end of the block, where it continued to serve as his dwelling for several years.

The Denver Town Company had claimed that part of Capitol Hill and had included it in the original plat of Denver City, as shown by our engraving of the first map of the three Cherry creek towns. When Mr. Brown began building the preemption house, R. E. Whitsitt, of the Denver Town Company, put in an appearance and demanded to know what he was doing there. "I seem to be building a little house," replied Mr. Brown. "Well," exclaimed Mr. Whitsitt, "you've no business to be building houses here; you get right out!" Mr. Brown, hatchet in hand, stepped forward as he answered: "Dick, this is my land. I'm not going to get out, and you can't make me." Mr. Whitsitt, with some profane but altogether inconsistent remarks about the wickedness of "land-jumpers," turned around and strode down the hill; and that was the last of the Town Company's protest against Brown's right to his quarter-section.

In June, 1864, Alfred H. Clements pre-empted the quarter-section next to Brown's, on the north, and paid Mr. Brown one hundred dollars for building on it a small frame pre-emption house which was put up on the ground now occupied by St. John's Cathedral. Late in 1864 Dr. Cunningham built a frame house near the Ebert school, in Clements' addition. These two houses and that of Brown's were far outside the very liberal nominal limits of the city, and were not considered as having anything to do with it. In these times there was little or nothing between Curtis street and Capitol Hill, and that section of the city seemed far less promising than the old Highland district on the northward side of the Platte; though the latter was still, in 1864, hardly worthy the name of a town if it had stood off by itself.

In the summer of 1864 while the Indian situation appeared extremely menacing to Denver a new danger arose and was thought to threaten the city. Late in July a band of mounted outlaws, or guerilla "road-agents," numbering twenty-two men, under "Jim" Reynolds, came out of Texas into southern Colorado. They claimed to be Confederates, but were mere land-pirates of whom the Confederacy knew nothing and for whom it was in no way responsible. Reynolds had been in 1859-60 a miner in the South Park country, but had gone south at the outbreak of the war, and turned desperado. The band came up the Arkansas valley, capturing wagon trains and committing other depredations. Fort Lyon was avoided, and Pueblo and Canon City left unmolested as the party made its way into the South Park. There the work of robbing ranchmen, miners, stage coaches and mails, and of destroying property was begun in earnest. Reynolds boasted that he would raid Denver and sack and burn it as Lawrence, Kansas, had been treated; and was actually heading this way. The South Park country was soon up in arms, and several parties were organized to hunt down the outlaws. One of these, under Dick Sparks, of Gold Run camp, came upon the band in camp on Deer creek in a remote part of the Park. Approaching stealthily to within range, Sparks' men fired on the party, killed one man named Singleterry, and wounded Reynolds, who escaped; the others also taking flight, leaving much of their plunder in camp behind them, where Sparks recovered a large amount of valuable property. Another party of pursuers later captured one of the scattered band, named Holiman, and took him to Fairplay where, by threats of instant lynching, he was persuaded to reveal the locality of appointed rendezvous, and agree to act as guide to it. On the following day a party set out from Fairplay taking Holiman along, with death hanging over him as the penalty for treachery. The party proceeded in the direction of Canon City, and on the way fell in with a company of the First Colorado Cavalry, under Captain George L. Shoup who was also hunting the outlaws. With Shoup were Judge Wilbur F. Stone, now of Denver; United States Marshal A. C. Hunt, and several other civilians. Holiman led the united parties to a point near Canon City where Reynolds and part of his men were found. In the fight that ensued Reynolds and four others were captured, the rest managing to escape. The prisoners were brought to Denver and after an alleged trial by the military authorities, the proceedings being kept secret, the outlaws were ordered taken to Fort Lyon.

Much mystery surrounded the subsequent proceedings and the fate of the prisoners. A company of the Third Colorado Cavalry, under Captain F. G. Cree, started south with them, and that was the last definite public knowledge of the outlaws. It was stated that Cree had orders to shoot them if they made trouble or attempted to escape. In Douglas county the journey to Fort Lyons came to an end. There were contradictory accounts of the disposition made of the men. One was that Cree had orders to dispatch them somewhere on the route and that it was never intended that they should be taken to Fort Lyons; another, and with a color of authority, was that part of the command, with the prisoners, stopped for water, when the prisoners made a break for liberty, in a bunch, were fired on and all killed; still another, that the outlaws by abusive language and threatening movements, notwithstanding Captain Cree's warning that such conduct would probably result in their death, provoked a melee in which all the desperadoes were killed; yet another was to the effect that in camp the first night the prisoners were tied to trees for better security, and in their struggles to get loose strangled themselves—a round-about way of saying they were lynched. Wooton, in his entertaining, if not always accurate, narrative, states that while traveling the old road between Denver and Pueblo several months afterward, he camped in a timber-growth about twenty-five miles south of Denver and there saw the skeletons of three men standing upright in their boots, lashed to trees, the tattered clothing hanging in shreds, and bullet-holes in the skulls. These, he says, were what were left of three of the Reynolds gang.

Nobody outside of those present at the disposition of the prisoners appeared to have ever learned the straight of the story. Considering that an entire military company must have known more or less about it, the secret was remarkably well kept. The story of the prisoners' death while trying to escape was never regarded as a probable one, for it would seem singular that so large a guard-escort could not securely keep so small a number of prisoners. Though Reynolds and his associates probably deserved death, the manner of their taking off was, as it should have been, severely condemned for the evident treachery and cowardice associated with it. Captain Cree and his men came back to Denver from Douglas county and, as would be said nowadays, "declined to be interviewed." However, the dispersion of the Reynolds band of guerrillas was a conspicuous fact apparent to every one.

During the first six years of Denver's existence the town was almost barren of every kind of verdure, besides being beset by dust-laden breezes. In the built-up parts, excepting in a few places on the Auraria side, there were no trees, no grass, no flowers. Without irrigation they could not survive, and water for such purposes was a scarce element in those years. For other purposes it was obtained from wells, or hauled by cart or wagon from the river. These sources of supply and the methods of delivery precluded use of water on the streets or for any kind of irrigation. Therefore the town presented aspects of extreme dreariness. With 1865 a change greatly for the better, was inaugurated. What we now know as the "old City Ditch," winding its long course from far up the Platte and along and around the ridges of which our "Capitol Hill" is a part, was completed early that year, and immediately followed by tree-planting and lawn-making in all that there was of the residence districts, and which brought a great and welcome change in the appearance of the town. Streams of clear, cold water flowed at the sides of the streets to which it could descend from the hill, including some of the business streets—a practice that was continued many years. Its presence was a charm and delight to many people, but in later times the iconoclastic physicians said it produced conditions antagonistic to the public health. This, with the still later introduction of asphalt street-paving, led to abandonment of the general practice, though it is continued in some localities, especially in "West Denver." In the summer of 1898 the gutters of Grant and Logan Avenues north from Eleventh Avenue bore such streams until street improvements made them inexpedient.

The wind-storm which won and keeps the first place in wind-storm rank in Denver annals, was that of Christmas, 1864. It began in the morning of December 23d and continued a terrific gale without much interruption until the 26th when it terminated in a stormy period of heavy snowfall. The gale was so powerful as it rushed through town that people were taken off their feet; the belittered streets were swept bare, and the air was clouded with flying rubbish of every sort. Many people believed their lives to be in danger. On the first day of the storm, Major J. H. Fillmore, a man of much prominence and usefulness in the community, was prostrated by excitement and his death ensued from the consequences. The material damage in the city was not of any serious importance. Major Fillmore at that time lived in a dwelling built and for a couple of years occupied by J. H. Kehler, who was a son of the church pioneer, "Father" Kehler.

By the close of 1864 most of the damage done by the fire of 1863, and by the flood in Cherry creek, had been made good. The new and uniformly good buildings that succeeded the destroyed ones had given the central portion of the east side what was thought to be a metropolitan appearance, and placed "East Denver" still further in advance of the old Auraria district, which did not begin to recover its prestige until after the advent of the railways.

The action of Congress in passing the Pacific Railroad bill in 1862 had caused the people of Denver to entertain the most sanguine expectations of soon being in possession of railway communications both east and west, for it was not questioned by any one here that the proposed transcontinental road could or would be built on any route not passing through the young city far out here at the base of the mountains. On the strength of confidence in the coming of the Pacific railway, property began to advance in assumed values and the future prospects of the town took on a brighter hue. But there were yet to be years of delay, deferred hopes, and grievous disappointment before the iron trail supplanted the tedious and dreary pioneer ways over the plains, and ended the pioneer era in Denver.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Denver in the Civil War Period—Conditions in Winter of 1860-61—Divided Sentiment of the People—First Flag-Pole Raising—Confederate Flag in Denver—Trials of the Situation—Activity of Southern Element—Military Preparations—First Colorado Regiment—Governor Gilpin's Drafts—Difficulties Growing Out of Isolation—Sibley's Confederate Army of Invasion—Its Advance and Defeat—Colonel Chivington's Services—Subsequent History and Operations of Colorado Military Organizations—Their Gallant Services Through the War.

While a majority of the men in and around Denver in the winter of 1860-61 were from the northern states, and enthusiastically sincere in their devotion to the Union cause, a relatively large minority, of other antecedents, included many of strong character and influence, and of outspoken loyalty to the course and purposes of the seceding States.

So active was that minority that political sentiments heard expressed on the streets and in other public places made it appear that Denver as a community was prepared to join the southern cause. Hiram P. Bennet, then as now a sincere lover of his country, knowing that Union sentiment was strong in the town, determined about the middle of February that there should be an occasion for its public manifestation. At his own expense he procured from the mountains a flagpole about thirty feet long. Being unable to find in Denver an American flag of suitable size, he obtained one in Golden by trading for it a lot in that town. On the morning of Washington's birthday he invited his friends and all other Union men to meet at his home, then on Ninth street between Lawrence and Curtis streets, in the afternoon. A large crowd was present and the pole was raised in the street nearly in front of Judge Bennet's house. With some spliced lariats the flag was run up, Judge Bennet made an address, and the enthusiasm of the assemblage demonstrated the existence of a broad and deep-seated Union sentiment in Denver. That was the first public pole-raising and flag-flying in this region under what may be termed political circumstances, and the general effect of the demonstration was immediate and influential. Judge Bennet remarked to the writer that he could not say that the enthusiasm manifested by every individual present was wholly due to patriotism, for in addition to the pole and flag he had provided four and one-half gallons of other stimulation.

But here, as elsewhere all over the land through that memorable winter, most of the people still hoped that the Nation would not be plunged into the horrors of civil war over the issues which were then crystallizing the deep-seated sentiments and convictions which had long been portending a division of the country on sectional lines. Notwithstanding that a large number of men had left Denver and the mountain country the previous autumn for their former homes in the States, impelled to do so by their sense of duty in what they thought was a fast-approaching conflict at arms, a majority of those who remained here tried to believe that some means of peaceful settlement of the difficulties would yet be found.

These hopeful feelings prevailed in Denver through that winter and far into the following spring; and it was not until news of the attack on Fort Sumter reached the little city that they gave way to the realization that war was inevitable. The first physical evidence in Denver of a divided allegiance then promptly appeared. On April 24th an emblem of the new government that had arisen in the southern States was run up over the general store of Wallingford & Murphy. This building, erected in 1859, was a log structure which stood on the north side of Larimer street a short distance west of the corner of Sixteenth street. Almost instantly the vicinity was crowded by excited and angry men, who declared that the flag of disunion should not float in Denver. There were some who thought it should and would; and a riot seemed not far away. But the Union men far outnumbered the others and demanded the flag's quick removal. Without standing upon ceremony, Samuel M. Logan, who soon afterward became a Captain in the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, got on top of the building and hauled the flag down before it had fluttered long enough to smooth out its creases and wrinkles. That was its first and only public appearance in all the country that is now Colorado, though several such flags were privately exhibited in Denver. With something akin to retributive justice the Wallingford & Murphy building later became a military prison.

The circumstances of those times placed Denver in a peculiar and trying situation; one calling for prompt and decisive voluntary action by courageous and steadfast men. The region was still without effective government, for, notwithstanding that Congress had in the previous February created the Territory of Colorado, the officers appointed to institute and maintain lawful government in and for it had not yet arrived to enter upon the discharge of their duties. Isolated by six hundred miles of rolling plains that lay between it and the borderland of the settled portions of the country to the eastward; menaced by southern influences that were already plotting and conspiring to drag New Mexico and even Colorado into the domain of the Confederacy; and surrounded by hordes of Indians to whose nostrils the scent of civil war among the people they regarded as their common enemies was as a sweet incense, the condition of the little community here was gloomy and disheartening.

Up to that time Denver's organized military strength had not been awe-inspiring. At the beginning of 1861 it consisted of two militia companies which had been organized under the "act" of the "Jefferson Territory" "Legislature" authorizing a military establishment for "Governor" Steele, and to which we have heretofore referred. One of these was the Auraria "Jefferson Rangers," commanded by Captain H. H. C. Harrison, and which had seen some "service" in the "Turkey War" of the previous year. The other was Denver City's "Denver Guards," a mounted company under command of W. P. McClure, who was an ardent and outspoken adherent of the southern cause. These companies would seem to have had things wrong end foremost, for the "guards" should have been on foot and let the "rangers" have the horses if there were much ranging to be done. However, that was of little consequence, for both companies disbanded late in that winter, and, therefore, as organizations were not known of men in the events of the civil war; though a large proportion of their members enlisted in the regiments organized later.

The extraordinary activity and enthusiasm of the southern people in preparing for and entering upon the great conflict were manifested in the southwest with the same sanguine zeal that attended them in other parts of the seceding section. It was anticipated by them that the whole country up this way and through to the Pacific would, or could be made to, pass under their new government. The Confederate authorities in Texas, and their sympathizers in New Mexico and Denver, believed and expected that a force sufficient to take possession of New Mexico and then of Denver could be readily and easily sent forward from that State; and that the task to be assigned it would present few difficulties. At Fort Union, New Mexico, there was an arsenal that Buchanan's Secretary of War, Floyd, a southern man of extreme views, had caused to be well supplied with arms and other munitions of war; and in addition thereto large quantites of miscellaneous stores and army supplies had been collected there. In possession of all this material—for the post was occupied by but a small force of Federal soldiers—the Confederates argued that they could speedily make themselves masters of the situation in the distant and then isolated Colorado-New Mexico region.

The Texan Confederates early had a demonstration of the advantages afforded by possession of United States military supplies. In the spring of 1861 General Twiggs, of the old army, but a southern man and sympathizer, was in command of the military Department of which Texas was the most important portion. He immediately surrendered to his friends all the troops, military posts, munitions of war, supplies and stores under his charge. With such a windfall as all this to begin with, the Texans had no doubt but that they could march up into this region and capture and hold every place and thing which lay in their way.

At that time United States military affairs in New Mexico were under command of Colonel Loring, a North Carolina man and a southern sympathizer, also. He and other officers of like proclivities endeavored to induce the troops under them to join the Confederate forces that were being organized in Texas, but failed. Soon afterward, Colonel Loring resigned and entered the Confederate army. After much and, as events proved, costly delay, Federal army affairs in that Territory were placed under the command of General Edward R. S. Canby, with Colonel B. S. Roberts next him in rank.

Governor Gilpin reached Denver on May 29th, and without delay proceeded to organize his government of the Territory, the first lawful one which the pioneers of the city may be said to have had. He was, fortunately, a man of decision and action, and of unwavering fealty to the government he had served so long and well. An old army officer who passed several years of his useful life in service on the frontier, he arose to the emergency, as he had to many lesser ones in his long career, with a promptness and determination that gave neither side any reason to doubt or question the attitude of the Territory's chief executive toward the southern uprising against the Nation's authority.

In June Governor Gilpin organized his military staff, with Richard E. Whitsitt as Adjutant General; John S. Fillmore, Paymaster; Samuel Moer, Quartermaster General; and Morton C. Fisher, Purchasing Agent. His government then took on more of the character of a military than a civil establishment, and he became far more a military officer than a civil Governor. He was absorbed in his devotion to the Union cause, and appreciated the gravity of the situation. His sincerity and zeal excused, if they did not justify, many of his impetuous acts.

In July John P. Slough, one of the pioneer Denver lawyers, was commissioned from Washington upon Governor Gilpin's approval to recruit two companies of infantry to relieve the regulars then garrisoning Fort Garland so that they might be sent east. Samuel F. Tappan, who soon became Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Colorado, also enlisted a company in the Central City districts, and the war spirit began to glow and flame. There were neither arms, munitions, nor supplies for soldiers in Denver at that time, and the Territorial treasury was like the bed of Cherry creek in drouthy midsummer. But Governor Gilpin announced his purpose to immediately recruit and organize a full regiment of Colorado volunteers, for which he claimed to have authority. To arm his soldiers the Governor directed his military staff to go forth among the people and buy up all the guns they could find. Nearly every man here at that time had a rifle or a shot-gun, and there soon was collected a motley assortment of weapons, for which, under the circumstances, high prices had to be paid—or, rather, promised to be paid—and of which few were alike.

Colonel John P. Slough.
(From a war-time photograph.)

In the meantime, however, the Confederate sympathizers in Denver were quiet but not inactive. Its leaders were resolute men firmly believing in the righteousness of their cause. They were apprised of the contemplated campaign from Texas against New Mexico and Colorado, and as best they could without making their purposes conspicuous, they began organizing, or trying to, a local force to co-operate with the anticipated invasion from the south, preparations for which were then actively going forward in the Lone Star State. The Denver insurgents found it easier to enroll themselves than it was to find a way to procure suitable arms, and all the things needed to make them effective. Equipping a military force surreptitiously in a community generally hostile to its purposes is a most difficult thing to do. They could not bring in arms and munitions from the outside in any numbers or quantities, for there were no available sources from which to draw them; and if there had been the chances were that any such shipments made would be discovered and seized by the vigilant Union men. So, Denver's embryo Confederate military chieftains decided they would modestly advertise for the things they needed to equip themselves for war. Small hand-bills containing an announcement that good prices would be paid for serviceable rifles of almost any kind not wholly out of date, and for ammunition to make them useful; and naming certain places where the guns and so forth would be received and paid for, were posted here and there through town, in the adjacent mining camps, and all along the roads and trails between. But this availed them not. Governor Gilpin had not been long in Denver before these misguided citizens discovered that if they succeeded in co-operating with their expected friends from Texas they would have to get outside of Colorado to make their preparations. Therefore, the Confederate movement in Denver abruptly terminated and those engaged in it who were determined to take up arms in behalf of the southern cause had to leave the city quietly as individuals, and not as an organized military force marching forth with the pomp and circumstance of alleged glorious war. Many of them did leave and enter the Confederate army, and in it served manfully throughout the struggle. They had the courage of their convictions. Of a later attempted movement to recruit a Confederate regiment in Colorado, and which brought an awful fate on two men conspicuously, if not worthily, identified with Denver's pioneer history, we have already given some account.

Governor Gilpin hastened his preparations for organizing his regiment, and in August commissioned the officers of the First Regiment Colorado Volunteer Infantry. John P. Slough, whom we have mentioned as having been commissioned from Washington to recruit two companies, was appointed Colonel. Slough was a talented member of the Denver bar and an unflinching War Democrat. Samuel F. Tappan, who had almost completed his company, was named as Lieutenant Colonel; and John M. Chivington, Major. Chivington, who was destined to become a conspicuous military figure, had arrived in Denver on May 19, 1860; coming as the first Presiding Elder of the Methodist Episcopal church in the Rocky Mountain District. He was first tendered the Chaplaincy of the regiment, which he declined, and asked that he be assigned to a fighting position. The Captains as originally appointed were as follows, though several changes among them were soon made: Company A—E. W. Wynkoop; B—S. M. Logan; C—Richard Sopris; D—Jacob Downing; E—Scott J. Anthony; F—S. H. Cook; G—J. W.

Hambleton; H—George L. Sanborn; I—Charles Mailie; K—C. P. Marion. Recruiting offices were opened in Denver, the mining towns, Canon City, Colorado City, Golden City and Boulder City. Before the close of September the quota was filled, and it is doubtful if there were ever organized into a regiment the material for a thousand better soldiers than these who responded to Governor Gilpin's call and constituted the First Colorado.

The two companies of men first authorized to be recruited in Colorado had been at Canon City, but at this juncture were moved to Fort Garland where they were mustered into service under command of Captains T. H. Dodd and James H. Ford. They were sent to Santa Fe to be uniformed and equipped, after which they remained unattached until the next year. After taking part in the military operations in New Mexico in the spring of 1862, they became the nucleus of the Second Colorado regiment.

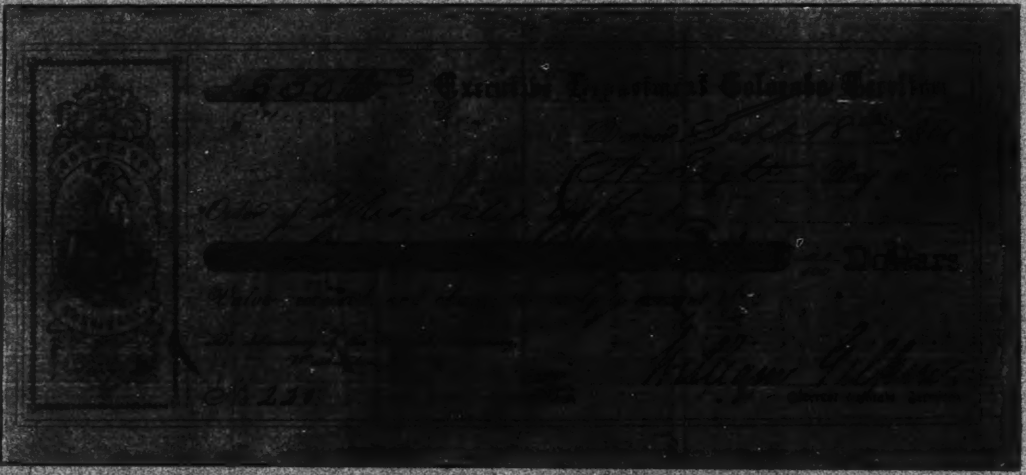
Lieutenant Colonel Samuel F. Tappan. (From a war-time photograph.)

A military camp had been established on the Platte river about two miles above what there then was of Denver, and named Camp Weld in honor of Territorial Secretary Lewis L. Weld. Its locality is just west of the present Lake Archer, and was A. C. Hunt's old home ranche. The First Regiment rendezvoused there and was kept pretty steadily at drill, discipline and camp duty through the autumn and until the new year came in. It had been expected that the regiment would have entered active service that autum, and the long delay with the irksomeness of camp life caused much dissatisfaction and muttering among the men. Their first equipments were poor, and the delays in getting better arms, uniforms, and all the war paraphernalia of a regiment, coupled with certain circumstances we are about to relate, produced a most unpleasant condition of affairs.

The business of organizing even one regiment involves the expenditure of a large sum of money. The men must be armed, clothed, fed and supplied, and all the incidental expenses of doing so must be provided for. The Territory had no funds, nor had the Governor authority to use them for military purposes, if the treasury had contained them. The government at Washington had placed no military funds at his disposal, nor had it conferred on him the power to create indebtedness on government account. But the Governor met the emergency with a method that he believed to be proper and justified. In payment for military supplies and expenses he issued negotiable drafts directly upon the Treasury at Washington, for which he had not the shadow of legal authority. These drafts were willingly accepted by those to whom money was due on military account, and many of them passed from hand to hand in Denver as currency, upon the presumption that they were valid documents that would be paid without question when they finally reached Washington. The aggregate of such drafts issued in that year was near $375,000.

As fast as these drafts got to Washington they were repudiated by the Treasury Department and went to protest. The effect was disastrous upon merchants and many others in Denver who had made great sacrifices to assist in organizing and maintaining the troops. Governor Gilpin's situation may be imagined. Public feeling against him here became of extreme bitterness and he was assailed upon every hand by the exasperated and impoverished holders of his drafts. As an old army officer he was held to have known the government's rigid financial methods, and it was principally because of his assumed knowledge of such matters and of his supposed authority that the people had unquestioningly accepted his irregular and unauthorized drafts. Then there was a storm at Washington over them, which the Governor endeavored to allay, and obtain payment of the drafts, by a personal visit; but unsuccessfully. The question finally became one for Cabinet consideration, and early in 1862 resulted in a decision to remove Governor Gilpin as soon as his successor could be determined in those times of strain and turmoil for the Washington government. In May, 1862, John Evans came as Gilpin's successor.

After Governor Evans' inauguration a large portion of the indebtedness was paid by the Washington government. Original holders of the drafts who could prepare itemized and verified accounts of their claims for which the drafts had been issued, succeeded after some delay in getting their money. John S. Fillmore had been appointed Paymaster in the volunteer service, from Washington, and these accounts were placed in his hands and through his efforts at Washington they were recognized, audited and paid. But the drafts themselves were not recognized in any way by the Treasury Department, and every one of them that had passed from original hands and could not be successfully thrown back upon those to whom they had been issued, became a total loss to the holders. In the nature of things these losses were heavy. The payees had become scattered, some were impecunious, and therefore much of the paper was worthless.



Face of one of Govenor Gilpin's Drafts. (Near exact size.)

Back of the Draft, showing indorsements.

But, through all the trouble no one questioned Governor Gilpin's integrity, the purity of his purpose, the loftiness of his patriotism, or the sincerity of his zeal to protect the people from invasion, and to serve them to the best of his ability. He was in many ways a visionary man whose mind and thoughts were often far above the practical affairs of every-day life; and when that emergency came his enthusiasm for the Union overshadowed all other things. Notwithstanding the unfortunate results that grew out of his methods of financing his military preparations, the people of Denver and of Colorado were immeasurably indebted to him for the promptness, vigor and earnestness with which he prepared for war.

The First Regiment remained at Camp Weld until early in January, 1862, performing routine duties, and becoming more and more anxious for active service. On January 6th news reached Denver that the Confederate General Sibley was marching northward through Texas along the Rio Grande, had captured Forts Fillmore and Bliss down there, was approaching Fort Craig with the expectation of taking it and then marching upon Santa Fe, with the ultimate object of invading Colorado and possibly capturing Denver. With this startling intelligence came a call upon Denver for all the assistance she could give toward repelling the prospective invaders.

At that time a majority of the Americans in New Mexico, as was the case in Colorado, were from the Union States and were Union men. The movements in Texas in the summer of 1861 preparatory to starting the Confederate army of invasion and presumably of victory on its march northwest, caused great apprehension at Santa Fe and other places down that way. When General Canby assumed command of that Department he found but one thousand soldiers—all regulars—available for service in New Mexico. But that Territory, in which the Union sentiment strongly predominated among the American part of the population, had quickly organized two regiments of volunteers, one of which was commanded by Colonel Ceran St. Vrain, with Kit Carson as Lieutenant-Colonel.

But these additions to General Canby's available forces were not enough to remove apprehension of great and immediate danger from the expected Confederates whose numbers were vastly exaggerated in the current reports. The appeal for assistance was made to Colorado, and as Denver in those days constituted the larger part of tangible Colorado from a military standpoint, the appeal was, therefore, practically to this city.

In those dark days in the Nation's history the people in these then remote regions had to depend on themselves. It was quite useless to pass the New Mexico call for help along to Washington. The threatened invasion of New Mexico and Colorado was a thing of little relative importance at the National capital in the presence of the grim fact that the legions of the south might be marching down Pennsylvania Avenue almost any day. Beside that, what difference would it make if the southerners did invade those remote Territories of awful mountains and dreary deserts peopled by Indians, Mexicans and a few thousands of American adventurers. Indeed, if all the Confederates could be persuaded to go out there and do their marching and fighting it would be much better for everybody.

The absence at that time of quick communications with the States, and the government at Washington, added to the difficulties of the situation here, and to the embarrassments of the Territorial and military authorities of Colorado and New Mexico; for, be it remembered, a Territorial government is one of limited powers, and in those days here in the west, was of still more limited resources. Arming, equipping, and providing for soldiers consumes money rapidly; and when cash is lacking and the public credit must take its place, there must be some authority for creating the indebtedness; although our Governor acted upon a different theory. There were no railroads nearer Denver than the Missouri river, and the nearest telegraph wire was more than a hundred miles away. The transmission of orders, communications, and general news across the plains consumed a week, unless telegraphed to Julesburg, and no one could tell how much the situation had changed or would do so in such tedious intervals of anxious waiting.

Let us now turn to affairs in Texas and see what cause there was for this alarm in New Mexico that prompted the call on Denver for assistance. The New Mexico-Colorado campaign on the part of the Confederates had been determined upon as one of their primary military operations. General H. H. Sibley, a distinguished officer of the old regular army, had been charged with the duty of organizing the army of invasion and with that of commanding it in the field. He established his headquarters at San Antonio, Texas, early in the summer of 1861, and there began recruiting and organizing his regiments. But he, also, encountered delays, and his expectation that he would be in motion and well up into New Mexico by autumn gave way to disappointment. It was late in the autumn before he had his little army of about two thousand five hundred men, mostly Texans, compacted, drilled, and otherwise in shape for active campaign work; and notwithstanding the reports from day to day at Santa Fe that it had started on its invading march, the year drew toward the close before the campaign could be actually begun.

In preparation for meeting the invading Confederates under General Sibley, General Canby late in the autumn assembled his available forces at Fort Craig, far down on the Rio Grande, in New Mexico. His little army consisted of a thousand regular troops from several different regiments, the two regiments of New Mexico volunteers, and Dodd's company of Colorado volunteers that had been hurried forward, and a small body of the New Mexico Territorial militia—in all about twenty-five hundred men.

As we have stated General Sibley had been seriously delayed in 1861 in his preparations for the campaign; but early in January, 1862, he set forth to conquer New Mexico and Colorado. On his way, Sibley captured Forts Filmore and Bliss which were occupied by small garrisons, making prisoners of the soldiers, and getting all the supplies, stores and stock at the two posts, without fighting. A few of the prisoners were prevailed upon to join the Texan ranks and the others were paroled. He then advanced up the Rio Grande and on February 19th crossed that river a short distance below Fort Craig, seeking to avoid Canby until a favorable position could be occupied. The latter, to keep Sibley from reaching high ground overlooking and to some extent commanding the Fort, placed part of his force where such a movement could be prevented. Nothing further of importance happened that day, but on the next, the 20th, a collision occurred between part of Sibley's troops and those which had been stationed to intercept his occupation of the commanding elevation, which resulted in Canby withdrawing the Union forces to the Fort.

By this time Sibley's men were sorely troubled by the lack of water, and his animals were suffering from the same cause. The abrupt, high banks of the Rio Grande prevented him obtaining an adequate supply from the river at or near where his army lay awaiting further events, and the nearest point where the water of the river was readily accessible was about seven miles above Fort Craig. Early in the morning of the 21st, General Canby sent a portion of his troops, under command of Colonel Roberts, to keep the Texans away from the river at that place. The Confederates, just as anxious to get there as the gallant Roberts was to head them off, were also early birds that morning on their way to the watering place.

Roberts was a little ahead of the Texans in reaching it, and when they came up the trouble began and the battle of Valverde was fought. Compared with the great battles of the civil war, it was but a skirmish. However, it was an important victory for Sibley, for he succeeded in not only watering his famishing men and beasts from the currents of the Rio Grande, but he took a battery of guns from Roberts and added them to the equipment of his exultant Texans.

This battery was under command of Captain McRae. When he was ordered to take it across the river to the side on which the Confederates were approaching he pointed out to Canby that such a move meant its loss and the death of his men. But he obeyed orders, and in the fight over the guns he and most of his men were killed. Captain Dodd's company of Colorado men bravely supported the battery and nearly half of them were killed or wounded.

Encouraged by the success that had attended his encounters with the Union forces from Fort Craig, and feeling better after having quenched his thirst, General Sibley struck out northward, leaving General Canby and Fort Craig in his rear. Albuquerque offered no resistance to the invaders and contributed largely to their already burdensome supply of stores and munitions. From Albuquerque Sibley pushed forward to Santa Fe which he also occupied without resistance and with the approval of the more prominent Mexican citizens. By this time it seemed that General Sibley might march through to British Columbia if he wanted to, and that Denver was almost certain to receive a visit from him.

The American residents of Santa Fe and the humbler part of the Mexican population were almost unanimously for the Union cause, while the influential higher class of Mexicans were about as solidly arrayed, in their sentiments at least, on the other side. General Sibley had anticipated that as soon as he was in possession of Santa Fe volunteers in droves would join his victorious army; but in this he was bitterly disappointed. The friends he found there among the Mexicans were hospitable and agreeable, but shouldering a gun and taking places in the Texan ranks were not to their liking, nor did they do it. A large proportion of the fighting men of the town were already in the two regiments of New Mexico volunteers with General Canby, and General Sibley began to realize that he would have to get along with the men he had brought from Texas.

But, if the Mexicans had disappointed General Sibley, there was still much worth living for, even if it involved some fighting to get it; a condition precedent which was never very alarming to Texans. There was Fort Union a little way off to the northeast, where the forehanded War Secretary Floyd, of the Buchanan period, had, in one of his many instances of taking time by the forelock, accumulated many small arms and large arms, and great quantities of quartermaster's and commissary's stores, against the close-coming day when the Confederacy would have need for all such things on which it could lay its ready and combative hands. Therefore, and regardless of the fact that General Canby was after him from the South, General Sibley concluded that he would march over to Fort Union and receipt for the abundant supplies which he considered as merely stored there awaiting him.

Captain S. M. Logan.
(From a war-time photograph.)

The old trail from Santa Fe to Fort Union passes through a wild, deep gorge, the rocky walls of which in many places stand almost vertical to a height of from one thousand to fifteen hundred feet. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railway now passes through this natural gateway—the Apache Canon. It is one of the most picturesque and impressively grand canons in all that region. At the eastward opening of this rocky gulf was, in the war time, Pigeon's Rancho; and here terminated General Sibley's excursion toward Fort Union, and ended his hopes of marching his triumphant legions—or legion, for he had barely enough men to make a single one—to Denver, taking possession of Colorado and lining it up with the then sanguine and enthusiastic Confederate States. An explanation of the causes which brought disaster upon him, and of the circumstances leading up to them, requires us to now consider things that had happened here at Denver, and later in New Mexico. Of the military operations that ended General Sibley's northward march we quote the following circumstantial account from Hall's History of Colorado. After referring to the intelligence received here on January 6th, General Hall goes on to say:

"Immediately upon receipt of this intelligence, efforts were made to obtain the consent of, or orders from, General Hunter, commanding the department at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for the regiment to go to the relief of General Canby, then in command of the department of New Mexico. On the 20th of February, orders came from General Hunter, directing Colonel Slough and the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers to proceed with all possible dispatch to Fort Union, or Santa Fe, New Mexico, and report to General Canby for service."

"Two days thereafter the command marched out of Camp Weld two miles up the Platte River, and in due time encamped at Pueblo, on the Arkansas River. At this point further advices were received from Canby, stating that he had encountered the enemy at Valverde, ten miles north of Fort Craig, but, owing to the inefficiency of the newly-raised New Mexican volunteers, was compelled to retire. The Texans under Sibley marched up the Rio Grande, levying tribute upon the inhabitants for their support. The Colorado troops were urged to the greatest possible haste in reaching Fort Union, where they were to unite with such regular troops as could be concentrated at that post, and thus aid in saving the fort and its supplies from falling into Confederate hands. Early on the following morning the order was given to proceed to Union by forced marches, and it is doubtful if the same number of men ever marched a like distance in the same length of time."

"When the summit of Raton Pass was reached, another courier from Canby met the command, who informed Colonel Slough that the Texans had already captured Albuquerque and Santa Fe, with all the troops stationed at those places, together with the supplies stored there, and that they were then marching on Fort Union."

"Arriving at Red River about sundown, the regiment was drawn up in line and this information imparted to the men. The request was then made for all who were willing to undertake a forced march at night to step two paces to the front, when every man advanced to the new alignment. After a hasty supper the march was resumed, and at sunrise the next morning they reached Maxwell's Ranch on the Cimarron, having made sixty-four miles in less than twenty-four hours. At ten o'clock on the second night thereafter, the command entered Fort Union. It was there discovered that Colonel Paul, in charge of the post, had mined the fort, giving orders for the removal of the women and children, and was preparing to blow up all the supplies and march to Fort Garland or some other post to the northward, on the first approach of the Confederates."

"The troops remained at Union from the 13th to the 22d of March, when by order of Colonel Slough they proceeded in the direction of Santa Fe. The command consisted of the First Colorado Volunteers; two light Batteries, one commanded by Captain Ritter and the other by Captain Claflin; Ford's Company of Colorado Volunteers unattached; two companies of the Fifth Regular Infantry; and two companies of the Seventh United States Cavalry."

"This force encamped at Bernal Springs, where Colonel Slough determined to organize a detachment to enter Santa Fe by night with the view of surprising the enemy, spiking his guns, and after doing what other damage could be accomplished without bringing on a general action, falling back on the main body. The detachment chosen comprised sixty men each from Companies A, D, and E of the Colorado regiment, with Company F of the same mounted, and thirty-seven men each from the companies of Captains Ford and Howland, and of the Seventh Cavalry, the whole commanded by Major Chivington."

"At sundown on the 25th of March it reached Kosloskie's Ranch, where Major Chivington was informed that the enemy's pickets were in the vicinity. He went into camp at once, and about nine o'clock of the same evening sent out Lieutenant Nelson of the First Colorado with thirty men of Company F, who captured the Texan pickets while they were engaged in a game of cards at Pigeon's Ranch, and before daylight on the morning of the 26th, reported at camp with his prisoners! After breakfast, the Major, being apprised of the enemy's whereabouts, proceeded cautiously, keeping his advance well to the front. While passing near the summit of the hill, the officer in command of the advance met the Confederate advance consisting of a first lieutenant and thirty men, captured them without firing a gun, and returning met the main body and turned them over to the commanding officer. The Confederate lieutenant said that they had received no intimation of the advance from Fort Union, but themselves expected to be there four days later."

"Descending the Apache Canon for the distance of half a mile, Chivington's force observed the approaching Texans, about six hundred strong, with three pieces of artillery, who on discovering the Federals, halted, formed line and battery, and opened fire."

"Chivington drew up his cavalry as a reserve under cover, deployed Company D under Captain Downing to the right, and Companies A and E under Captains Wynkoop and Anthony to the left, directing them to ascend the mountain-side until they were above the elevation of the enemy's artillery and thus flank him, at the same time directing Captain Howland, he being the ranking cavalry officer, to closely observe the enemy, and when he retreated, without further orders to charge with the cavalry. This disposition of the troops proved wise and successful. The Texans soon broke battery and retreated down the canon a mile or more, but from some cause Captain Howland failed to charge as ordered, which enabled the Confederates to take up a new and strong position, where they formed battery, threw their supports well up the sides of the mountain, and again opened fire."

"Chivington dismounted Captains Howland and Lord with their regulars, leaving their horses in charge of every fourth man, and ordered them to join Captain Downing on the left, taking orders from him. Our skirmishers advanced, and, flanking the enemy's supports, drove them pell-mell down the mountain-side, when Captain Samuel Cook, with Company F, First Colorado, having been signalled by the Major, made as gallant and successful a charge through the canon, through the ranks of the Confederates and back, as was ever performed. Meanwhile, our infantry advanced rapidly; when the enemy commenced his retreat a second time, they were well ahead of him on the mountain-sides, and poured a galling fire into him, which thoroughly demoralized and broke him up, compelling the entire body to seek shelter among the rocks down the canon and in some cabins that stood by the wayside."

"After an hour spent in collecting the prisoners, and caring for the wounded, both Federal and Confederate, the latter having left in killed, wounded and prisoners a number equal to our whole force in the field, the first baptism by fire of our volunteers terminated. The victory was decided and complete. Night intervening, and there being no water in the canon, the little command fell back to Pigeon's Ranch, where a courier was dispatched to Colonel Slough, advising him of the engagement and its result and requesting him to bring forward the main command as rapidly as possible, as the enemy with all his forces had moved from Santa Fe toward Fort Union."

"After interring the dead and making a comfortable hospital for the wounded, on the afternoon of the 27th Chivington fell back to the Pecos River at Kosloskie's Ranch and encamped. On receiving the news from Apache Canon, Colonel Slough put his forces in motion, and at eleven o'clock at night of the 27th, joined Chivington at Kosloskie's."

"At daybreak on the 28th, the assembly was sounded, and the entire command resumed its march. Five miles out from their encampment Major Chivington, in command of a detachment composed of Companies A, B, H, and E of the First Colorado, and Captain Ford's Company unattached, with Captain Lewis' Company of the Fifth Regular Infantry, was ordered to take the Galisteo road, and by a detour through the mountains to gain the enemy's rear, if possible, at the west end of Apache Canon, while Slough advanced slowly with the main body to gain his front about the same time; thus devising an attack in front and rear."

"About ten o'clock, while making his way through the scrub pine and cedar brush in the mountains, Major Chivington and his command heard cannonading to their right, and were thereby apprised that Colonel Slough and his men had met the enemy. About twelve o'clock he arrived with his men on the summit of the mountain which overlooked the enemy's supply wagons, which had been left in the charge of a strong guard with one piece of artillery mounted on an elevation commanding the camp and the mouth of the canon. With great difficulty Chivington descended the precipitous mountains, charged, took, and spiked the gun, ran together the enemy's supply wagons of commissary, quartermaster, and ordnance stores, set them on fire, blew and burnt them up, bayonetted his mules in corral, took the guard prisoners and re-ascended the mountain, where about dark he was met by Lieutenant Cobb, aide-de-camp on Colonel Slough's staff, with the information that Slough and his men had been defeated and had fallen back to Kosloskie's. Upon the supposition that this information was correct, Chivington, under the guidance of a French Catholic Priest, in the intense darkness, with great difficulty made his way with his command through the mountains without a road or trail, and joined Colonel Slough about midnight."

"Meanwhile, after Chivington and his detachment had left in the morning, Colonel Slough with the main body proceeded up the canon, and arriving at Pigeon's Ranch, gave orders for the troops to stack arms in the road and to supply their canteens with water, as that would be the last opportunity before reaching the further end of Apache Canon. While thus supplying themselves with water and visiting the wounded in the hospital at Pigeon's Ranch, being entirely off their guard, they were suddenly startled by a courier from the advance column dashing down the road at full speed and informing them that the enemy was close at hand. Orders were immediately given to fall in and take arms, but before the order could be obeyed the enemy had formed battery and commenced shelling them. They formed as quickly as possible, the Colonel ordering Captain Downing with Company D, First Colorado Volunteers, to advance on the left, and Captain Kerber with Company I, First Colorado, to advance on the right. In the meantime Ritter and Claflin opened a return fire on the enemy with their batteries. Captain Downing advanced and fought desperately, meeting a largely superior force in point of numbers, until he was almost overpowered and surrounded; when, happily, Captain Wilder of Company G of the First Colorado, with a detachment of his command, came to his relief, and extricated him and that portion of his Company not already slaughtered. While on the opposite side, the right, Company I had advanced into an open space, feeling the enemy, and ambitious of capturing his battery, when they were surprised by a detachment which was concealed in an arroya, and which, when Kerber and his men were within forty feet of it, opened a galling fire upon them. Kerber lost heavily; Lieutenant Baker being wounded, fell back. In the meantime the enemy massed, and made five successive charges on our batteries, determined to capture them as they had captured Canby's at Valverde. At one time they were within forty yards of Slough's batteries, their slouch hats drawn down over their faces, and rushing on with deafening yells. It seemed inevitable that they would make the capture, when Captain Claflin gave the order to cease firing, and Captain Samuel Robbins with his Company K of the First Colorado, arose from the ground like ghosts, delivered a galling fire, charged bayonets, and on the double-quick put the rebels to flight."

'During the whole of this time the cavalry, under Captain Howland, were held in reserve, never moving except to fall back and keep out of danger, with the exception of Captain Cook's men, who dismounted and fought as infantry. From the opening of the battle to its close the odds were against Colonel Slough and his forces; the enemy being greatly superior in numbers, with a better armament of artillery, and equally well armed otherwise. But every inch of ground was stubbornly contested. In no instance did Slough's forces fall back until they were in danger of being flanked and surrounded, and for nine hours, without rest or refreshment, the battle raged incessantly. At one time Claflin gave orders to double-shot his guns, they being nothing but little brass howitzers, and he counted 'One, two, three, four,' until one of his own carriages capsized and fell down into the gulch; from which place Captain Samuel Robbins and his company, K, extricated it and saved it from falling into the enemy's hands."

"Having been compelled to give ground all day, Colonel Slough, between five and six o'clock in the afternoon, issued orders to retreat. About the same time General Sibley received information from the rear of the destruction of his supply trains, and ordered a flag of truce to be sent to Colonel Slough, which did not reach him, however, until he arrived at Koslowskie's. A truce was entered into until nine o'clock the next morning, which was afterward extended to twenty-four hours, and under which Sibley with his demoralized forces fell back to Santa Fe, laying that town under tribute to supply his forces."

"The 29th was spent in burying the dead, as well as those of the Confederates which they left on the field, and caring for the wounded. Orders were received from General Canby directing Colonel Slough to fall back to Fort Union, which so incensed him that while obeying the order he forwarded his resignation, and soon after left the command."

Captain E. D. Boyd.
(From a war-time photograph.)

Colonel Slough remained with the regiment until it reached Carnuel Pass on April 13th where his resignation was accepted. All the commissioned officers of the First Colorado, including Lieutenant Colonel Tappan, joined in asking General Canby to appoint Major Chivington to succeed Slough, which he did. Colonel Slough later went to Washington where he was made a Brigadier-General and Military Governor of the district of Alexandria. Slough was not, for some reason, popular with the men of his regiment. There are stories which say some of them had tried to shoot him during the fighting at Apache Canon. But their admiration for and devotion to Chivington were unbounded; he was their ideal of a dashing, fearless, fighting regimental leader.

This conflict, or series of conflicts, for there were several different engagements, which ended the Confederate invasion that actually occupied New Mexico and so seriously threatened Denver and Colorado, and which made General Sibley as anxious to get out of the country as he had theretofore been eager to get into it, is variously known in southwestern history as the battle of Apache Canon, of Pigeon's Ranche, and of La Glorieta. At this late day there is nothing to deter the reader from choosing either, as befits the fancy. It would seem, everything else being equal, that the latter, by reason of its euphony and its association with the locality rather than with people, is, of the three, best suited to the preservation by name of the historic and, in its consequences, most important, engagement between the Union and Confederate forces in the far southwest region during that tragic period of civil war.

Under orders from General Canby all available troops at Fort Union, including the Colorado men, left that post on the evening of April 5th and after eight days of rather trying marching came up with Canby's forces at Carnuel Pass, on the 13th. On the 14th Canby with his reinforced command started down the Rio Grande in pursuit of the retreating Confederates, who had previously evacuated Santa Fe and were trying to get back to Texas. Late at night on the 14th Canby overtook them at a place called Peralta where, on the 15th, there was some more fighting, but not of a serious character. However, while it was in progress, a detachment of the First Colorado was sent to capture a small force of Confederates that had become separated from the main command and had one piece of artillery with them. The Colorado men quickly made prisoners of every one of them, capturing their gun and everything else they had with them.

In the darkness of the night of the 15th Sibley slipped away, crossed to the opposite side of the Rio Grande and continued his retreat. Canby pursued without crossing the river with the expectation of being able to get ahead of the Confederates, and then cross and intercept them. So, in that fashion, the two bodies moved down the river most of the time in sight of each other. Sibley was so hard pressed that he had to burn his wagons and much other property, and load his supplies on pack-mules to make better time; and finally struck off into the mountains to evade his pursuers, with his forces much scattered.

Sibley had with him several small pieces of artillery—little brass howitzers about four feet long, that he had used at Apache Canon. In his retreat he found these were retarding him. So, when he was in the vicinity of Albuquerque he destroyed their carriages and buried the guns. In 1890, twenty-eight years afterward, with the aid of one of his surviving men, the burial-place of those little guns was located, the guns dug up, and now four of them are in the war relic museum here in our Capitol building; having been given to the State of Colorado by the United States, in 1898.

Canby proceeded on his way down the river and arrived at Fort Craig on April 22nd. There his men were given a rest, although they ran very short of provisions before the slow-moving trains came with fresh supplies. Leaving Chivington in command, at Fort Craig, of the district of southern New Mexico, General Canby and his staff soon afterward returned to Santa Fe. Early in July Chivington obtained relief from this duty and an order from Canby to proceed with his regiment to Fort Union. The march to that post was a long one, but the regiment was glad enough to get back there after that most active and extraordinary campaign which utterly destroyed Confederate hope for securing and maintaining a permanent foot-hold in New Mexico or Colorado. That first attempt of the southern forces to carry the war into the Rocky Mountain country was their last one, also.

In the military operations of General Canby and in those of his subordinate officers great embarrassment was entailed by their distant isolation, by the extreme difficulty and great delay in transmitting communications, and by the neglect, whether intentional or not, of the authorities at Washington. Of the latter, in the report of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, Colonel Roberts is recorded as having testified on July 15, 1862:

> "It appears to me to be the determination of General Thomas [Lorenzo Thomas, then Adjutant-General of the United States] not to acknowledge the services of the officers who saved the Territory of New Mexico; and the utter neglect of the Adjutant General's department for the last year to communicate in any way with the commanding officer of the Department of New Mexico, or to answer his urgent appeals for reinforcements, for money, and for other supplies, in connection with his repudiation of the services of all the army there, convinces me that he is not gratified at their loyalty, and their success in saving that Territory to the Union."

After the arrangements had been made for the First Colorado to proceed to Fort Union, Colonel Chivington, under leave of absence, came to Denver and then went to Washington to ask that he and his regiment be transferred to the Army of the Potomac. But, to his great disappointment, and that of his men, also, this change was denied him. Under date of October 11th orders came from the War Department that either the First Colorado, or the new Second Colorado, should be made a cavalry organization, the choice to rest with Governor Evans. The Governor decided that it should be the First, and on November 1, 1862, an order was issued for it to rendesvous in Colorado, with headquarters at Denver, preparatory to the reorganization.

After the regiment had reached Fort Union it had been broken into detachments which had been stationed at several places in New Mexico and southern Colorado. After much delay all of the companies were concentrated at Colorado City early in January, 1863, and marched thence to Denver where they arrived on the 13th of that month and received an enthusiastic welcome after their year's absence and hard and gallant service.

The change from infantry to cavalry was soon completed, and after that the regiment was again broken into several detachments which were stationed at different points here in the west, and as a unit it lost the identity that had won for it such renown. In this condition the regiment served until it was mustered out at the close of the war, its scattered detachments rendering in the meantime gallant and important services during the troubles with the Indians that began in Colorado in the summer of 1864.

Colonel Chivington developed extraordinary military ability. The victory at Apache Canon which sent General Sibley on his running retreat to Texas was Chivington's victory. He had no military training before he stepped from the pulpit to the battlefield. In action he was the incarnation of war. The bravest of the brave, a giant in stature, and a whirlwind in strife, he had that other faculty that makes soldiers personally love such a leader and eager to follow him into the jaws of death. Such a regiment as the First Colorado inspired by such a man as its leader, would have still further glorified itself could its field of action have been widened after the New Mexico campaign, as Colonel Chivington had hoped it might be.

In 1862 Colorado had been made a separate military district of this Department, and after Chivington returned from his failure to have his regiment transferred to the east, he was placed in command of the district. In this capacity he served until the close of 1864, taking charge in that year of the operations against the Indians that culminated in the "battle" of Sand Creek which, however justly or unjustly, clouded his fame and dimmed the lustre that his courage, ability and services had placed upon his name.

In the spring of 1862 two companies of Colorado Infantry had been organized independently at Denver, and intended for home defense rather than for general service in the field. The first one was officered by Joseph Ziegelmuller, Captain; Jacob Garres, First Lieutenant; William Wise, Second Lieutenant; August Kalishewsky, ensign. The second company by James M. Iddings, Captain; John A. Latta, First Lieutenant; Adamson T. Dayton, Second Lieutenant. When the Second Colorado was organized later in that year most of the men and some of the officers of these companies were included in that regiment.

The Second Regiment of Colorado Infantry was organized at Denver late in the summer of 1862. Its nucleus was the two companies recruited under Governor Gilpin's administration nearly a year before, and which were the first volunteer organizations authorized in Colorado. As we have stated, they had served gallantly under Captains T. H. Dodd and James H. Ford in the New Mexico campaign against Sibley, without having been permanently attached to any regiment. These companies were recruited principally in the Park, Lake, Summit, and Fremont counties of that time, and had returned to Fort Union after the New Mexico campaign. They remained on duty down there until the spring of 1863, when they joined the rest of the Second Colorado which by that time had been put into shape and transferred from Denver to Fort Lyon.

On February 12, 1862, Colonel Jesse H. Leavenworth, a son of Colonel Henry Leavenworth of the old army, for whom Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, was named, had been commissioned by the Secretary of War to organize in Colorado a regiment of infantry, to include the two companies above-mentioned and the other two that had been organized here. To these, six companies were to be recruited and added to form the Second Regiment of Colorado Volunteer Infantry. Leavenworth was delayed on duty at St. Louis and did not reach Denver until May 12th. He brought with him, manned by Wisconsin men, a six-gun battery captured at Fort Donelson, which gave his arrival a grimly military aspect.

Brigadier General James H. Ford.
(From a war-time photograph.)

In June additional officers for the proposed organization were appointed. They were T. H. Dodd, of one of the veteran companies above-mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Captains J. Nelson Smith, L. D. Rowell, William H. Green, George West, E. D. Boyd, and S. W. Wagoner for Companies E, F, G, H, I, and K, respectively. Later, James H. Ford, Captain of the other veteran company, was made Major. Headquarters were established at Camp Weld, but recruiting proceeded slowly. Large numbers of miners and other idle men left Colorado that summer for the new gold-fields in Montana and Idaho, and other large numbers had gone back to the States in that and the previous year. During that summer there were several bands of predatory Indians roaming the country, confining their operations to stealing, and several parties of the Second's recruits were sent after them before the companies were fully organized.

About the middle of August Leavenworth was ordered to move his men to Fort Lyon. The regiment left Camp Weld on August 22nd and made the march in seven days, arriving at Lyon on the 29th, a distance of two hundred and forty miles. The regiment remained at Fort Lyon until April 6, 1863, in the meantime being joined by the two companies from Fort Union, and having added to its numbers some men enlisted in southern Colorado for a New Mexico regiment. On April 6th six companies of the regiment left Fort Lyon, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dodd, to march to Fort Leavenworth; the rest of the regiment remaining at Fort Lyon for such duty in that region as might arise. When the six companies reached Fort Riley, Kansas, they were ordered to Fort Scott, Colonel Leavenworth and his staff having in the meantime gone to Fort Leavenworth. Colonel Leavenworth was placed in command at Fort Larned in July, 1863, of the troops on the Santa Fe trail, but charges were soon preferred against him, and he was dismissed from the service. He secured a re-instatement, and then immediately resigned; Lieutenant-Colonel Dodd succeeding him in command of the regiment, and the somewhat theatrical martinet, Leavenworth, passing out of view. The Second Colorado, or that part of it with Colonel Dodd, saw hard fighting service in the Indian Territory and Arkansas under General Blunt, in July and August of that year, participating in the battles of Cabin Creek, Honey Springs, and the recapture of Fort Smith, where we will leave them while we take up the initial history of the next Colorado regiment.

Early in the autumn of 1862 Governor Evans was authorized to recruit another regiment, of which General William Larimer was to be Colonel under instructions from Washington, and which was to be the Third Colorado Volunteer Infantry. The difficulties in filling the Second should have suggested those which attended and, to a great extent, negatived the Third. But the effort to complete the Third was undertaken in earnest. Recruiting offices were opened in Denver and elsewhere in the Territory. By December enough men had been enlisted to establish a camp at old Camp Weld which, for this occasion, was re-named Camp Elbert, in honor of S. H. Elbert, then Territorial Secretary; but through force of habit the old name persisted in sticking. S. S. Curtis had been appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and was placed in command of the camp. General Larimer, realizing the improbability of completing the regimental organization, had withdrawn his connection with it, and it was then understood that if the regiment should be filled, James H. Ford, then Major of the Second Regiment, at Fort Lyon, would be Colonel, with Jesse L. Pritchard as Major. But the regiment was not filled. By the 1st of February, 1863, enough men had been enlisted to complete five companies, which were mustered in on that day; Company A under Captain R. R. Harbour; B, under Captain E. W. Kingsbury; C, Captain E. P. Elmer; D, Captain G. W. Morton; E, Captain Thomas Moses, Jr. Company A came mostly from Summit county; B from Arapahoe and Boulder counties; C from Park and Lake; D from Gilpin; and E from Clear Creek. Orders had been received in January for the regiment, or such part of it as had been organized, to proceed to Fort Leavenworth without delay; but there was delay in several directions, principally in the matter of transportation for supplies and equipage. It was not until March 3rd that the five companies left camp and started on their long tramp to Fort Leavenworth, which they reached on April 23rd. On the 26th they embarked on a steamboat for St. Louis and went thence by rail to Sulphur Springs, a point twenty miles south of that city, where they went into camp for instruction. On May 21st they were ordered to Pilot Knob, Missouri, where they became part of the Army of the Frontier, although they had come from six hundred miles beyond the frontier. In June they were under orders to go to Vicksburg, but orders were changed, and the Third Colorado remained on post duty at Pilot Knob under General Clinton B. Fisk. Through that summer and autumn the Third did post and provost duty at Pilot Knob, Springfield and Rolla, Missouri, and continued it until December 7th, when it was ordered to Benton Barracks, St. Louis, to be consolidated with the Second Colorado, the two to be re-organized as a cavalry regiment. The several companies reached Benton Barracks on December 9th, later becoming Companies H, I, K, L, and M, of the Second Colorado Cavalry, the incomplete Third Colorado Infantry then passing out of existence.

Lieutenant Colonel Samuel S. Curtis.
(From a war-time photograph.)

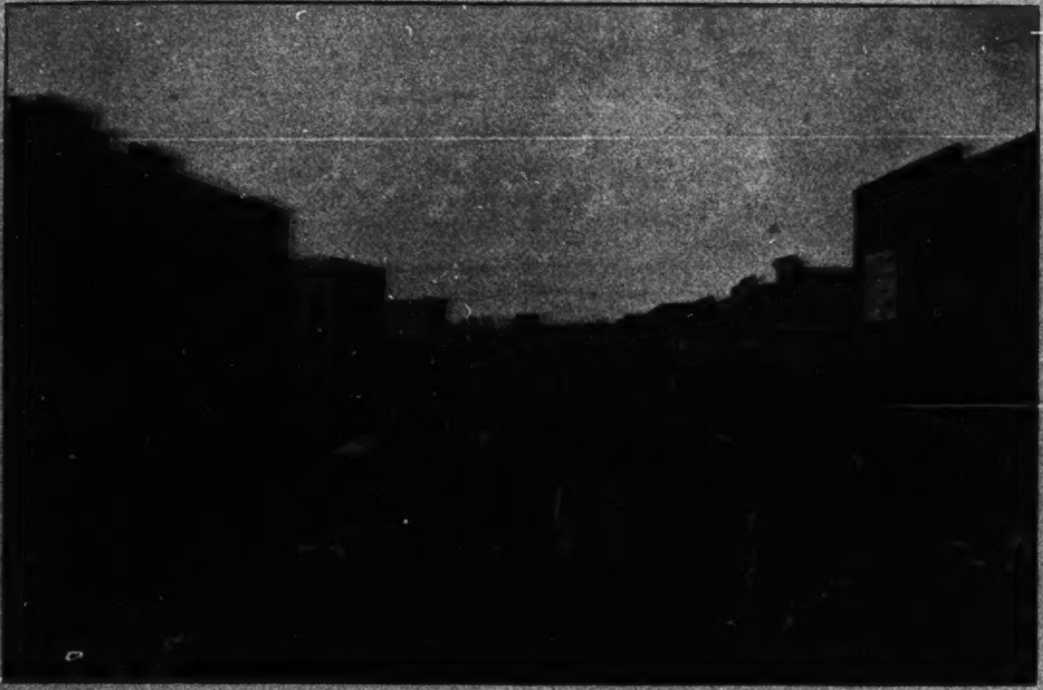
Of the circumstances leading up to his appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Regiment, which he thinks unfortunately for himself terminated his citizenship in Colorado, Colonel Curtis has given us the following particulars:

"Governor Gilpin came as Governor of the Territory in May, 1861, and found me the only Federal official in the Territory; and being one of the oldest residents, I was consulted about almost everything he did, at first. I took the poll-books to Fairplay, Buckskin Joe, California Gulch and Spanish Bar for the first Territorial election. Governor Gilpin promised me a field officer's commission in the First Colorado Regiment, but having gone to Fort Laramie to get arms for the regiment, in which I was, after a great deal of delay, successful, I was not on hand when the regiment was organized, and so did not get the commission. Shortly after my return the Governor wanted me to go to Washington to get the 'Gilpin drafts' paid. I told him I had lost the field officer's position in the First Regiment by being absent, and that I thought I had better stay at home and look after my interests in a Second, if there should be one. He immediately offered and made me an appointment as Major of the Second Colorado, which appointment I held until I resigned it to Colonel Leavenworth on condition that he make Jim Ford Major in my place, which was done later. I went to Washington and splurged in the uniform of a Major of a regiment which had no existence except in the Governor's mind. In the fall of 1862 I gave it up, as stated, and went to the States where I secured an appointment as Lieutenant-Colonel and Aide-de-Camp of Missouri State Militia, which position I had held but a few weeks when I received notice from Governor Evans that he had authority to raise the Third Regiment, of which he offered me the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, which I gladly accepted, and of which Jim Ford was to be Colonel. I immediately returned to Colorado, took command of Camp Weld and of the recruits as they came in, organized and drilled them, and on March 3, 1863, started for the States with five companies who footed it to Leavenworth, with small-pox in the camp all the way, with a loss of but a single man. This ended my connection with Colorado, as a resident, and I am free to say that my going into the army and leaving Colorado was the mistake of my life."

The order for the consolidation of the two regiments was issued by Major General J. M. Schofield, commanding the Department of the Missouri, on October 11, 1863. Beside ordering the Third to Benton Barracks, it directed that part of the Second which we left with General Blunt, to proceed thither, also; and ordered the detachments of the Second that had been left behind in Colorado to go to Kansas City, together with about one hundred and fifty new men that had been recruited here. Later these detachments were sent to Benton Barracks where the new regiment was organized as the Second Colorado Cavalry.

James H. Ford who had become Major of the Second Infantry, had been appointed Colonel of the new regiment; T. H. Dodd, Lieutenant-Colonel; and S. S. Curtis, J. Nelson Smith, and Jesse L. Pritchard, Majors. The regiment consisted of twelve companies, and with the recruits above-mentioned, numbered 1,240 effective men. Late in January, 1864, it was ordered to Kansas City where it was finely mounted and equipped.

Colonel Ford, with headquarters at Kansas City, was placed in command of a district embracing several counties in western Missouri literally infested with Quantrell's, Hickman's, and Todd's guerrillas, two or three other regiments being added to his own, and all distributed in detachments over the district. Through that spring and summer Ford and his men were actively, sleeplessly engaged in that most fearful of all forms of warfare. In one of these engagements with bushwhackers on July 4th, Captain Wagoner with forty of his men were ambushed near Independence, he and nine of the men killed outright, and half of



View on Blake street, eastward from near Fourteenth, in 1865.
(From one of the Matthews sketches.)

the others wounded. His name as a pioneer citizen of Denver and a most popular man, is familiar to the reader who has followed us in our story. He and his men were buried in the cemetery at Independence, Missouri, where a monument bearing their names and marking their graves was in after years erected by Wagoner Post, G. A. R., of Independence. Captain Wagoner, or, as he was better known by the people of Denver in the pioneer days, Judge Wagoner, was only thirty-three years old when his life went out. In another and similar encounter Corporal Baer and eight men were surrounded and all killed, not one surrendering, nor asking for quarter, a thing neither given nor received in that kind of warfare. Of it, Captain E. L. Berthoud, of Colonel Ford's staff, from whose historical account of the Second Cavalry given in an address at the regiment's re-union at Golden in 1877, we have derived much of the data embodied in our account, said:

"Words can not do justice to the horrors of such warfare; nor can the tragedies which cruelty, violence, rapine, and the worst passions of civil war evoked in partisan warfare, ever be fully known. The worst passions had their full, unlicensed range, and in the lawless careers of the leaders of guerrilla bands, such as Todd, Quantrell, Anderson, and Vaughan, pity and humanity were unknown; slaughter, plunder, arson and murder followed ever in their van."

The Second Colorado Cavalry continued in that trying service through the summer of 1864, meeting with much, and constantly, of the hardest kind of guerrilla fighting, and suffering heavy losses. In the autumn, when General Sterling Price at the head of sixteen thousand Confederate veterans came into Missouri from Arkansas with the intention of sweeping all of the Union forces out of that State and of either occupying it or laying waste its towns and cities, including St. Louis, the Second Colorado Cavalry and McLain's First Colorado Battery were among the forces assembled to meet him. These Colorado organizations were in the thickest of the engagements that resulted in driving Price out of Missouri after having lost one-third of his army. The details of that memorable campaign, so important to the Union cause, belong to histories of broader scope than this one. In the battle on the Little Blue river near Independence the Second Colorado lost heavily and among its dead was Major Smith, shot through the heart. In all the subsequent engagements and until Price was pursued into Arkansas these Colorado organizations were in the worst of the fighting. At Newtonia, where Price made his last stand, the Second Colorado had forty-two men killed outright.

Befo[illegible] campaign was ended the plains were on fire by Indian warfare. In December, 1864, the Second Colorado was ordered to Fort Riley, and prepared for service against the Indians along the Arkansas up to Fort Lyon, as part of a large force that was to be organized and put in the field. The regiment was shifted from one point to another while these preparations were in progress in the spring of 1865, and had several minor engagements with Indians in which seven men were killed. But the proposed movement in force was ordered abandoned just when all preparations had been completed. Colonel Ford had been made a Brigadier General and placed in command of the Arkansas river district, and was to have had command of the contemplated army of five thousand or six thousand men against the Indians. When the movement was ordered abandoned he became so incensed that he resigned his command and left the service in which he had served so long and so efficiently. The Second Regiment continued in service until the autumn of 1865, but without any serious engagements with the Indians, though it was employed in hunting and chasing them all through that summer. In September it was ordered to Fort Leavenworth to be mustered out, and in October of that year the six hundred and seventy-three men—all that were left of the twelve hundred and forty of January, 1864—were mustered out, and became private citizens again. Nearly one half its members had disappeared; killed, dead by disease or disabled by wounds, in twenty-one months. These figures are far more eloquent than mere words in what they tell of the character and fighting quality of the Second Colorado Volunteer Cavalry.

In the autumn of 1862 William D. McLain, who had been prominent in the pioneer affairs of Denver, was commissioned a captain, to recruit and organize a four-gun independent battery of Colorado Artillery, which became commonly and proudly known as "McLain's Battery." At that time there were four guns at Camp Weld that had been sent here by General Canby from New Mexico for emergency use in Colorado; but no men to man them had been provided. McLain's battery was well equipped, was ordered to Missouri and participated in the military operations in that State. It was with the Second Colorado Cavalry in the engagements that almost destroyed the army of General Sterling Price, and in the reports of those battles are found such references to it as these: "well seconded by the First Colorado Battery;" "the rapid work of the First Colorado Battery compelled the retreat of Price's men;" "McLain's Colorado Battery hammered away;" "the First Colorado Battery was placed near the key of the whole position; the main brunt of the whole battle was here;" "The First Colorado pitched in regardless of numbers and of its cost." The battery was to have been in General Ford's expected movement against the Indians on the Arkansas in the spring of 1865, but soon after that enterprise was abandoned the battery was mustered out of service.

The Colorado volunteers were exceptionally able and willing fighting men. Most of them, by personal experience on the frontier and in the mining operations, had become inured to hardships and privations more severe than the usual accompaniments of army life; were familiar with the use of arms, and accustomed to the presence of personal danger in various forms. The percentage of men sent into the Union armies by the Territory was exceptionally high—between thirty and forty per cent more than the population's mere quota would have been under the several calls for troops. The percentage of losses by the Colorado organizations was also exceptionally high; the deaths in action and by disease, the wounded, missing, and prisoners, aggregating forty per cent of the total enlistments—a ratio not exceeded, and probably not equalled, by the losses of any other Territory, or State, that sent its citizen soldiers into the Union armies.

To their memory, and to that of their valorous deeds, there exists in Colorado not a monument; not a public memorial of any kind; not even an adequate record of their personalities and achievements. The State and the cities of the State are destitute of fitting evidences of public appreciation of the services they so freely gave and of the sacrifices they so nobly made: there is not one thing worthy of consideration.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Period of Depression in Mining—Changed Character of the Work—Hegira of Autumn of 1860—1861 an Unsatisfactory Period—Adverse Conditions Through Several Ensuing Years—Era of "Speculative Mining"—Frauds and Abuses Attending It—Menacing Legislation Threatened in Congress—Continuation of "Speculative Mining," Its Consequences and Collapse—Conditions in Central City and Other Camps—Effect of Speculative Mania on Colorado and Denver—Solution of the Refractory Ore Problem.

In preceding pages we have, somewhat at length, recounted the circumstances attending what it would seem proper to term pioneer mining in the Denver region—the mining of the pan, the rocker, and the small sluice—and have mentioned the indications that appeared before the close of 1860, that mining of that kind could not and would not last very long. Those indications proved true ones, and the transition from the comparatively easy former conditions to difficulties and obstacles that seemed for a long while to be insurmountable, was made in much less time than the more conservative of the pioneers of 1859 had ever anticipated.

It is to consideration of these adverse circumstances and conditions which so soon beset the mining people, and which troubled and retarded them through most of the decade that followed 1860, that we will here invite the attention of our readers; leaving further accounts of mining progress and results to be embodied in the chapter devoted to statistical and other records of mining and its kindred interests that finds appropriate place nearer the closing pages of this volume. We feel warranted in taking up this part of the subject here for two reasons: one is that a history of Denver must include a great deal of the history of mining in these mountains near us, for it was that which brought the city into being; the other is that the obstacles and difficulties soon encountered by the miners, were chiefly responsible for checking the growth and development of the city to such an extent that the census of 1870 recorded only ten more inhabitants than the slovenly one of 1860 enumerated here.

While the spring of 1860 brought with it a renewal and an expansion of the enthusiasm that had prevailed among the gold-frantic inhabitants of "Jefferson Territory" the previous year, it also brought feelings and emotions of another kind to thousands of those who came into the country in droves in the second year of profitable gold-digging in the general region of Denver. The richness and probable great extent of the gold-fields were indisputable, but in their then ascertained limits there was not room for everybody in the multitude that was seeking working-places.

But the most sanguine expectations were nursed, and not without reason, for astonishing results had been attained the previous year when mining had been done under troublesome physical drawbacks. Now they were to have the benefit of experience, of new and improved appliances, cheaper provisions, regular communications, law and order, and many of the other advantages and facilities that come with established civilization. To a large portion of the people these hopeful anticipations of 1860 were fulfilled; to another and larger portion they were denied.

Early in the spring the old miners began coming in again and resuming work upon their claims, and the fresh recruits trooped after them. Of the conditions confronting these last-mentioned people, and of the experiences they encountered, Hollister says:

> "It is hardly necessary to say that the general aspect of affairs appeared gloomy and forbidding to them. All the known claims were of course occupied; and there was such an almost universal willingness to sell at good figures as to justly raise suspicions. There was but little else to do but to work by the day in the poorly secured lodes, or the deep, wet gulches, and wages were not much higher than in the States in proportion to the nature of the labor, and the expenses of living. It does not seem very strange, either, that the old settlers—who had been in the mines a year!—were somewhat cold toward the immigrants. They felt that they had earned what they had got, and that there was chance enough for others to do likewise. Surely, they said, all these strangers can not expect employment here on our ground; let them branch out and find mines for themselves, or if not, go back. So the dwellers in wagons, in tents, in booths, prospected—which is a discouraging business except to the prospector by nature, who must have the faith of a martyr—made continual purchases of claims which they knew not how to

work, gold washing being a nice business, and were obliged to throw up; cut saw-logs or cord-wood, or engage in such other work incident to mining, as the case admitted; or finally, laid around and consumed the grub they had brought with them. The whole district was full of tents and camp-wagons; it was over-run with people. A heavy snow storm about the first of May was also well calculated to dampen the spirits of the new men. The Consolidated Ditch had not been finished and water was scarce. Buildings, it is true, were springing up as if by magic, and operations were extending; 'big things' there were, too, in old and new discoveries;—one man in Russell Gulch rocked out ninety pennyweights in a day;—but wages were quite low; it seemed there were no more big things to strike; it was hard to get letters from home; and is it wonderful they felt discouraged! Still they poured in."

Placer mining had been a comparatively simple avocation the previous year, but now it was being conducted in many places on a scale relatively much larger, and requiring more capital. For the extensive operations inaugurated this year a series of long, trough-like boxes overlapping one another and from one to two feet in height and width, with quicksilver riffles on the bottom to catch the gold, with hose or some other hydraulic arrangement for washing down the gold-bearing dirt, constituted the material outfit for working in a large gulch. Plenty of water was necessary, and a large stream of it was kept flowing through the sluice-boxes, while the dirt or sand was washed or shoveled into them. The gold sunk to the riffles and was retained by the quicksilver lodged against them—and that is about all there was of it. The miners could "clean up" every evening if they chose, and know each night just what their rewards were. The bar and creek diggings were operated about the same way, except that the course of the stream was turned, and excavations made in its bed down to "bed rock." These had to be kept free of seepage water by constant pumping, and timbered and braced against caving, as they frequently went to considerable depths before bottom was reached where most of the gold was found. The bulk of it was as fine as powder, and in the course of ages had worked down through the gravel and sand. Some was in scales and nuggets, the latter ranging in size from that of a pea, to the very unusual dimensions of a hen's egg—a rare discovery in the miner's career.

Central City, looking up Spring Gulch, in 1865.

But the lode mining, after they got through with the disintegrated matter near the surface and struck into the hard rock in which the metal was so finely distributed as to be invisible to the unaided eye, was work of quite a different kind. Following the vein down into the bowels of the mountain, through granite and other rock that could only be penetrated by tedious hand-drilling, and blasting; solidly timbering the shafts and levels against accidents; keeping down with miserable appliances the water that would soon flood the workings; hoisting out the spoil, first by hand windlass, then as the hole went deeper, by horsepower, and finally by steam when the horse failed; crushing and otherwise treating the ore to recover the metal, constituted a complicated business evidently unsuited to amateur miners such as most of those were who dug for gold in this region in 1859 and 1860. As the ore came from increasing depths it became harder and harder to manage with the knowledge and means at hand; and this kept on until ultimately they found themselves pounding much of it without getting anything for their trouble.

1860 was the year of mushroom quartz mills. They literally crowded each other in the mining districts. For a considerable portion of them the trouble began that year, and some did not do a day's profitable work, for they could do nothing with the mineral; but their owners kept them thumping away through that summer for the sake of appearances and in cheerful disregard for adverse financial consequences. Others were more successful, and the one good thing that could be said about all of them was that they required a great deal of labor to keep them going, and in this season gave employment to many men who otherwise would have been idle.

There was a great plenty of stamp-mills and more coming. It is stated that up to the last of June, 1860, one hundred and sixty of these mills had left the Missouri river for the Pike's Peak country. Six arrived out here on the same day. On July 1st sixty of them were in operation, or thought they were, in the vicinity of the Gregory Diggings, alone; besides about thirty arastras, the latter doing by far the more successful work. Of the operations of the stamp-mills at this time a writer of the period says:

> "Somehow the mills as a general thing do not save the gold; why, it is hard to tell. There must be some difficulty beyond the mills—doubtless the want of experience in the men who run them. Crushing quartz is a new business to them; and it is a very nice one, requiring skill, and as all of us yet lack this skill, we fail in almost every attempt, just as any one does in a new vocation about which he knows nothing. Some of the mills have tried quartz from the Bates, and pronounced it worthless, while the arastras got two hundred dollars a cord from the same stuff."

Central City in 1865—looking up Gregory and Eureka Gulches.

But they were not all so bad. One mill in Nevada in its first run of eight hours produced three hundred and twenty-one dollars. In Eureka a ten-stamp mill in ten days produced four thousand, four hundred dollars. Another in Nevada took out nearly four thousand dollars in five and one-half days. An eighteen-stamp mill in four weeks had five thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars. These were notable exceptions, however.

When they struck pyrites their troubles began in earnest. The mills, or the processes used in connection with them, failed most dismally. Of the experience of one mill that had been theretofore recovering from fifteen hundred to two thousand dollars a week, Hollister relates:

> "A run of eighteen hours gave but one dollar and forty cents. They commenced experimenting. A pan of "tailings" (crushed ore as it came from the mill) was boiled in quicksilver. The amalgam therefrom yielded $9.70. The same material was exposed to the frost two nights, and boiled again in quicksilver, yielding this time, $4.80. The process was repeated with the following results: $3.67, $6.34, $2.78, $1.04, $1.06, $0.33, making a total of $29.67. Then it was seen that the stamp-mills were very deficient."

The Boulder News, in a historical sketch published more than a quarter of a century ago, relates the following which fairly illustrates the lack of technical knowledge among the miners who were blunderingly trying to get lode gold out of the stubborn rock in which it was concealed:

> "The crudeness of the art of saving gold in those days is well set out in the story yet told of D. D. White's experience. When he came in from the Missouri river, according to the custom of those days, he loaded with a stamp-mill and bacon, and to economize space filled the batteries of the mill with the fat bacon sides, utterly ignorant that grease and amalgamation do not agree. He started the mill with the batteries full of the fat, and after a run on rich ore, the clean-up, of course, showed not a trace of gold!"

But it is not to be understood that the ordinary placer mining of the previous year, that of the pan and small rocker, had ended. On the contrary it reached its greater proportions in 1860, and men were working in hundreds of places. Nevertheless its end was plainly in sight, and in the next year its decline set in, and it kept on fast declining, until now it is an almost unimportant occupation in Colorado. A few men here and there still do a little at it along Clear creek and its tributaries, and in Summit, Park, and Lake counties, but as a general mining proposition it is practically obsolete. In 1860 not more than one man out of a half-dozen who were on the ground could find a place to work, and by early autumn many of the stamp-mill owners and operators were so discouraged with the results, that instead of retaining their full forces of men they were reducing them, and a number of mills stopped work altogether before the season closed, adding their quota to the army of the unemployed.

These pioneer stamp-mills were crude, imperfect affairs, and even when handling the partly disintegrated quartz were not brilliantly successful, and some of them missed as much as they saved. But, as has been stated, when they got to dealing with material carrying pyrites, their previous troubles appeared small in comparison with the new ones that came upon them. Few of them could do anything with it, and most of them failed entirely. The gold was in the stuff they were working but the mills could not get hold of it.

Those which did get some had difficulty in obtaining from the greater bulk of the quartz they handled more than seven dollars a ton, which was barely the cost of crushing it. We have used herein the "ton" as the unit of ore quantities, but in Gilpin county ore was measured by the "cord," a practice followed nowhere else in Colorado at that time.

When the autumn of 1860 set in some of the scenes of the previous year were repeated. Thousands started back over the plains for the States discouraged, disgusted, or mad all the way through. Most of them loudly proclaimed the worthlessness of such a country for decent white men, while others plodded along in silence and with a dejected air, as if they had just been convicted of sin, and were on their way to receive punishment.

It was the old story over again. Droves of them had come out expecting to get rich before the snow began to fly, and seemingly without the faintest conception of what mining really meant, with all its drudging toil and slavish hardships. Half of them had been unable to locate claims, and they complained bitterly of the greediness of those who got in ahead of them and persisted in sticking to whatever they may have found. It is doubtful if any equal area in the world ever produced such a crop of disappointments, exultations, dejection, elation, bitterness of heart, enthusiasm, and other manifestations of human emotions, as that yielded within a radius of a hundred miles around Denver in 1859 and 1860. So, again there were lines of the weary and heavy-laden stringing homeward across the plains, lighter of pocket, but weighted at heart.

Black Hawk in 1866.

For the bitter disappointment of these well-meaning men the reasons were few but plain. Of the multitudes of 1860, as of those of 1859, not one in a hundred knew anything about mining, but most of them could if they could find a working place in which to dig, in a gulch, or bar, or creek-bed, slowly learn to wash out some of the placer gold; but the lode work and the mill work was an entirely different proposition. Many of the men who had invested their capital in stamp-mills which they brought here with them, did not know how to manage them or what to do with them when they got here and set them up. For most of both owners and employees Fossett says "it was like a plow-boy attempting to manufacture an intricate piece of machinery without having served a day as a mechanic." In later years the tailings and other wastage from these primitive mills were very profitably worked over by new processes.

There were no such streams of immigration in 1861 as in each of the preceding two years; nor were there ever again. But few people came to the Denver country that year. The eyes and thoughts and energies of the Nation were turned toward the Southern Confederacy. Yet Denver made some improvements that year and became a tidier town. Its society had been regenerated the year before by the well-applied methods of the People's Courts, and under the new and unquestionable Territorial government there was legally constituted authority in power. Nevertheless, there was a cry of "hard times" that echoed over against the mountains.

Some of the quartz mills were at work in the mining districts with somewhat better results, but most of them were still unable to make things go. The difficulty in treating the quartz had turned hundreds, thousands of men to placer mining, and the gulches and bars were delved into down to their foundations, with such vigor that this year may be said to have inaugurated the beginning of the end of general placer mining. The true condition of affairs was reflected in the low price of supplies. The best St. Louis flour sold—at a heavy loss—in Denver that summer for four dollars and fifty cents per hundred pounds. While provisions of all kinds were very cheap, labor was relatively cheaper, and employment was hard to find and harder to keep. Considered all in all 1861 was not a satisfactory year in Denver nor in the region around it.

Another effect of the impotency of the pioneer stamp mills, was apparent in 1861, in the great numbers of men running at large as prospectors. The country was full of them and no end of claims, some of them good, some bad, and some mighty indifferent, were staked off. As an indication of the extent to which this work was carried, it is stated that the Recorder of the Spanish Bar District, alone, made record in that year of twelve thousand lode claims, three hundred and three bar claims, and twenty-five gulch claims; besides three hundred water-mill sites.

By the close of 1861 the placer mines had been in a great measure well worked over, and lode mining was almost at a standstill in consequence of the failure of the then known methods and appliances for extracting the gold. A large proportion of the stamp-mills had given up the task in despair and were standing idle while their machinery rusted. Their workmen were sent adrift, and discouragement again brooded over Denver and the region roundabout. As if this were not enough, the southern States had seceded and the two sections of the Nation were engaged in war.

In 1862 mining conditions were somewhat improved, and crude processes had been developed so that a greater number of mills were working the mineral profitably, though still very wastefully. While they were saving thousands of dollars' worth each, weekly, and reviving confidence in lode mining, they were still turning thousands of dollars' worth of the metal into the streams along with their tailings. But upon the whole all the conditions were bettering. Placer mining was nearing its end, and it did practically end the following year. In the near vicinity of Denver it had almost died out by the close of 1860. In other parts of the country the bars and gulches had been worked over three or four times and about exhausted before the summer of 1863 drew to its close, and terminated what may be called the romantic era of gold mining in Colorado.

Through 1863 and 1864 the number of mills at work had further increased in consequence of the costly experience of their operators through which more effective methods of treating the ores had been reached, and with results that were much improved over those attained in 1862. Still the methods were extravagantly wasteful; so much so that ore from a majority of the mines around the mills would not yield the cost of milling, and there was no remedy at hand to prevent the loss. The depression in the business that had set in in earnest in 1861 was by this time somewhat alleviated, but there was still enough of it to keep down anything like buoyancy of feeling in Denver or in the mining camps; though it was by no means regarded as a hopeless situation. The difference between loss and profit for many mines was represented by the wastage of the mills resulting from their continued inability to get fair values from the material they were treating.

The United States Mint reports up to July 1, 1866, credited Colorado with a total gold production to that time of twelve and one-half millions of dollars. Much the larger proportion of this was produced during the three years, 1859, 1860, and 1861, which covered the era of general and profitable surface mining. The actual yield was in excess of the amount named above, the Mint reports not taking account of the considerable quantities long retained by miners, and that used in manufactures and in making personal ornaments—the latter calling for many thousands of dollars' worth. Some silver, copper and lead had also been produced, but they were regarded as by-products of no great importance. The silver-mining era was still in the future.

Mr. T. A. Rickard, Colorado State Geologist, in his important work "Stamp Milling of Gold Ores," (1897) thus refers to the discouraging difficulties the miners encountered during the decade we have under consideration.

Russell Gulch in 1860.

"The history of the evolution of the milling practice of Gilpin county forms one of the most interesting chapters in the record of the American mining industry. Briefly it was thus: The first machine introduced was the arastra, which at first proved satisfactory, but was soon found to be too slow for the American, however well suited to the Mexican. Stamp mills of three, four and six heads were erected by the Georgian miners, and these in turn gave place to larger plants modeled after the California fashion. This type—fast drop and shallow discharge—of battery was adapted to the treatment of the surface quartz. All went well; the output and importance of the district steadily increased. In July, 1860, sixty mills were at work in the county. The gold saving at that time was all done by riffles carrying quicksilver, but in the following year the first copper plates were introduced. Soon after this the camp received its first check; the oxidized material of the upper portions of the lodes began to give place to ore that was less quartzose, which contained more of the country rock as vein filling and carried a percentage of pyrites which steadily increased with depth. This was at levels varying from 100 to 200 feet. The mills which had previously been extracting from 60 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the gold contents gradually commenced to return only 50 per cent., 40 per cent., and then 30 per cent. None but the richest ore would now pay; the mills swallowed up two-thirds of the yield which should have rewarded the miner's toil; some of the mines were forced to shut down, while others had to confine their development to the narrower, richer portions of the lodes. Gilpin county as a mining field seemed to be about to write 'finis' across the portals of its mills and engine houses. At this juncture a small smelting establishment was erected in the district, and the metallurgist came to the rescue of the baffled mill-man. It was in the spring of 1867 when the Boston and Colorado Smelting Works were first established at Black Hawk. The Swansea process of copper smelting was introduced, the matte being shipped east. In the year which followed most of the mines remained idle; many of the mines were shut down, for only those could afford to be worked which yielded ore sufficiently rich to meet the cost of smelting. For some years the smelter took the place of the stamp mill, but in the interval the energetic, resourceful men of the place studied the successful treatment of their pyrites ores, and after experiments, which cost much time and more money, eventually in the beginning of the 'Seventies,' they solved one of the knottiest questions ever put to the miner."

"We are now familiar with the terms of 'free milling' and 'refractory' ore, and we are to some extent cognizant of the different treatment required by the two types, but such knowledge as we possess is in no small measure due to the plucky manner in which the millmen of that day overcame the obstacles presented by the treatment of a most difficult ore."

But the inefficiency of the mills was not responsible for all the troubles that confronted the mining people. The following from Hollister's "Mines of Colorado" describes some of the others which became common, and also gives some interesting history of operations on the famous Discovery Claims of John H. Gregory:

"In 1860 the east half of Discovery Claim [Gregory's] was leased to an association called 'The American Mining Company.' Forty feet from the surface they struck on the 'cap,' and instead of sinking a shaft through it, continued to work out the whole length of the mine. The 'cap,' properly speaking, was a narrowing of the vein, and not a complete capping over, or closing of it, as would seem to be implied. In Colorado, 'cap' has come to be almost synonymous with 'obstacle.' The quartz, or cap and wall rock, together paid them tolerably well for a few weeks. One day, upon cleaning up, their amalgam was very large and heavy, and they thought they had a 'big thing.' Retorting it, they discovered that their gold had escaped and that their mercury or 'quick,' had united with anything else than gold. What they had left would be hard to tell, only that it was not gold. This was the first experience of difficulty in amalgamating, caused by the presence of antimony, arsenic, galena, iron, copper, bismuth, sulphur, etc., in the gangue or vein-stone of the gold. Heretofore they had been operating on decomposed pyrites, quartz, dirt, gossan; now they had sunk further than water and other atmospheric elements had penetrated, the iron and copper pyrites were undecomposed, and for some reason, not to this day satisfactorily explained, their mercury would only unite with a small proportion of the gold. The mine soon ceased to pay for these men, consequently they failed to make their payments, and the original owners took the property back. It was then leased to another party on the same terms, and with the same result. The west half of No. Five and the east half of No. Six were then sold to Walter Lull. He soon found that he had bought an elephant, and gladly transferred his bargain to Lyon & Pullman. This firm also failed to make it pay, and the matter was compromised by the original owners again taking possession of the west half of No. Five. All this time the mine was in 'cap,' and was worked the entire length."

"Gridley finally sold his interest to Henderson. In June, 1862, Henderson put on a force, which worked night and day up to February, 1863, when the 'cap' was 'raised,' or pierced; in other words, the vein opened out again. The 'cap' was one hundred and thirty feet deep in one end of the mine, and one hundred and eighty in the other. During these last seven or eight months the rock taken out a little more than paid expenses, yielding eight or ten dollars a ton. From February to August, 1863, when the work ceased, to allow the erecting of a hoisting apparatus, sixty thousand dollars were taken out. A thirty-horse engine was set up, forty hands put on, and up to the close of 1863, twenty thousand dollars additional were taken out. Negotiations had then commenced for the sale of the property, in connection with others on the Gregory, to parties in the east, and in the succeeding spring it passed into the hands of the Consolidated Gregory Company, for the cash price of one thousand dollars per lineal foot, and a heavy consideration in the stock of the company."

The miner, Pullman, mentioned by Hollister, was George M. Pullman, who a few years later became noted as the designer of the sleeping-car bearing his name, and which brought him greater riches than he could ever have hoped to acquire by mining, even on the rich Gregory Lode. Pullman had partly designed his car, and received some patents on its appliances before he came out here.

But the lode-miners and the stamp-mill men were not having all the trouble nor all the trying experiences that demonstrated the uncertainty of mining in Colorado during those years. The business of unloading mines, ranging all the way from good ones down to the poor and worthless, on "parties in the east" who soon reaped a large harvest of tribulation, may be said to have begun with the year 1864, and immediately became one of amazing proportions. The excitement quickly rose to a fever heat, and was as great among the "parties in the east" who were putting their money into the schemes, as it was among the parties in the west who were providing the schemes and receiving the money. In addition to the thousands

View of Denver, from near present Intersection of Sherman and Sixteenth Avenues, in 1865.
(From one of the Matthews sketches.)

of claims that had been located in previous years, thousands of others on lodes, either real or suppostitious, all over the mountains around here, were staked off with the hope that they could be made either actual or speculative mines, whichever promised quickest and best results. In that year, 1864, the fees of the Recorder of one mining district amounted to twenty thousand dollars above all his office expenses.

In the spring of 1864 an episode in Congress startled both the speculative and the legitimate miners in Colorado and for a short time caused profound excitement and dismay among them. On April 21st Fernando Wood, then a New York member of the House, introduced a resolution providing for the government asserting absolute ownership and control of all mineral lands in Colorado and Arizona bearing the precious metals, and for the exclusion of free and unlimited mining operations upon them. Added to all the other troubles and perplexities the legitimate miners were having, this proposition seemed like the culmination of their afflictions, for it meant the striking down of the mining industry at one blow by the strong arm of the government. The preamble and resolution as printed in the Congressional Globe, April 22, 1864, was as follows:

"Whereas, the Government of the United States in succeeding to the sovereignty of the regions of country in which the mines of Colorado and Arizona are situated, became invested with a complete proprietary title to said mines; and whereas, no act of Congress has been passed alienating, or providing for the disposal of any part thereof, or prescribing measures for the use and working of them; and whereas, individuals and companies are assuming ownership and occupation, and are attempting to work, some of these mines, and are inducing the investment of capital in them by innocent parties: Therefore,

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to take such measures as in his judgment may be necessary for the protection of the rights of the Government in the mineral lands and mines of Colorado and Arizona, until the proper legislation shall be provided by Congress."

In response to several requests from other members for a full explanation of the purposes of the resolution, Mr. Wood said:

"The object of the resolution is to protect some valuable interests which the Government possesses in the mines and mineral lands of Colorado and Arizona. At a time like the present, when all the great interests of the country are in jeopardy in consequence of the almost entire exhaustion of the positive, solid property of the nation, I think it is incumbent upon Congress and upon the Executive to protect all the property which the Government actually possesses.

I believe there are interests of the Government in these mines and in those mineral lands almost enough to pay the public debt. Now, sir, it is a well-known fact that companies are being organized every day in New York for the purpose of working these mineral lands. In fact, a mining board has been created for the purpose of disposing of this new mining stock. Those companies, as I stated, are created for the purpose ostensibly of working these mines belonging to the Federal Government, and innocent parties are induced to make investments in these speculative companies, thus absorbing a large amount of the capital of the country, and creating to some extent the stringency in the money market of which the Secretary of the Treasury now complains."

Upon being asked to explain how the President was to proceed and what he was to do Mr. Wood further said:

"In reply to the gentleman from Illinois who asks me what I propose the President shall do, I refer him to the language of the resolution itself. The resolution says that the President shall proceed in any way which his judgment may dictate to protect the interest of the Government in these mines and mineral lands. I assume that the President is clothed with ample power under the laws of Congress to protect the property of the country and the property of the Government. I do not propose that he shall involve himself in any serious difficulty or civil war in reference to the repossession of these lands; but I do say that when the Government is resorting to most extraordinary shifts for the purpose of replenishing its Treasury, when it is adopting a system of unprecedented and onerous taxation, when its expenditures are ten times its legitimate receipts, when it is straining its credit to the utmost extent, when it finds it necessary to deprive the States of the exclusive right of regulating their own private affairs through their monetary institutions; I say, under these circumstances, it is incumbent upon Congress and the Government to make available its positive and valuable resources. If a few men in the city of New York can absorb a capital of $50,000,000 in the creation of mining institutions, why cannot the Government throw into the market the right of working these mines? Why cannot it step in and say this is Government property, and not the property of Wall street speculators and individuals? And why cannot it make application of their immense values for the purpose of replenishing its exhausted Treasury? Before resorting to these extraordinary modes of taxation and to the extraordinary series of legislative acts proposed for our consideration, let us replenish the Treasury from these available resources, and cut down the Government expenditures fifty per cent., as in my judgment can be done without any detriment to the public service.

Therefore, without any consultation with any of my friends on this side of the House, but being in possession of a letter from Mr. Edmond, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, having some knowledge of the transactions of Wall street in reference to this question, believing that there are thousands of millions of Dollars in these mineral lands which belong to the Government, and believing that we should resort to every available means of raising a revenue, I have offered this resolution that the President of the United States may do that which, in his judgment, was best for the preservation of these rights and the protection of public property.

Nevadaville in 1865.

Hiram P. Bennet then represented Colorado as a Delegate in Congress, and instantly set about to defeat this proposition that, if carried into effect, would be absolutely destructive to the interests and development of his Territory. Though without a vote himself, he spoke vigorously against the measure, and otherwise opposed it with so much energy and ability that he marshalled votes enough to defeat it. Of course, Wood's plans for the government farming out mining rights, or operating mines on its own account, and getting the returns he anticipated, were purely visionary; but while the resolution was pending it threatened the Denver region with swift ruin, and caused the utmost alarm in the city and in the mining districts, adding materially to the depression that had already heavily clouded the prospects for successfully working the lode mines.

In 1865 Representative Julian, of Indiana, introduced a bill in Congress providing for a special survey of public lands bearing precious metals, and for their sale to the highest bidder above a minimum price to be fixed by the United States. This measure while it was pending was regarded with much apprehension by Colorado miners, but it failed to pass.

Mining companies were organized by hundreds in 1864 and the following year, all capitalized on the most extravagant basis, and many reaching into the millions. The company mentioned by Hollister, to which the two Gregory claims were transferred, had a "capital" of five million dollars, and several others had like amounts. The rage in the east for mining speculation and, with many, for intended permanent investment in mining, induced shrewd owners of mines and pretended mines out here to put them into huge corporations at bewildering prices. They were not slow in learning that it was easier to make a hundred thousand dollars or so by a single deal, consummated perhaps in a week or two, with the "parties in the east" who were as verdant as they were eager, than to worry with the rickety stamp mills that could save but little gold from the richest ore. Richardson relates that one of these corporations sold six hundred thousand dollars' worth of its inflated stock over the counter of its New York office in a single day.

From the initial operations of a few shrewd and not over-scrupulous men at the beginning of 1864, the infection spread far and wide over the mining region. Thousands who had been content with fair wages in the slowly-improving mining industry, left their places to become prospectors, speculators, and often swindlers. Legitimate mining was almost abandoned in the excitement over speculative and paper mining, and the true resources of the country were paralyzed. When one good or fairly good mine was sold to the misguided "parties from the east," a hundred other claims in the same locality would be put on the market, and successfully in the majority of instances.

Collusion between claim-owners who "inspected" each other's claims, "salted" lodes, bogus or misleading certificates, assays of ore of uncertain origin, were used to tempt and gratify the insatiable appetite of inexperienced people for sudden wealth. It was estimated that in about three years the amount of eastern capital invested in Colorado mines approximated the total output of all the diggings from the time of Gregory's discovery to the 1st of July, 1866, when the end of the speculative craze may be said to have come. Much the larger part of the vast sum became a hopelessly permanent investment.

Nearly all of the corporations had at once set about to develop and work their properties. Hundreds of expensive buildings were erected. Large quantities of costly machinery, much of it very inefficient, and still more of it utterly incapable and worthless, were sent out; and to its great first cost was added the enormous expense of freighting it here by wagons and putting it in place. Little of it ever did any work. The Clear creek gulches were crowded with mining structures containing all sorts of experimental machinery and untried appliances that never returned a dollar of the outlay they represented. Some of the buildings went to decay and tumbled down, and some were put to other uses. The machinery rusted away or was carried off piecemeal by marauders, and in 1867 the year after the total collapse of the craze not one company in ten was doing anything.

Of those in operation, nearly all were guiltless of dividends to their stockholders. Many of the finest mills were built by companies who were cheated in their mines, and found when they were ready to run that they had no gold ore to reduce. It was not then generally accepted that mining is a business by itself; and that reducing, or smelting, constitutes another business. Companies owning alleged mines thought that they must also have their own reduction works.

But with all their costly outfits, companies which had ore could not profitably manage it, as a rule. A few which had unusually rich material made a profit, but many who were handling ore running from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars to the ton were failing on it. Ore of such values would quickly make a miner rich nowadays. But many of the corporations were swindled and bankrupted by their management, which would seem to have had no practical ideas of the work and difficulties which had to be met and overcome. The companies had been promised early dividends by those who sold them their mines, and they rushed out their machinery and put up their buildings before they had developed their properties or had any proper preparation for getting out their ore. The results were delay, wasteful extravagance, and usually bankruptcy.

Idaho Springs in 1865.

As an indication of the methods they pursued, the fact that men made good wages panning out quicksilver from the tailings some of the mills turned into the gulches, is suggestive. Another is that a bunch of about twenty expensive mills did not have the equal of one good mine, put them all together. As a rule the affairs of these corporations were directed and managed by men sent here from the east for that purpose.

Most of the companies which had really good mines—and many had such, which, in after years yielded, and still yield, great riches—could not work them profitably under the then inadequate process of handling the refractory ores, and under their overloaded capitalization, ill-advised outlays and extravagant management. Of the conditions which ensued, A. K. McClure, who visited Central City in the summer of 1867, said:

Fall River in 1863.

"It was a painful spectacle to see miles after miles of abandoned mills standing as grim monuments to the folly of disappointed or ruined stockholders. Their owners have paid their millions of money without stint, and built up a continuous city along the gulch. Black Hawk City, Mountain City, and Central City, have no visible lines of separation. A single narrow street winds along the stream, with compactly built lines of houses on either side; and even in the midst of the general prostration and ruin which surround the cities, they are keeping up the semblance of business in the very depths of despair. They are waiting and struggling to live until the new order of things shall dawn upon them—until the dead corporations shall be decently buried, and stronger arms and practical minds shall drag forth the slumbering wealth. Missouri City stands in melancholy solitude upon the hill west of Central, with its tenantless houses, idle mills, and empty flumes; and Nevada City, winding off to the northwest, in continued decay, completes this colossal tomb of buried hopes."

"Think not that this gloomy picture is to be perpetual. This almost universal desolation is in the midst of enough gold to pay half our national debt. The mountain ranges along Clear Creek, and those westward to and beyond this place, are studded with gold. The gulches have all been dug over, and have well rewarded the heroes of the pan and spade. * * * * Georgetown has silver mines which, for vastness and richness, are hardly surpassed on the continent. Like the gold mines they are not yet mastered, but they will soon yield to the progress of science, and then must Colorado once more send forth her millions of treasure annually."

The following story which is quite characteristic of life, law and litigation in a new mining country, recounts some picturesque incidents of a squabble in the Clear creek district during the speculative period:

"A suit was pending between two rival companies, and the Chief Justice of the Territory granted an injunction restricting one from further work upon their shaft, but permitting Fitz John Porter, of army memory, who represented the other, to go on with his shaft. Angry at this seemingly unjust discrimination, the hostile company placed an injunction upon Porter, quite as effective and considerably more offensive. There was a draught from one excavation into the other; so, they built a fire upon their own premises, and Porter found a column of smoke from burning sulphur rising through his shaft, which made it impossible to enter it. An attachment was placed upon his opponents for this curious contempt of court; but they kept up the smoke. Both parties were bitter and armed with shotguns. The whole community was divided into adherents of one side or the other, and the contest involved much political feeling. With the usual frontier mildness threats of killing were freely made; but the affair was finally adjusted without bloodshed."

General Porter was the representative of the Gunnell Mining Company which was capitalized by "parties in the east," and owned very valuable claims on the Gunnell Lode, and which, before and after, produced large amounts of gold. The management was characteristic of that received by most of the properties owned by "parties in the east," and the following quotation from Fossett would, so far as reckless, wasteful, and fruitless expenditure went, apply to many mining corporations of that period:

"The first agent of the Gunnell Gold Company was General Fitz-John Porter. He received a salary of $15,000 per annum, and had a full staff of high-priced clerks and subalterns. A large stone mill was built in Black Hawk under his supervision, but its costly machinery, that came across the plains at enormous expense during the Indian blockade of 1864, was never set in motion. The only use the building was ever put to was as the depot and general freight warehouse of the Colorado Central Railway."

The suicidal speculative mania was of inestimable injury to Colorado and Denver. There is no fixing of responsibility for it, because it grew out of conditions and motives, both in the east and the west, from which human nature has not been able to divorce itself. But its disastrous results were followed by wide-spread and deep-seated aversions to Colorado mining enterprises; by sympathy they extended to the other natural resources of the country, and were not removed for many years.

While the physical evidences of the speculative craze, in the form of abandoned and decaying mills, and tons of obsolete, rusting machinery, were mostly over in the mountains, the consequences of the collapse were severe here in Denver. The young city was left floating on the waves of hope; she was discounting all her future prospects, and her misfortunes were grave, indeed. The useless rubbish of the decayed corporations had to be cleared away, the valuable mines rescued from the clutches of those which had acquired that kind, the obstacles in the way of reducing the ore had to be overcome, and mining placed in its proper, legitimate position, as a permanent, conservative business.

In the meantime many people came to Denver, stayed a while, and then went away again. The population fluctuated and much of it was forced to be of a transient character. If the balk in the mines was to continue, the prospect for Denver's future was not, and could not be made, an attractive one. So, hundreds went away, and when the census of 1870 was taken the result showed that Denver had made no permanent advancement in population. Thousands of men left the mining districts—owners, miners, laborers, and their hangers-on, and the mining towns were almost deserted when matters were at their worst.

During the earlier period of depression, and through that covering the speculative era, Denver waited in some doubt and with much hope often deferred, while the miners and mill-men groped around to find a remedy that would bring the refractory ores to terms. The speculative craze had benefited the few at the expense of the many, and at the expense of Colorado's reputation. Workmen were deprived of employment and investors were deprived of their money by speculative mining. In the meantime Denver had suffered a full share from the early reactionary effects of the civil war, and as that conflict had drawn toward its close the situation here had been aggravated by the impending danger of a general hostile uprising by the Indian tribes with which the city was literally surrounded.

The ores of one mining country are usually different from those of another, and those of Colorado were very much different from any theretofore encountered, presenting many new and puzzling difficulties. It was not until entirely new methods and processes were patiently worked out by tedious and expensive experiments that the obstacles were overcome. In solving the vitally important problems in which the future of Denver was immediately involved, the trained master-mind of Professor Nathaniel P. Hill led the way.

Empire City in 1865.

We are conscious of having dwelt upon pioneer mining at considerable length in these pages. Denver is so much the outgrowth of this industry that we have felt justified in doing so. Yet we have stated only the barest outlines of the story. Its history, as it should be recorded, remains unwritten, and awaits the attention of some one who will undertake the task with appreciation of its magnitude, and of the opportunities its elements offer for one of the most fascinating narratives in the annals of human efforts and achievements.

CHAPTER XL.

Indian Wars—Preparations of Tribes for Hostilities—Influence of the Civil War—Attempted Indian Confederation—Denver's Danger—Preparations for Defense—First Battle with Indians—Panic in Denver—Massacre of Hungate Family—Plains Region Aflame—Interrupted Transportation—Circumstances Leading to Battle of Sand Creek—Outlines and Consequences of that Frightful Affair—Colonel Chivington's Clouded Declining Years—His Subsequent Career and Death.

The pioneers of Denver and those of the country around it, had no great trouble with the plains Indians and but little with those of the mountains, in 1858, nor for several years afterward. With a few exceptions, the most serious of which was the affair of Dead Men's Gulch between the South Park and the San Juan country, the prospecting miners who swarmed over the mountain region were not molested nor held back by the red proprietors of the country; and from the time gold was discovered here until the general uprising began in the summer of 1864, the Colorado people, generally, were not menaced by them.

The local tribes of this vicinity manifested no hostility to the founders of Denver. They camped in and around the town, came and went at pleasure, and inspired no feelings among the whites above one of contemptuous toleration. Many of the braves became great loafers and beggars, with an inveterate fondness for whiskey. Away from Denver they hung around the stage stations and became positive nuisances because of their thefts of all sorts of odds and ends of things a stage station would afford. So, the white people gradually grew forgetful of or indifferent to the red man's power for mischief on the war-path, and thought of him only as a worthless vagabond beggar, thief and drunkard.

However, the Indian was not always let off so easily as that, and he had his story of wrongs and indignities suffered at the hands of the whites. He was often maltreated by brutal white men, and what he regarded as his rights were ruthlessly trampled under foot; he was robbed and cheated in trades in which he received little but the vilest compounds ever known by the name of whiskey; his country was invaded and occupied by the whites who killed or drove off the game that was about his only means of subsistence; and he was threatened with starvation if death by violence at the hands of the invaders did not sooner come. Here in Denver the Arapahoe Indians were sometimes the victims of most shameful outrages. Upon more than one occasion in 1859-60 their camps were invaded by half-drunk, but wholly brutal, white ruffians, who overpowered the braves and subjected the squaws to nameless indignities.

In the autumn of 1860, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, under a treaty, ceded their lands here to the general government and departed from the locality with hearts filled with bitterness against the whites, and inspired by desire for revenge. These feelings at that time were general among the plains tribes and, by a common understanding, all of them quietly began preparing for the war-path. They realized their weakness without rifles and muskets, and devoted all their energy and shrewdness to procuring guns and ammunition. They would beg, steal, buy, or trade for them at every opportunity, and when they traded would give extravagant values. So perseveringly did they pursue this purpose, that by midsummer of 1862 nearly every warrior on the plains was armed, and supplied with ammunition.

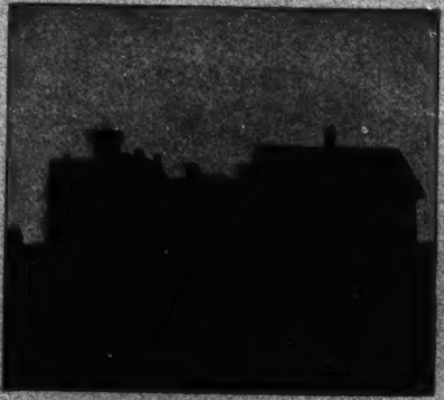
The war between the States was another great cause for stimulating them to united and aggressive action. Early versions among the plains Indians, of that conflict, were to the effect that the people of the Great Father at Washington had divided into two tribes or clans, and that all of them east of the Missouri river were fighting with such ferocity that both sides would surely be exterminated. As time went on and they learned more of the conflict's bloody progress their chieftains realized that the great opportunity for a union of the red people and an uprising that would exterminate or drive out all of the whites in the west, was at hand. They argued that as the whites east of the Missouri were fast annihilating each other, the comparatively few west of the river could, by the united power and valor of the plains tribes, soon be destroyed, and the entire country be again possessed by its rightful and aboriginal owners. This, briefly, is an outline of their conclusions and purposes. Some of the tribes favored an immediate confederation and an open declaration of exterminating war, but many others hesitated about it. Apparently they could not agree among themselves and get together on the proposition, notwithstanding that all of them were practically of one mind as to the existence of their opportunity and the certainty of their ability to crush the whites. Their failure to then unite in one grand campaign against the common enemy was probably due partly to the unpreparedness of some of the tribes, and partly to the jealousies and exigencies of Indian politics. But the determination of many of the Indians to begin war as early as possible was unchanged by the failure of general concerted action, and several tribes of the Sioux, acting independently, began the bloody work in Minnesota in 1862.

It is not within the scope of this work to undertake any general account of these Indian wars, and therefore we shall confine our narrative chiefly to events occurring in and near Denver while they were in progress. In 1862, the tribes in this part of the country, while they were and had been preparing for war, still professed friendship and a desire for peace. But Governor Evans was too shrewd a man to be deceived, and realized the danger that hung over Denver and the other Colorado towns and settlements, surrounded as they were by thousands of savages only awaiting an opportunity to attack and destroy. At that time the general government had all it could do in dealing with the armies of the southern States, and could give no attention to this isolated region. The Colorado troops were serving in New Mexico under General Canby, and in the event of an Indian outbreak the people here were destitute of organized means of defense.

Therefore, on July 18, 1862, Governor Evans, in a message to the Territorial Legislature, recommended the enactment of a law authorizing the enrollment of militia. The Legislature complied and passed a bill to that effect. The situation continued to grow more menacing, and in September, Secretary S. H. Elbert, then acting Governor, by proclamation recommended the organization of militia companies under the new law. Prior to these events Colorado had been made a Military District of the western Department, and placed under command of Colonel Chivington.

In October, 1862, several stations on the Santa Fe stage route were raided by Indians who ran off all the horses and mules they could find, and captured considerable other property of use to them in their meditated warfare, but did not attack any of the stage company's employees. After this there were no further depredations until the following spring when, on March 30th, a similar raid with like results was made on the settlers along the Cache-a-la-Poudre river. The Indians were not yet ready to begin killing, and continued their raids through 1863 wherever there was a chance of getting a horse, mule or gun. Stage companies, freighters and emigrants alike suffered from these systematic depredations. The Indians had also received arms and a considerable number of horses from Mexicans in New Mexico, and it was alleged that encouragement and material aid were given them by the Confederate authorities.

Repeatedly in 1863 Governor Evans communicated to the government at Washington unmistakable evidence of a contemplated uprising of the Indians on the plains—one that would become general, even if the tribes did not act under a confederated system; and urging immediate action for protection of the routes of travel, and the people here in Colorado. The correspondence with its accompanying documents became voluminous, but the general government was powerless to extend the needed protection. One of these documents was the statement of a trader, made early in November, who said the outbreak would occur early in the following spring, by which time the Indians would all be armed and equipped. He further stated:


West side of Fourteenth street from near Lawrence, in 1864. The middle building was Governor Evans' residence.

> "I heard them discuss the matter often, and the few who opposed it were forced to be quiet, and were really in danger of the loss of their lives. I saw the principal chiefs [Sioux, Comanche, northern Arapahoe, Cheyennes, Apaches, and Kiowas] pledge to each other that they would shake hands with, and be friendly to the whites until they procured ammunition and guns, so as to be ready when they strike. Plundering to get means has already commenced, and the plan is to commence the war at several points in the sparse settlements early in the spring. They wanted me to join them in the war, saying they would take a great many white women and children, and get a heap of property, blankets, etc."

Early in 1864 the Governor appealed to the Indian Agents to use every effort to avert the threatened outbreak, and asked them to keep him advised of every event having possible relation to it. General S. R. Curtis, of the United States army, and then commanding this department, was asked to send troops here, but he had none to spare. The Governor then tried the commanding officer in New Mexico and was again disappointed; whereupon he applied to the War Department at Washington for authority to enlist one regiment of volunteer cavalry to serve one hundred days which, after some delay, was granted him.

The storm broke early in May, 1864, over the great plains between Denver and the outposts of civilization in Kansas and Nebraska, and soon afterward the first movement against hostile Indians in this part of the country was made by Major Jacob Downing, then and now a citizen of Denver. With a company of the First Colorado regiment of cavalry he set forth to attack hostiles wherever he might find them. At Cedar canon, about 140 miles down the Platte from Denver he came upon a large war-party. After a hard fight the Indians were routed with a loss of thirty-eight killed and many more wounded. Their village was destroyed, and several hundred ponies captured.

During the first week in June a panic was caused in Denver by what were afterward learned to be erroneous reports that large bodies of Indians were moving upon the city from the east and north with the intention of inaugurating the war in this section by a general massacre of the people of Denver and the sacking and burning of the buildings. For a while many persons were frantic with fear and apprehension. Governor Evans issued an order directing that all business houses close at half-past six o'clock in the evening, and ordered all able-bodied men to assemble daily at Larimer and Fourteenth streets for drill in the manual of arms. One evening it was reported that the Indians were but a few miles from the city and that an attack would probably be made during the night. Women and children to the number of five hundred were taken from their homes to brick business houses in the central part of the city which had succeeded those burned in the fire of the previous year, for greater safety. The "Mint" building, the old "Arsenal" in "West Denver," saloons, billiard rooms, as well as store-rooms, were converted into places of refuge for the distracted non-combatants, who passed a night of extreme mental and physical discomfort, but were rejoiced next day to learn that the immediate cause of the panic was groundless.

But in the meantime, aside from the improvised companies of citizens, the Governor's Guards were called out, block-houses and other defenses thrown up in the outskirts of the town, and pickets stationed all around it. In building the defenses the logs of many of the pioneer cabins that had survived served good purpose, as the Indians would have learned had they made their appearance for attack.

Henry M. Teller had been put at the head of the improvised Territorial militia by Governor Evans, with the rank of Major-General. On June 17th he took command and began the work of properly organizing it for the public defense. The next day, June 18th, tidings came to Denver of the massacre of a man named Hungate, his wife and children, almost within sight of the city. Hungate had a ranche on Running creek, about twenty-five miles east of Denver, which had been attacked by the Cheyenne chief Roman Nose and his band, the inmates all killed, the stock and other useful property taken, and the buildings burned. Roman Nose for years and almost up to the outbreak of hostilities had professed the greatest and most enduring friendship for the white people, and had but a few months before assured Governor Evans that he was and always would be the firm friend of the whites.

The bodies of the massacred family were brought to Denver, and hundreds of people looked upon the scalped and otherwise shockingly mutilated corpses. The ferocious cruelty of Indian warfare was brought home to our people as it never had been before. Governor Evans at once placed the city under martial law, and thorough organization for its defense went on with renewed vigor. Martial law practically prevailed in the city all that summer.

No other massacres in the general vicinity of Denver occurred for several weeks, but by the beginning of autumn the whole plains region was aflame. The outbreak extended from New Mexico and Texas to British Columbia, and from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains. The pent-up love of killing, stimulated by the fires of hate, was impelling the Indians to every form of cruelty and devastation, and they were ravaging the country. For three hundred miles west of the Big Sandy in Kansas every building had been burned, all the movable property taken, and about eighty of the settlers massacred. Travel across the plains was interrupted, and all the necessaries of life advanced to high prices in Denver, with prospects of exhaustion and consequent famine. No life was safe on the plains even ten miles from the city, for the marauding bands were scouting everywhere. In the meantime the government, in the throes of civil war, was helpless to help, and could only say to the people of the Far West: "You must help and protect yourselves."

To the discredit of human nature it is to be recorded that in the midst of these dangers and troubles a little clique of men pooled their resources and bought up a large part of the flour and provisions in Denver and held them for high prices. Transportation over the plains being nearly at a stand, the greatly advanced prices that ensued were partly due to this clique's operations which brought them large profits; flour being doled out at thirty-two dollars for a hundred pounds, and other things in proportion.

Early in August Governor Evans had sent messages to certain bands thought to be peaceable, apprising them of the war and directing all who intended remaining friendly to repair to either Fort Laramie, Lyon, Larned or Camp Collins where they would be protected; and warning them that unrelenting warfare would be waged against all hostile bands. But this availed little for nearly all the Indians were either sullen, or openly at war. Then Governor Evans by proclamation authorized "all citizens of Colorado, whether organized or individually, to go in pursuit of the hostiles and to kill and destroy them wherever found, and to capture and hold to their private use and benefit all the property they could take." He expressed his belief that the United States would pay them for their services, but stated that the Territory of Colorado was unable to do so. He further said: "Any man who kills a hostile Indian is a patriot, but there are Indians who are friendly, and to kill one of these will involve us in greater difficulties. It is important, therefore, to fight only the hostile, and no one has been or will be restrained from this."

Indian Council Party halted in front of Governor Evans' residence, in September, 1864.

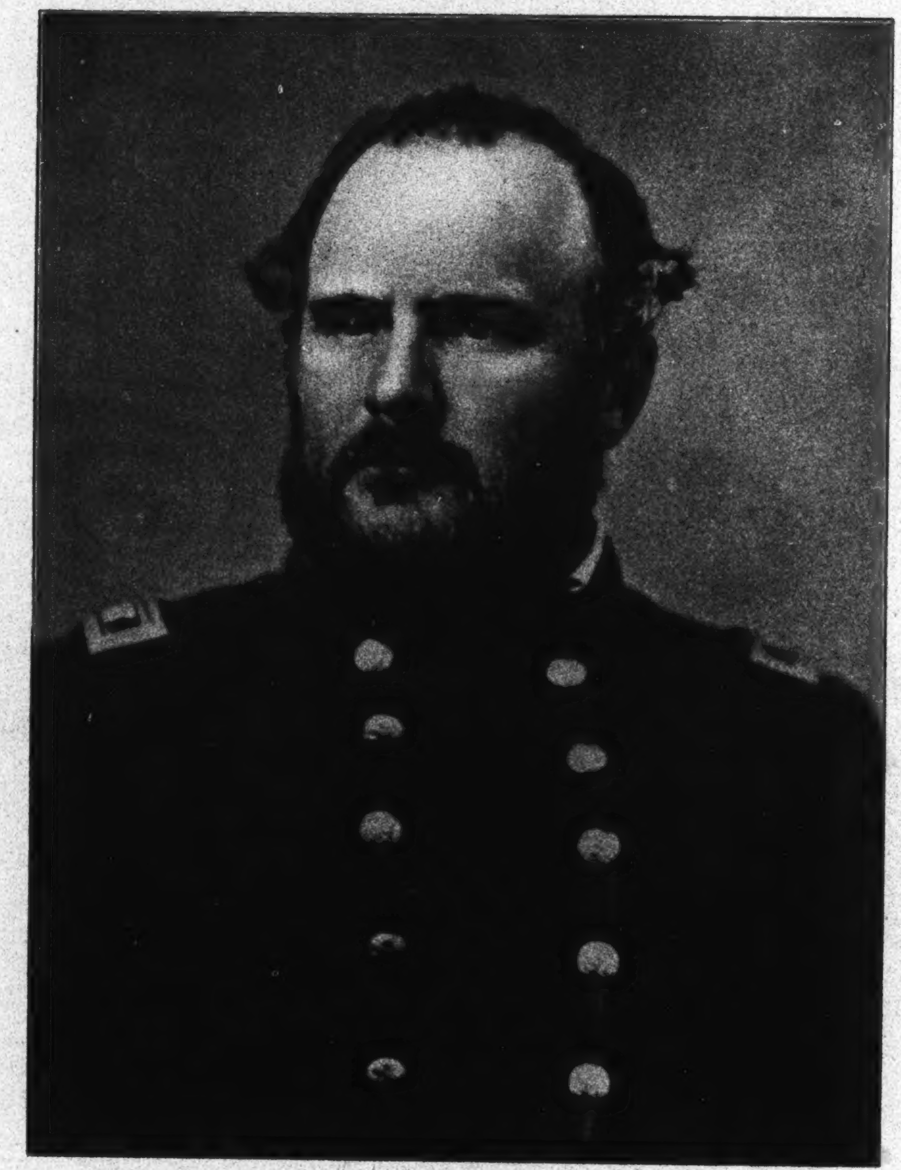
This was applying to the Indians their own method of warfare, with their inhuman cruelties left out, and the result of it was that many men went on the war-path after the Indian fashion, and stimulated to it by the prospect of capturing for their own use and benefit some of the property the savages had plundered from their victims. As there were "prairie schooners" on the plains in times of peace, it was befitting that there should be "privateers" on them in these times of the most cruel of wars.

Toward the close of August, Black Kettle, at the head of a large party of Cheyennes encamped down on the Arkansas river not far from Fort Lyon, proposed to Major E. W. Wynkoop, commander of that post, to make peace and to give up some white women and children his band had made prisoners, in exchange for Indian prisoners he pretended to believe were held in Denver by the white people, though the latter had none. His proposal had several insolent conditions attached, one of which was that the peace should also include the Kiowas, Arapahoes, and several other tribes of his friends which were then ravaging the country between Denver and the eastward border. Wynkoop went to Black Kettle's camp and arranged with that chief and several others to come to Denver for a talk with Governor Evans, under pledge of protection and safe return to their villages. Black Kettle surrendered to Wynkoop four white prisoners, women and children, his band had taken several weeks before. The fifth, a Mrs. Snyder, had killed herself rather than further endure the misery of her captivity. Three others, in possession of another band camped at some distance, were to be surrendered later.

Black Kettle; his brother, White Antelope; and Bull Bear, of the Cheyennes; and Neva and Bosse, of Left Hand's band of Arapahoes; came to Denver with Major Wynkoop, as agreed upon, and a council was held at Camp Weld on the 28th of September. Beside Major Wynkoop there were present Governor Evans, Colonel George L. Shoup, Colonel John M. Chivington, Simeon Whitely, United States Indian Agent; several citizens of Denver, and interpreter John S. Smith, our old trader friend who had helped in founding the city.

The council resulted in no practical good. Black Kettle harangued the assemblage, reciting the grievances of his people, making no denial of their participation in recent maraudings which he claimed were the work of the impetuous and uncontrollable young men who would not heed the wiser counsels of their elders, and giving no assurances of better conduct in the future. He was followed by Bull Bear who was more boastful than penitent, but who claimed that the plan to drive all the white people out of the country originated with the Sioux. Governor Evans then talked to the chiefs, reminding them of his desire and endeavors for peace, and warning them of the certain consequences of further warfare. The Governor was followed by Colonel Chivington in a brief speech which was both a warning and a threat. Then the council broke up without having agreed upon any policy for the future, and the Indians went back to their camps.

Governor Evans had no authority except that of the public welfare in an emergency, to make peace; and when General Curtis, then Commander of this Department, was informed of this council, he notified the Governor who had reported the meeting to Major Colley, the Agent for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, that peace was not to be made with the Indians here without his instructions. In this report to Colley the Governor had stated that the council was chiefly for the purpose



John M. Chivington.
(From a war-time photograph.)

of learning, if possible, the intentions of the Indians for the future, and not for the purpose of making a treaty with them, or offering them anything, lest such a proceeding might embarrass United States military operations against the other hostile tribes of the plains. Soon after this, Governor Evans went to Washington on public business and remained there through the following winter.

The cavalry regiment of one hundred days men which Governor Evans had been authorized by the Secretary of War to organize for emergency service against the Indians—the Third Colorado—had been recruited in the summer, and at this time was lying at Camp Weld waiting for equipments and horses. George L. Shoup formerly a company officer in the First Colorado, had been appointed to command the new regiment, which was growing exceedingly anxious for active service, as nearly one-third of its enlistment period had elapsed in camp idleness.

Colonel Chivington, in command of the United States Military District of Colorado, had resolved to organize an expedition for operations against hostile Indians wherever they could be found in the Territory, and when found, to strike them a blow they would never forget. Chivington was a fine example of the preacher militant. More than six feet in height, of large frame, and otherwise of magnificent physique, with mental powers and inclinations befitting his physical equipment, he was well-designed for a leader of men in warfare. Upon the outbreak of the rebellion he ardently espoused the Union cause, assisted in recruiting and organizing the First Colorado Regiment, of which he was appointed Major, and with which he participated in the stirring campaign of 1862 in New Mexico, as we have already seen.

Horses, arms and equipments for the Third Regiment arrived at Camp Weld about the first of October, and late in that month the command, 650 strong, left the camp and moved to a point on Bijou creek near the summit of the "divide," where a halt was made and the regiment again went into camp.

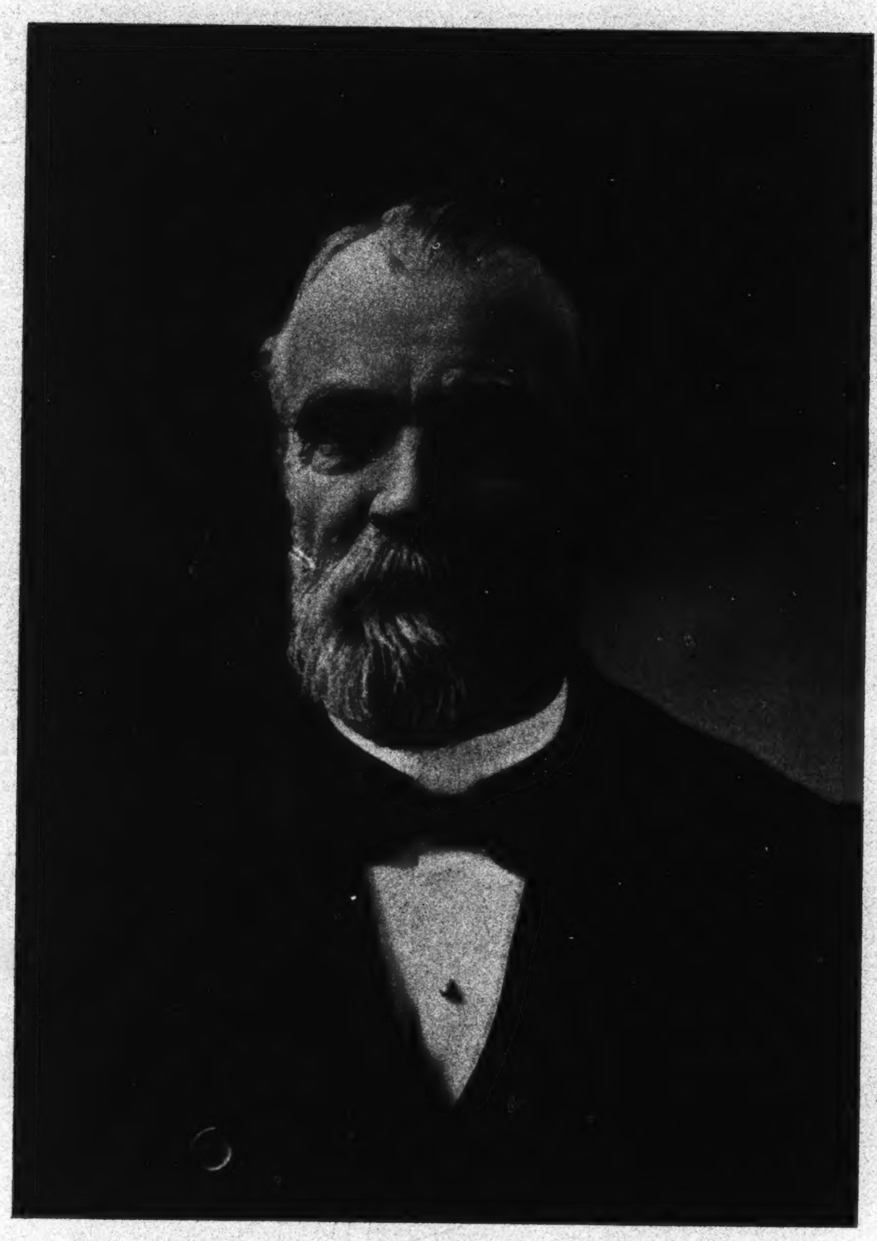
About the middle of November it was learned that Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes, and Left Hand's band of Arapahoes, were camped on Sand creek, about forty miles northeast of Fort Lyon; one hundred and fifty lodges of them; in all some eight or nine hundred men, women and children. These bands were assumed to be hostile; at all events it was understood that they were not inclined to seek the protection of Fort Lyon which was open to them if they were disposed to be friendly; and they knew that all Indians who refused to avail themselves of such protection would be considered as hostile and treated accordingly.

On November 24th the Third Regiment, having been reinforced by a battalion of the First Colorado Cavalry, the whole under the command of Chivington, left the Bijou and started for Fort Lyon, about one hundred miles southeast. Proceeding to the Arkansas, the command moved down the left bank of that river to the Fort where it arrived on the morning of November 28th. There it was joined by one hundred and twenty-five men with two small pieces of artillery, under Major Scott J. Anthony, and on the same day set out for the Indians' encampment, marching all night, and reaching it before daylight on the morning of the 29th.

Colonel Chivington had kept the object of his expedition to himself until he came up with the Indians. He then ordered an attack by his entire force at daylight. Surrounding the village and cutting off the Indians' horses, without which they could make little successful resistance, the bloody work was begun as soon as it was light enough to see. The Indians were completely surprised and overwhelmingly outnumbered in fighting men. Then ensued a sickening slaughter. They were shot down without mercy or discrimination—men, women and children. The topography of the place made their camp a trap from which but a portion succeeded in escaping. Chivington had ordered that no prisoners be taken and that all should be killed. The soldiers obeyed him and the slaughter went on throughout the day, until there were none left to kill. Black Kettle and a part of his people succeeded in breaking through the lines of their assailants, but the rest, between five hundred and six hundred, and including Left Hand and White Antelope, were remorselessly destroyed and their bodies left as food for the wolves. Left Hand was shot down as he advanced holding up both hands with the palms outward—the Indian gesture-sign of peaceable intentions. The terrified children and some of the squaws huddled in large groups which at once became the targets for many guns, and the wretched creatures were shot down in heaps. After all were dead many were scalped, the occasional wounded—in some instances women and children—having been dispatched, as they were found, where they lay. All the circumstances of the affair, the further details of which are too revolting to be narrated here, were attended by a savagery almost equal to that charged upon Indians in their most murderous warfare.

A large quantity of plunder taken from white settlers, immigrants and freighters, and many scalps of white men, women and children—some but recently torn from the heads of victims—were found in the lodges, affording unmistakable evidence that these Indians, or a portion of them, had been engaged in the depredations that were setting the whole frontier aflame.

Chivington's loss was eight killed and forty wounded; two of the latter dying of their injuries a few days later. Sending his dead and wounded



Jacob Downing.
(From a recent photograph.)

to Fort Lyon, Chivington set out toward the Arkansas river on December 3rd to hunt for a band of Cheyennes and Arapahoes under the Arapahoe chief Little Raven, which was also in that region. Failing to find Little Raven after two days and nights of marching, his supplies running short, and the time of the Third's enlistment being near its close, Chivington started back to Denver, which he reached on December 22nd; and the Third Regiment was at once mustered out of service.

A cry of horror went up from all this land when the details of the "battle" of Sand creek became known, notwithstanding that the attention of the country had been fixed on the great preparations and operations destined to finally overcome the tremendous war of the rebellion. Colonel Chivington and his men were denounced throughout the northern States as fiends incarnate; as more savage than the worst of savages; as reproaches to civilization and as disgraces to the names and forms of men. Congress took notice of the public indignation, and the affair was investigated the next year by a Board of Inquiry sitting at Fort Lyon, its reports making voluminous documents. The evidence taken was contradictory as to details, but not as to the main points. An attempt was made to show that the Indians had quit the war-path and were preparing to go to Fort Lyon to avail themselves of the protection promised by Governor Evans earlier in the year to all tribes and bands which would repair to the military posts, give up their arms, and refrain from participation in the then impending uprising; and, therefore, they were, practically, under that protection, notwithstanding that they were not at Fort Lyon. However, this view of the case was not sustained, as the presence in the Indian lodges of many freshly-taken scalps of white people and of much plunder from massacred settlers and immigrants, wholly discredited it. These Indians appear to have hovered near Fort Lyon in order that they might, in an emergency, claim and seek its protection while, in the meantime, they permitted war-parties of their young men to make raids across to the Smoky Hill and the Platte. Their feeble resistance, and the slight loss inflicted on Chivington's command seemed to indicate that they were without many effective arms, and unprepared for battle with a large force. Their destroyers found no great number of good weapons in the wrecked village after the slaughter was over.

We can not undertake in this volume anything like a review of the Sand creek tragedy in detail. The affair has a copious literature of its own

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Major Jacob Downing, whose name and services as a commander are so intimately associated with the defense of pioneer Colorado against invasion by the Confederate forces, and with the later operations against the Indians on these plains, was born in Albany, N. Y., April 12, 1830. After a thorough English education at the Albany Academy, he became a clerk in the City Bank of Albany, of which Erastus Corning was President, and so continued until 1850 when, with his parents, he removed to Cleveland, Ohio. After several years of travel in the west he located in Chicago in 1855, where he studied law. In the spring of 1860 he came from Chicago to Colorado and temporarily cast his fortunes with Mountain City—later merged into Central City.

Late in the summer of 1860 Major Downing removed to Denver, and has been a citizen here since that time. He participated in organizing the Provisional City Government in the autumn of 1860, and in 1861 recruited and organized a company, of which he became Captain, for the First Regiment Colorado Infantry which was later made a cavalry regiment. For his brilliant services and conspicuous gallantry in the campaign and battles in New Mexico that drove Gen. Sibley out of that Territory, he was made a Major of cavalry. So much of his services is involved in our accounts of the operations against the Confederates and later against the Indians, that it would be a needless repetition to outline them here. After the New Mexico campaign Major Downing was placed in command of the important frontier post, Fort Larned, Kansas, where he successfully protected 240 miles of stage-coach and emigrant route against the Indians with but 150 men at his command. For these services and for his management of the Indian tribes in that part of the country he was complimented by the Commanding General of the Department. He next became Assistant Inspector General for the Department, with nearly a dozen western military posts and camps under his jurisdiction.

Major Downing remained on that duty until the outbreak of the Indian troubles in 1864, when he entered upon his distinguished services in the Indian campaign. With a small force he fought the battle of Cedar Canon where, though outnumbered three or four to one by the Indians, he defeated them by the first serious blow struck them in this part of the western country. Returning to Denver with his command, he led one of the columns of Colonel Chivington's expedition against the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Sand creek.

Mustered out of the service in December, 1864, Major Downing returned to civil life in Denver. In 1867 he was elected Probate Judge of Arapahoe county, and upon expiration of his term engaged in dealing in real estate, and in farming and stock-raising. But in that period, as elsewhere narrated, he was called upon to organize defense of the city against the last two menacing outbreaks of the plains Indians. Having acquired near Green Mountain, five miles west of Denver, a fine ranche of 2,000 acres, he has long been one of the most extensive stock-raisers in the State. It was he, in 1862, who introduced alfalfa in Colorado.

On November 1, 1871, Major Downing married Miss Caroline Rosecrans, of Saratoga, N. Y.; a descendant of an old and distinguished Revolutionary family—J. C. S.

which, if brought together, would make a volume as large as this one, though much the greater part of the text would consist of justification on one hand and denunciation on the other, of this the most shocking event in the history of the Territory and State. Furthermore, we do not regard it as essential that the right or the wrong; the justification or the savage wantonness; the criminality or the righteousness of the "battle" of Sand creek be discussed here. All this was gone over years ago and through many years, and left the disputants about where they were when they began.

Here in Denver Colonel Chivington and his men received a hearty and approving welcome upon their return. The general feeling was one of great relief, for an attack on the city by a large force of Indians, with all its attendant horrors had appeared inevitable. Therefore, Colonel Chivington and his men were hailed as heroes who had gone forth to meet and crush the advancing enemy, and save the city the peril of such an investment. The "battle" of Sand creek was at first regarded simply as an important conflict in which the cruel and merciless Indians had been overwhelmingly defeated by the superior skill and courage of the white men.

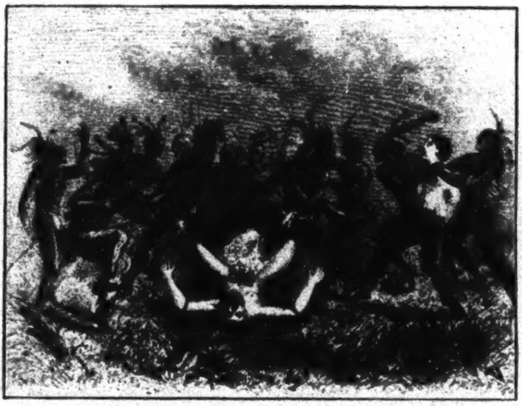
Later, after immediate danger to the city had become a thing of the past and was partly forgotten, and when the details of the affair were brought out by the investigations, and when the fierce blast of public indignation in the States swept across the plains to Denver, a change in public sentiment here set in, and it was not long until the community was divided into two angry factions—those who upheld and those who condemned Colonel Chivington. The feeling became personal and of intense bitterness; it affected business relations, and invaded the circles of social intercourse. Finally it became a political question, and as Chivington's upholders were of the faction favoring Colorado's immediate admission as a State, those opposed to State-hood made Sand creek an issue. The most intense political animosities were engendered, out of which grew much rancorous personal feeling.

The conditions and circumstances which led Colonel Chivington to strike the Sand creek blow were the accumulations of more than a year. He had been appointed commander of the Colorado Military District of General Curtis' Department two years previous. He was thoroughly familiar with the situation and forebodings in 1863, and had been ordered to prepare for the approaching emergency. He then had but a small force at his command, but through the winter of 1863-64 made preparations to use it for the protection of settlers against a large force of Indians which were wintering on the Smoky Hill Fork of the Republican river, and which might be expected to begin depredations as soon as spring opened.

View from Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, looking toward site of present Equitable Building, in 1864. The old Catholic Cathedral appears on the right.

Early in April, 1864, Chivington was notified by General Curtis to look out for Cheyennes everywhere and to warn the troops on the Arkansas against them. Furthermore, Curtis instructed Chivington to disregard the lines of this military district if pursuit of hostile Indians was undertaken. In June occurred the slaughter of the Hungate family, and soon thereafter the frontier was ablaze. In September the resultless peace pow-wow with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe chiefs was held at Camp Weld, and on the day it was held General Curtis ordered that no peace be made with the Indians without his instructions for doing so, and stating that it would be better to whip them before giving them anything more than some tobacco to smoke when they afterward plead for peace. So, Colonel Chivington had concluded that at the first opportunity he would obey his direct and implied instructions by attacking the first band of hostile Indians that came within reach.

The execrations heaped upon Chivington were in the main inspired by his revolting order to his men that no prisoners should be taken, but that the firing was to continue as long as there was anything in the Indian village to kill. Then, the awful barbarities of butchering the helpless wounded including women and children, and scalping the dead, which followed the cessation of the more active work, could not be passed in silence. In several instances after the firing had ceased and the village was in Chivington's possession, unhurt squaws and children found concealed in the lodges, were killed in cold blood. Men who committed these horrible acts held themselves blameless because "Chivington ordered us to take no prisoners." It would seem that the men became utter savages under the influence of the hideous butchery in which they were participating.



Torturing Captives.

The fact that women were killed in the Sand creek "battle" was not in itself evidence of unmanly or dishonorable warfare. It is to be remembered that Indian squaws in battle would fight as bravely and as fiercely as the men, and that in an attack on a band of encamped Indians it was difficult, by reason of frequent similarity of dress, to tell a brave from a squaw. In many an encounter with the Indians of the plains white men found that they would pay the forfeit of their lives if they failed to defend themselves against squaws in consequence of deference to the latter's sex.

One of the stories widely circulated in the States, in connection with grossly exaggerated accounts of the Sand creek affair, was to the effect that upon the return of Chivington and his men to Denver the people of this city held a jubilee, one of the features of which was a "scalp-dance" around the exhibited scalps of Indians slain in that bloody tragedy. This alleged barbarism of the Denver people was as savagely denounced as the slaughter of the Indians was vehemently condemned. Some of the critics far removed from the appalling peril and consequences of contact with the western Indians when on the war-path, could not find in their vocabularies terms strong enough for fitting denunciation of this and everything else connected with the affair, as they understood the circumstances attending it. The truth concerning the exhibition of scalps in Denver and the conduct of the people here, was quite different from the reports current in the east. The Denver people did assemble and congratulate not only Chivington and his men upon the result of the encounter, as they understood its circumstances at the time, but each other, also, upon the lesson given the Indians that would in all probability prove so salutary that the city would escape attack and the massacre of its people. There was no "scalp-dance," nor any other kind of dancing, but there were scalps publicly exhibited. They were those of white men, women and children found among the Indians' effects at Sand creek and brought to Denver; the scalps of emigrants, of settlers, of wagon-train men, of little children, and of women who had suffered worse than a hundred deaths before their brief but fatal captivity ended. Of such were the scalps exhibited at Denver—some of which are still preserved in the city—upon Colonel Chivington's return.

The Indians of the plains were more fiendish in their cruelty than any others of their race, and horrors beyond the power of the mind to fully comprehend were the certain attendants of their modes of warfare. White men who understood their character while at war preferred to die fighting rather than to become prisoners to be tortured by frightful mutilations and then slowly burned to death. The experience of white women prisoners in their hands was too sickening to permit the circumstantial details to be recounted here. Sooner or later death came to their relief, and in not infrequent instances in the west during these years of Indian warfare, white women prisoners destroyed their lives rather than undergo the horrors of captivity with the savages. Young children were usually butchered where captured, as they were considered incumbrances. Sometimes, but not often, half-grown boys and girls were spared. In every instance the bodies of the dead were found in a frightfully mutilated condition, with evidence, especially in the case of women, that the horrible work had been done while the victims were still living. Scalping was the least repulsive of the Indian's practices in dealing with the persons of white people, on whom he made successful attacks in his warfare.

Whatever there was of direct official responsibility for the "battle" of Sand creek rested upon Colonel Chivington. Aside from his own ideas of dealing harshly in warfare, whether with white or red enemies, the logical meaning of his understanding of the purposes of his military superiors warranted him in taking quick and vigorous action. But the details of his brief campaign of Sand creek, which terminated his military career, were of his own planning, and he kept them to himself until he was ready to strike. One result of the Congressional investigation was that the government censured him, Governor Evans, and every one else assumed to have been nearly or remotely connected with the affair. Governor Evans was in no way responsible for it. He was in Washington when it occurred, and had not been informed by Colonel Chivington that such a movement with such bloody purposes in view, was contemplated. Even had the Governor known of it, he could not have officially interfered. Colonel Chivington was subject to the orders of the United States military authorities, and not to those of the Territorial Executive of Colorado.

Indians attacking a stage-coach.

For the attack and for the methods of it, Colonel Chivington never attempted to evade or lessen his responsibility. He believed that the Indians were confederated for a general uprising and that a devastating war was imminent. He also believed that the Indians, to be fought successfully had to be dealt with harshly, and that one crushing, merciless blow, sparing neither age, sex nor condition, would prove to be the more merciful method of warfare with them, after all. Furthermore, he also believed that such methods were the only ones the Indians could and would understand and heed, and that in the end his way of fighting them would save not only hundreds of white people, but would be less destructive of Indian life, if that were worth considering, than any other. In these views he was sustained by almost every frontiersman and by nearly every other white man familiar with Indian character.

Nevertheless, Colonel Chivington was regarded with extreme aversion by many of his fellow-citizens so long as he lived. He had many warm friends who upheld and defended him with all the zeal of the most devoted partisans; on the other hand, those who condemned him did so with an extreme bitterness that clouded the later years of his life, most gravely affected his personal fortunes, and heavily shadowed his pathway in whatever he undertook to do.

In August, 1864, Chivington had been nominated for Congress on the State ticket which, with the whole Statehood project, failed that year. In 1867, he left Denver and went to San Diego, California, where he lived in obscurity nearly six years. In 1873 he removed thence to Cincinnati and there married his second wife, and resided in that city until 1883, when he came back to Denver; continuing his residence here until his death. He entered local politics, became an Under Sheriff, and in 1891 was elected Coroner, the last position he filled.

Chivington died in Denver, of general debility, October 4, 1894, in his 74th year. A native of Warren county, Ohio, where he spent his boyhood, he became a Methodist minister and preached his first sermon in Quincy, Illinois. For twenty-five years he continued preaching in Illinois, Missouri and Nebraska, before coming to Colorado in 1860.

CHAPTER XLI.

CONTINUED INDIAN WARFARE—CITY THREATENED WITH FAMINE—MARTIAL LAW IN DENVER—DEPREDATIONS AND MASSACRES ALONG THE PLATTE—LONG AND BLOODY INDIAN WAR—FORSYTH'S HEROIC DEFENSE AT BEECHER ISLAND, ARAPAHOE COUNTY—INDIAN CRUELTIES—WESTERN VIEWS OF THE "INDIAN QUESTION"—EXPENSIVE WARFARE—INDIAN GRIEVANCES—LAST STAND OF THE ARAPAHOES AND CHEYENNES—INDIAN CHIEFTAINS—POWER OF INDIANS BROKEN.

Putting aside all questions of its justification or of its military necessity, all discussion of the right or wrong of meeting the red man with his own shocking savagery, the Sand creek affair was an impressive lesson to the Indians, and undoubtedly relieved Denver of the appalling danger which had immediately menaced it from every side. True, it infuriated them to the highest pitch and made them wild for revenge, but it caused them to fear and avoid attacking the community from which had gone forth the men who had visited upon them a retribution so awful. Never before in their experience had the white men made upon them such warfare as that.

Governor Evans had made several attempts to have a peace council with the Indians then roaming over eastern Colorado and western Kansas before the Sand creek affair, but to no effect. At one time he had gone out to the Republican river, and sent Elbridge Gerry to the camp of a large band then in that part of the country to persuade their chiefs to meet and talk with him. Some of the Indians had high regard for Gerry, but he could not influence them to have a peace-talk. One chief consented to go, but he changed his mind when his associates told him they would kill him if he tried it. So, the Governor came back to Denver much discouraged.

Through the winter of 1864-65 the Indian uprising grew to most formidable proportions, and all lines of communication between Denver and the east were interrupted so seriously, and so many of the freighters deterred from venturing out, or were captured if they did so, that the city was threatened with famine. All food and other supplies rose to almost fabulous prices. Governor Evans being absent in Washington, Secretary S. H. Elbert was acting Governor in the interim. The necessity for providing some protection for the lines of communication had become so imperative that Secretary Elbert, in December, called for six companies of independent volunteer cavalry to meet the emergency. But the harsh criticisms of the Sand creek tragedy had begun, with extreme bitterness in some instances, and they made men reluctant to respond to Elbert's call for a service likely to involve some additional work of the same character. Therefore, enlistments for the companies dragged so slowly that the needed relief seemed far away, and the people appeared bewildered by the circumstances of the situation.

On account of the Sand creek affair Colonel Chivington had been removed, and on January 4, 1865, Colonel Thomas Moonlight took command of the Colorado Military District and prepared for further vigorous action. The Territorial Legislature was in session, and Colonel Moonlight recommended that it amend the then existing militia law so that it would provide bounties and definite pay for volunteers, and compensation for their horses. A bill to that effect was introduced, but notwithstanding the simplicity and reasonableness of its provisions, and the great emergency of the situation, the two branches of the Legislature pulled and hauled and wrangled over it for two weeks without coming to an agreement. Impatient over such proceedings, and the necessity for action being imperative, Colonel Moonlight placed the city and district under martial law. Every kind of business except dealing in the diminishing stores of necessities, was suspended; the mines were closed and all industries stopped and were to remain idle until the troops called for were enlisted and organized.

There were reasons a-plenty for vigorous action. The stage route between Denver and Julesburg was in the hands of the Indians, and death and destruction marked its way. The glare of burning buildings was visible from the city at night, and the tales of refugees agitated the community by day. Every ranche but one between the two places was captured and burned during that month of January, and most of the stage stations had met a like fate. The men, women and children who had not sought and found safety by early flight, were horribly butchered. The station and warehouses at Julesburg were destroyed almost within sight of Fort Sedgwick where a considerable force of troops was stationed, but which, for some unaccountable reason, made no movement toward checking these Indian atrocities and depredations.

The one ranche between Denver and Julesburg that escaped destruction was the "Wisconsin," about one hundred miles due northeast of Denver, owned by Holon Godfrey and desperately and successfully defended by him and his associates. The place was attacked in daylight by one hundred and twenty-five Cheyennes, and defended by Godfrey and three other men—Blair, Daniels, and Perkins. Four women were there and also bravely aided in the defense. The Indians were held off all day, the women walking around inside the enclosure with hats on sticks to make the number of defenders appear larger. In the evening as soon as it grew dark Perkins succeeded in getting away unseen by the Indians and started on horseback to obtain help from some mounted soldiers encamped about seven miles west of the site of Fort Morgan. One of the women offered to go and Godfrey was inclined to have her do so, but Perkins objected to that, insisting that he should go. He rode like the wind and found the troops. The officer in command said he was under orders to be at Living Springs the next day, but that he would send four soldiers under command of a Corporal to the relief of the ranche. Upon nearing the ranche the soldiers hesitated about going farther because of the number of Indians. But one of them, named Ford, said he was "going, anyway," whereupon they all cautiously advanced and succeeded in getting inside at two o'clock in the morning. With this reinforcement Godfrey drove off the Cheyennes after ten of the Indians had been killed. From the desperate and deadly character of the resistance made, the Indians afterward called the "Wisconsin Ranche" "Fort Wicked," and its owner "Old Wicked."

Godfrey was a native of New York and a California miner in 1849-53, after which he returned east and settled in Wisconsin. He came to Colorado in 1860 and established the "Wisconsin Ranche" on the South Platte opposite and across the river from the site of the present village of Merino in the southwest corner of Logan county, and about one hundred miles due northeast from Denver. The ranche became a stage coach station, and when the Indians had become threatening, Godfrey fortified his place by constructing a thick sod wall about six feet high around the buildings. He lived on the "Wisconsin" until 1868, when he located on another, about three miles southwest of the town of Evans, where he continued to reside until his death which occurred on February 11, 1899.

Elbridge Gerry had a ranche in the valley of the South Platte, sixty-seven miles northeast from Denver, which the Indians had planned to capture after they had disposed of Godfrey's. Some accounts say that Gerry was notified of the impending raid by two Cheyenne Indians, while others have it that his Indian wife discovered the plot and told him of it. At all events he succeeded in saving his life and movable property. Gerry, as the reader knows, was a pioneer in the Denver region before the city was founded, but was too late to rank with such frontiersmen as Kit Carson and Jim Baker. He was a native of Oswego county, New York, and claimed to be a near descendant of Elbridge Gerry, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was a trader among the Indians, and became a citizen of Denver in the early times. He has been dead many years.

A short time before the attack on the "Wisconsin" ranche, Godfrey was riding behind a coach bound for Denver with a few passengers. The coach was attacked by a band of Indians who cut in between it and him. He started at full speed for his ranche to get assistance for the relief of the imperilled coach, with a party of savages hot in pursuit of him. As he was able to load and fire while his horse went at a gallop, he tumbled two or three of his pursuers off their ponies and reached his home unhurt. He immediately set out with several ranchmen to rescue the coach people, but was too late. All had been massacred and mutilated, the coach rifled and overturned, and the horses were gone with the Indians, who left proof behind them that those shot by Godfrey had not been the only ones who suffered, for the occupants of the coach had fought to the death. It was believed that Godfrey's connection with this tragedy was the immediate cause of the subsequent attack upon his ranche.

Indian Raid on a Stage Station.

Simultaneous with the attack on the "Wisconsin," the "American Ranche," two miles to the east of Godfrey's, was invested by a band of Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Its inmates consisted of five men, one woman and a child. Eleven Indians were killed in the heroic defense before the place was taken. Then the men and child were butchered, scalped and otherwise mutilated, the buildings burned, and the woman carried off to a fate from Indian violence and torture worse than many deaths.

These two ranches became famed as the only places along the South Platte in Colorado where Indian assaults were made a disastrous defeat or a bloody victory during that winter. From the "Wisconsin Ranche," clear down below Fort Kearney, not a living man, woman or child of those connected with the stage stations or ranches was left, excepting the few who made miraculous escapes by flight. For a period of about six weeks the stages did not attempt to run through. So, it was time for quick action.

Colonel Moonlight's drastic methods had quickly brought about the desired result. Secretary Elbert had amended his call by making it for seven mounted companies, of which Arapahoe county was to furnish two, Clear Creek one, Gilpin two, Jefferson one, and one from the three counties of Boulder, Larimer and Weld. With the knowledge that a lack of volunteers would have to be made up in some other way, the little army was speedily and voluntarily enlisted for three months' service on the plains of Colorado, and the city and district relieved of martial law. Samuel E. Browne, then Attorney General of Colorado, was placed in command of this force with the rank of Colonel; and David H. Moffat was appointed Adjutant-General, to the duties of which position were added those of Quartermaster.

In the meantime General Grenville M. Dodge had been appointed to the command of the Kansas military department, of which Colorado Territory was a part, and assumed charge on February 11th. He had promptly ordered Colonel Moonlight to use all available troops here for protecting the line of communications eastward from Denver. With great energy Moffat had collected provisions and supplies, and arranged for their transportation as would be required by the movements of the new organization. By the latter part of February the several companies had been completed, organized and equipped, and on the 20th of that month marched away from Denver for their posts of duty. They were distributed along the stage route between Denver and Julesburg, which was the only route to the eastward which the conditions warranted an effort to keep open.

The companies remained on this duty during the period of their enlistment, effectively protecting that part of the line, and without having a single encounter with the Indians. Whether it was fear of Colorado men in consequence of the Sand creek affair that kept the savages away from the Denver-Julesburg route during that time, or because they were all engaged elsewhere, was not certainly known; but not a single Indian presented himself within view or gun-shot of acting Governor Elbert's militia during that campaign.

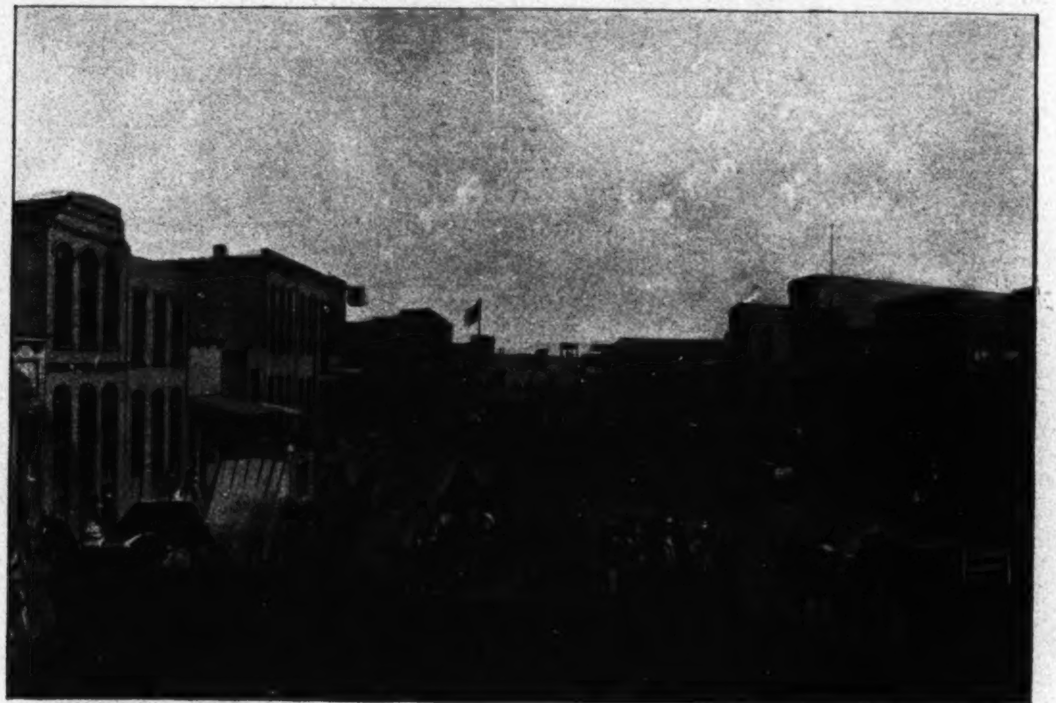
On April 27th these volunteer troops returned to Denver and were mustered out of service on April 30th. They were the last Colorado citizen-soldiers to engage in warfare with the Indians. Though they had no actual fighting, they constituted a fine fighting force, and would have given a good account of themselves had opportunity offered. The close of the war between the States enabled the government to station large forces of veterans along the frontier, but their presence did not intimidate the hostile tribes of desperate Indians who believed that their final struggle for existence confronted them.

Later in 1865 Colonel Moonlight had a somewhat ridiculous experience in Indian warfare. He had charge of a command of mounted troops in pursuit of a band of Indians far down the Platte, and was close upon them. One dark and favorable night while the Colonel and his men were in camp, the savages managed in some way to steal and run off every horse under his jurisdiction, leaving him and his men to foot it out of the enemy's country. Fortunately, the Indians were content with their brilliant achievement in horse-stealing, and did not attack the Colonel and his dismayed troopers.

Notwithstanding the dangers of the situation, emigration in large caravans set out to cross the plains in the spring of 1865. The route to Denver by way of the South Platte was lined with the mute but eloquent monuments of savage warfare. But new ranchmen occupied the devastated places, and new station men came upon the stage routes, rebuilding the destroyed station structures, and giving the ghastly remains of their dead predecessors decent burial. Federal troops, released by the collapse of the rebellion, were being hurried to frontier posts, but they could not be stationed everywhere, and in warfare with the plains Indians a hundred savages on their ponies could keep a couple of regiments of soldiers fruitlessly busy.

In May one of the coaches from Denver to Atchison was captured and the two passengers and driver killed. Usually at that time coaches that undertook to make a trip went with a full complement of passengers each of whom was heavily armed, aggregating an arsenal of rifles. Small bands of Indians became wary about attacking such coaches, and from costly experience called them "fire wagons." But only brave men were willing to become overland passengers that spring and summer, and it soon became necessary to accompany the coaches through the more perilous districts with mounted escort guards of soldiers.

Several trains of emigrants foolhardy enough to travel by the Smoky Hill route which passed through a section in full possession of the hostile Indians, were known to have been annihilated, and



View in Denver in 1865—Larimer street eastward from Fourteenth.
(One of Matthew's sketches.)

how many unknown instances of the same kind there were could only be conjectured. The entire Kansas frontier was swept by fire and death, for there were more than one thousand hostile Cheyennes and Sioux along the Republican Fork, divided into several raiding bands.

Up to the spring of 1865 the trouble had not extended west of the mountains, but with the advent of that season it broke out there, and it seemed that the whole western country was to be harried and devastated. The apparent dilatoriness of the government in providing protection for the white people and destruction for the red ones, was fiercely and bitterly criticised, notwithstanding that the government was doing all that it could, under the circumstances of the times, and against Indian methods of warfare.

When Schuyler Colfax, W. D. Bross, Samuel Bowles and Albert D. Richardson left Denver for Salt Lake City in June, the stage route from Denver to Utah had been practically closed for several weeks by the Indian hostilities. There were few white people on it except large companies of freighters who made fighting corrals of their wagons at night. Nevertheless, the Colfax party decided to make the trip, and a coach was provided for them. Of certain incidents connected with their dangerous undertaking, Richardson says:

"More than one Coloradoan, indignant at the failure of the authorities to guard settlements and roads, had remarked in our hearing: 'I wish the Indians might catch the Colfax party; for that would stimulate the government to protect us.' We were hardly public-spirited enough to echo the prayer. The Indians did not catch us."

So matters went through the summer and autumn of 1865, transportation continually harassed and the people of Denver disturbed, and made apprehensive for the safety of every one who undertook to come or go. In October a treaty of peace was made with the Cheyennes and southern Arapahoes, but when they came to a full understanding of its provisions, they repudiated it and took to the war-path again.

Through the winter of 1865-66 there was a lull in the storm, and through most of the last-named year comparative security for travel. All of the plains Indians were restive, some of them were marauding, but the majority appeared to be recuperating their energies and resources for another general attack. Almost to the close of 1866 the depredations, while persistent, were not so serious as they had been the previous year.

Then, on December 21st occurred the frightful massacre almost within gun-shot of Fort Phil. Kearney, up in Wyoming. A party of laborers protected by a detachment of troops had gone from the Fort to bring in wood and were attacked by a large force of Indians, the leaders of which were the Sioux chieftain, Red Cloud, and the big Cheyenne chief, Roman Nose. A company of troops numbering seventy-eight enlisted men, with several scouts, under the command of Colonel Fetterman and two other officers, put out to protect the wood train. They and the train-men were surrounded by the Indians and every man killed and scalped; but many Indians went down before the bloody work was finished. This was the most fearsome of all the tragedies of those times, and responsibility for it rested upon official incapacity or inability to comprehend the extent and purpose of the Indian uprising which was preparing or its later sweep from the mountains down the valley of the Platte nearly to the Missouri river, and in which it marked its broad trail with all the horrors of studied savagery, sparing neither age, sex nor condition it encountered on its way.

So, the spring of 1867 brought little improvement in the situation over that of 1865. The massacre at Fort Phil. Kearney indicated the implacable hostility of many of the Indians. The Ogalallas and Brules (Sioux) of the Platte, numbering about eight thousand all told, were now inclined to be friendly. The Cheyennes, some two thousand in number, the one thousand northern Arapahoes and as many of the southern ones, twelve hundred Lower Brules, thirteen hundred Blackfeet, eighteen hundred Uncopapas, and twenty-five hundred Ogalallas of the north, were still openly hostile. The twenty-two hundred Minneconjous, twenty-four hundred Yanktons, and sixteen hundred Sans Arcs were inclined to be hostile, but divided in their councils. The Two Kettles, Pawnees, Utes, and several smaller tribes were friendly. The Crows, about four thousand in number, were willing to become allies of the whites in order to have a better chance to fight their deadly enemies, the Sioux. A large band of them proposed to General Augur to join his forces against the Sioux on condition that the Yellowstone country from which the Sioux had long before driven them, be restored to them; exhibiting truly modern ideas with relation to the acquisition of territory.

Thus menaced by thousands of hostile savages, communications interrupted and no adequate means of protection within reach, the situation of the young city here at the base of the mountains was not reassuring. Peace treaties were in progress with some of the tribes, but there were still enough of them hostile to cause great trouble and loss of life. Red Cloud, the great Sioux leader, had refused to make peace, and he was a power among his people.

As spring advanced almost every incoming coach brought tales of attacks by Indians. In May the routes to the east were frequently raided, that down the Platte two or three times a week, employees killed, buildings burned, and stock captured. The line to Santa Fe had similar experiences, while the one to Salt Lake had again been blockaded to ordinary travel, by the murderous attacks. Every station on eighty miles of the line had been destroyed, the employees killed or driven off, and the stock taken. On May 6th a station midway between Denver and Julesburg was attacked, buildings burned and the horses stolen, though all the employees escaped. The Indians were in need of horses and the stage stations were the best places to get them. Farther east three stations were destroyed about the 10th of May, the employees killed and frightfully mutilated, the buildings burned and the horses taken away. From every direction, through that month, came accounts of similar depredations and massacres.

So the story runs on and on until its recital begins to sound like a repetition of narratives. Later in the year it became apparent that the conflict would be brought no nearer Denver, and apprehension for the safety of the city and its people lost much of its gravity in the increased activity in every channel of business affairs. The government had decided on more extensive military operations. Three expeditions were organized for a simultaneous and co-operative movement; one under General Hancock to proceed west across the plains south of the Platte river; another under General Augur, to move west north of the Platte; and the third, under General Terry, to the northwest by way of the Missouri river. But military movements against such foes in such a country were slow and beset by trouble at every step.

During these years of blood and fire about fifty men who were citizens of Denver, or had been and were well-known here, perished in the awful barbarities of Indian warfare. Fortunately, its horrors were kept out of the city, itself, but upon more than one occasion the people here saw the glare of buildings burning in the night that marked scenes of butchery.

The persistence of the Indians was inspired by something beyond the mere love of killing and plundering. In the spring of 1868 they still believed, in the face of the augmented military forces against them and regardless of the advancing railroads and the fast-increasing numbers of white people coming into the west, that by a determined, concerted effort they might drive the invaders from their country. Through the summer and autumn of that year the region between Denver and middle Kansas and Nebraska was repeatedly raided; coaches were captured and passengers and drivers killed, buildings burned, settlers massacred, and many women and children made captives. An aggregate of nearly two hundred white people were known to have been killed in western Kansas and Nebraska and eastern Colorado during that summer and autumn.

But the military operations went steadily, if slowly, on, with the grim relentlessness of fate.

Hostilities continued through 1868 and until the summer of 1869 when, after five years of almost continual warfare, the last of the hostile tribes were hunted down and forced to treat for peace.

During these years the Utes, as tribes, did not generally participate in the hostilities, though some bands of them were in the western depredations in 1865 and 1867. Kit Carson's last public service was rendered in connection with Ute affairs. In the winter of 1867-68 he, former Delegate Hiram P. Bennet, D. C. Oakes, and Lafayette Head escorted Ouray and several other Ute chieftains to Washington on a visit to the President. As related in an earlier chapter, Carson died a few weeks after his return. The adjacent illustration is a reduced copy of a photograph made in Washington in February, 1868, and which was the last taken of the famous frontiersman. Of this group of four of Colorado's conspicuous pioneers, Judge Bennet is the only survivor. Oakes, born at Carthage, Maine, April 3, 1825, successively removed with his parents to Ohio, Indiana and, in 1836, to Iowa. In 1849 he went to California and mined there a few years. Returning to Glenwood, Iowa, he remained there until 1858, when he came to the mouth of Cherry creek in October of that year. He was a prominent figure in our pioneer history, and in 1868 was Agent for one of the Ute tribes. He died in Denver March 9, 1887. Lafayette Head was a native of Howard county, Missouri, (April 19, 1825) and a soldier in the Mexican war. At the close of that conflict he located in Taos, later became identified with New Mexico politics, and served in the Legislature and in other public positions. In 1854 he organized, and as its leader established, a large colony of settlers in the Rio Grande valley in what is now our Conejos county, and where he made his home thereafter. From 1859 to 1868 he was agent for the Tabeguache Utes, and during our Territorial era was a man of much prominence in political and other affairs. He was a member of the Territorial Legislature for a term or two, and of the convention that framed our State constitution; and became the first Lieutenant Governor of the State of Colorado. He died in Denver March 8, 1897, while on a visit to the city.

D. C. Oakes. Lafayette Head.
Kit Carson. Hiram P. Bennet.

The military operations in 1868 included an expedition to the Kansas-Colorado border that resulted in an engagement with the savages that has no counterpart in all the annals of Indian warfare, nor is it surpassed by anything celebrated in song or story. The disparity of numbers between the assailants and the assailed, the desperate situation and heroic courage, and the physical fortitude and endurance, of the latter, entitle this conflict, which occurred in the northeastern corner of our Arapahoe county, to a place among the world's historic struggles in which small companies of men successfully resisted, and brilliantly triumphed over, enemies who outnumbered them many times.

In the summer of 1868 Captain (and then Brevet Colonel) George A. Forsyth, familiarly known as "Sandy," was serving on the staff of General Sheridan in the operations against the Indians. He asked to be relieved from that duty and placed in active service in the field. Therefore, General Sheridan complied with his request, and on August 24th, at Fort Harker, Kansas, instructed him to employ fifty first-class frontiersmen for special service as scouts against the hostile Indians along the Kansas-Colorado frontier; and designated Lieutenant Frederick H. Beecher, a nephew of the late Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, as the officer to be second in command.

Colonel Forsyth had no difficulty in obtaining the requisite number of men and in a few days had employed the full quota. When organized, his force consisted of himself, First Lieutenant Frederick H. Beecher, of the Third Regiment United States Infantry, Acting Assistant Surgeon J. H. Mooers of the Medical Department United States army, and the following-named fifty hardy, experienced frontiersmen:

Alderice, Thomas,
Armstrong, W.,
Bennett, Wallace,
Burke, Martin,
Chalmers, G. W.,
Clarke, G. B.,
Davenport, Henry,
Davis, T. K.,
Day, Bernard,
Donovan, John,
Dupont, Alfred,
Entler, A. J.,
Farley, Hudson,
Farley, Lewis,
Gantt, Richard,
Green, George,
Grover, Abner T.,
Haley, John,
Harrington, Frank,
Hurst, John,
Ketterer, J. H.,
Lane, Joseph,
Lane, M. R.,
Lyden, John,
McCall, W. H. H.,
McGrath, H. T.,

McLaughlin, Louis,
Mapes, M. R.,
Morphy, Thomas,
Morton, Howard,
Nichols, C. B.,
Oakes, George,
O'Donnell, Thomas,
Platt, C. C.,
Pliley, A. J.,
Ranahan, Thomas,
Reilley, William,
Schlesinger, S.,
Simpson, Edward,
Smith, Chalmers,
Stewart, William,
Stilwell, J. S.,
Thyer, Isaac,
Trudeau, Pierre,
Tucker, H. H.,
Violett, Fletcher,
Whitney, C. R.,
Wilson, John,
Wilson, William,
Ziegler, Eli.

Every one of these men proved himself to be of the kind General Sheridan directed Colonel Forsyth to employ—"first-class frontiersmen;" and their courage and daring were exhibited in one of the most extraordinary ordeals of which, as we have said, the annals of border warfare include any account. Thirty of them were enrolled at Fort Harker in two days, when Colonel Forsyth marched with them to Fort Hayes, sixty miles west, where he obtained the other twenty in two days more.

On August 29th, five days after he received General Sheridan's order, Colonel Forsyth's command, well armed, equipped and provisioned, with pack-mules carrying camp equipments, left Fort Hayes for its dangerous service on the plains. All of the men had served on one side or the other during the rebellion, and many of them had had long experience on the frontier prior to the war; so, they were not unused to being shot at and to shooting in return.

On the morning of his departure Forsyth had received a message from General Sheridan directing him to move across the headwaters of the Solomon river to Beaver creek, then to Fort Wallace, and to report from there to the General commanding. When Forsyth reached Beaver creek he discovered signs of a great sun-dance having recently been held there, but he arrived at Fort Wallace on September 5th, without having seen any Indians. At the fort he found a message from the Governor of Kansas urging him to go to the protection of some settlers in the Bison basin. As he was preparing to do this news came from the town of Sheridan, Kansas, thirteen miles east of Fort Wallace, and then the western terminus of the Kansas Pacific railway, that Indians had attacked a freighter's train near there and killed two men. Proceeding to Sheridan, Forsyth decided to follow the band, which appeared to have numbered some twenty or twenty-five warriors, and were believed to have been a detachment from a large body of hostile Indians.

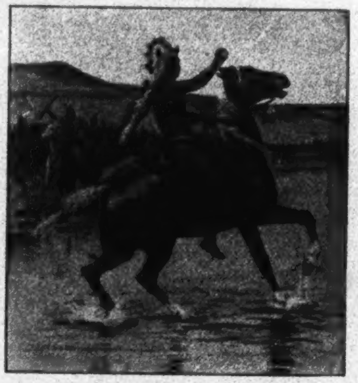
Forsyth proceeded northwest toward the Republican river, and on the fifth day came upon signs of Indian occupation. Later, a large trail was discovered and which crossed to the north side of the South Fork of the Republican, and within a few miles from the river it became still larger as various small trails from the north and south entered it. Finally, it developed into a broad, beaten road along which had been driven horses and cattle, and ponies dragging heavy loads of lodgepoles, the ends of which had worn ruts in the earth. These signs satisfied Forsyth that he was following a large body of Indians.

He kept on the trail until the afternoon of September 16th, when he came to a bend in a stream which Forsyth and his men thought was Delaware creek, but which was the Arickaree, or Middle Fork of the Republican, and the locality was near its junction with the North Fork, and in the northeastern part of Arapahoe county. Forsyth went into camp there in a little valley bounded by low hills or bluffs about forty feet high and which shut out the view of the plains on all sides.

At dawn next morning Indians were discovered on the bluffs, and in a few minutes they appeared by hundreds, galloping down upon the camp, yelling and screeching and using all their artifices to stampede Forsyth's stock. They got four pack-mules and two horses, but fell back when the scouts opened fire on them. Opposite the camp there was a small island in the Arickaree, some two hundred and fifty feet long, with a stream on each side about fifteen feet wide and six inches deep. To this island Forsyth and his men retreated, but before they could protect themselves in the sand the Indians were upon them in force. The fire of the scouts again drove them back, and in the brief interval the beleaguered men dug pits in the sand with their knives and tin plates. Just as Forsyth attempted to lie down in his he got a bullet in his right thigh, and a little later as he drew up his left leg another struck it below the knee and shattered the bones. Still later a third bullet struck him a glancing blow on the head knocking him senseless for several minutes and, as was afterward discovered, slightly fracturing the skull. Soon after Forsyth received his third wound, Surgeon Mooers was shot through the head. He lingered nearly three days before dying.

A furious fire was kept up by the Indians which was returned only when deadly shots could be made. Several of the scouts were struck—one killed and the others badly wounded, at the outset of the engagement; and many of their horses were shot down, their bodies being afterward used for protection. The deliberate, effective fire of Forsyth's men caused the Indians to draw back out of range within a half hour, thus giving the white men opportunity to strengthen their rude defenses. By this time the Indian leader had been recognized as Roman Nose, the gigantic Cheyenne chieftain; and Forsyth realized that his devoted men were contending against nearly one thousand Cheyennes, and Ogalalla and Brule Sioux.

It soon became apparent that the mounted Indians were preparing to charge the island in force, and the scouts prepared to receive them. The weapons of the dead and wounded were loaded and passed to those able to use them, and orders were given that firing should be by volley and only at the word of command from Forsyth as he lay disabled in his pit in the sand. Presently, on they came, led by Roman Nose, and supported by many of their dismounted and ambushed comrades who opened a deadly fire on the white men. Incredible as it may appear that handful of heroic men stopped and drove back in confusion that oncoming horde of yelling and howling savages. The first volley brought down an Indian for every gun, but did not check them; the second made them falter and the five succeeding ones stopped and turned them back pell-mell, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and wounded braves and horses. It was a most remarkable repulse, for only forty of the men on the island were able to handle a gun, and there were several hundred of the mounted Indians. Among the Indians' dead was their great and fearless chieftain, Roman Nose, who went down at the fifth volley from the island. Their medicine man, who also rode in front, was killed by the fourth volley.



The Defiance of Roman Nose.

Such an attack was a departure from the usual methods of Indian warfare, for their common practice was to fight individually; and with even large bodies of warriors, to avoid massing themselves. In the issue of Harper's Magazine for June, 1895, General Forsyth gave a full and most interesting account of this remarkable conflict, and from it we have derived information for much of the detail appearing here. Of this charge, and of the intrepid Indian leader, General Forsyth in his thrilling narrative says:

"We had not long to wait. A peal of the artillery bugle, and at a slow trot the mounted warriors came partially into view in an apparently solid mass at the foot of the valley, halting just by the mouth of the canon on the opposite side of the river from which we had emerged the preceding day. I had placed my back firmly against my little earthwork; my rifle lay across my chest, and my revolver on the sand beside me. I could not do much, wounded as I was, but I recognized the fact that even a chance shot or two might possibly do good service in the work that the savages were about to cut out for us. Closely watching the mounted warriors, I saw their chief facing his command, and by gestures, evidently addressing them in a few impassioned words. Then, waving his hand in our direction, he turned his horse's head toward us, and at the word of command they broke at once into full gallop, leading straight for the foot of the island. I was right in my surmise; we were to be annihilated by being shot down as they rode over us. As Roman Nose dashed gallantly forward, and swept into the open at the head of his superb command he was the very beau ideal of an Indian chief. Mounted on a large, clean-limbed chestnut horse he sat well forward on his bare-backed charger, his knees passing under a horse-hair lariat that twice loosely encircled the animal's body, his horse's bridle grasped in his left hand, which was also closely wound in its flowing mane, and at the same time clutched his rifle at the guard, the butt of which lay partially upon and across the animal's neck, while its barrel, crossing diagonally in front of his body, rested slightly against the hollow of his left arm, leaving his right free to direct the course of his men. He was a man over six feet and three inches in height, beautifully formed, and save for a crimson silk sash knotted around his waist, and his moccasins on his feet, perfectly naked. His face was hideously painted in alternate lines of red and black, and his head crowned with a magnificent war bonnet, from which, just above his temples and curving slightly forward, stood up two short black buffalo horns, while its ample length of eagles' feathers and herons' plumes trailed wildly on the wind behind him; and as he came swiftly on at the head of his charging warriors, in all his barbaric strength and grandeur, he proudly rode that day the most perfect type of a savage warrior it has been my lot to see. Turning his face for an instant toward the women and children of the united tribes, who literally by thousands were watching the fight from the crest of the low bluffs back from the river's bank, he raised his right arm and waved his hand with a royal gesture in answer to their wild cries of rage and encouragement as he and his men swept down upon us; and again, facing squarely toward where we lay, he drew his body to its full height and shook his clenched fist defiantly at us; then, throwing back his head and glancing skyward, he suddenly struck the palm of his hand across his mouth and gave tongue to a war-cry that I have never heard equalled in power and intensity. Scarcely had its echoes reached the river's bank when it was caught up by each and every one of the charging warriors with an energy that baffles description, and answered back with blood-curdling yells of exultation and prospective vengeance by the women and children on the river's bluffs, and by the Indians who lay in ambush around us. On they came at a swinging gallop, rending the air with their wild warwhoops, each individual warrior in all his bravery of warpaint and long braided scalp lock tipped with eagles' feathers, and all stark naked but for their cartridge belts and moccasins, keeping in line almost perfectly, with a front of about sixty men, all

> riding bare-back, with only a loose lariat about their horses' bodies, about a yard apart, and with a depth of six or seven ranks, forming together a compact body of massive fighting strength and of almost resistless weight. "Boldly they rode and well," with their horses' bridles in their left hands, while with their right they grasped their rifles at the guard and held them squarely in front of themselves, resting lightly upon their horses' necks."
>
> Riding about five paces in front of the center of the line, and twirling his heavy Springfield rifle around his head as if it were a wisp of straw (probably one of those he had captured at the Fort Fetterman [Fort Phil. Kearney] massacre), Roman Nose recklessly led the charge with a bravery that could only be equalled but not excelled, while their medicine man, an equally brave but older chief, rode slightly in advance of the left of the charging column. To say that I was surprised at this splendid exhibition of pluck and discipline is to put it mildly, and to say, further, that for an instant or two I was fairly lost in admiration of the glorious charge, is simply to state the truth, for it was far and away beyond anything I had heard of, read about, or even imagined regarding Indian warfare."

The island heroes suffered severely in the onslaught, chiefly from the ambushed Indians supporting the charge. Including those hit earlier in the day, the casualty list was as follows: dead or dying, Lieutenant Beecher, Surgeon Mooers and scouts Chalmers, Smith and Wilson; mortally wounded, scout Lewis Farley; severely wounded, scouts Day, O'Donnell, Davis, Tucker, Gantt, Clark, Armstrong, Morton, and Violett; slightly wounded, scouts Harrington, Davenport, Haley, McLaughlin, Hudson Farley, McCall, and two others; and Colonel Forsyth had a bullet in his right thigh, his left leg badly broken below the knee, and a severe wound on his head. The condition of the wounded was rendered more desperate by their being deprived of the services of their dying Surgeon. General Forsyth included scout Bernard Day among the mortally wounded, but Day recovered and in later years became a citizen and County Commissioner of Grand county, Colorado. He was one of the four county officers of that county assassinated at Grand Lake on July 4, 1893; the culminating tragedy of a feud growing out of the administration of Grand County's affairs in which Day had borne the part of an honest, straight-forward man. Of the death of Lieutenant Beecher, General Forsyth says:

> Lieutenant Beecher rose from his rifle pit, and, leaning on his rifle, half staggered, half dragged himself to where I lay, and calmly lying down by my side, with his face turned downward on his arm, said quietly and simply: "I have my death wound, general, I am shot in the side and dying."
>
> "Oh, no Beecher—no! It can't be as bad as that!"
>
> "Yes. Good night." And then he immediately sank into half unconsciousness. In a few moments I heard him murmur "My poor mother," and then he soon grew slightly delirious and at times I could hear him talking in a semi-unconscious manner about the fight; but he was never again fully conscious, and at sunset his life went out. And thus perished one of the best and bravest officers in the United States army."

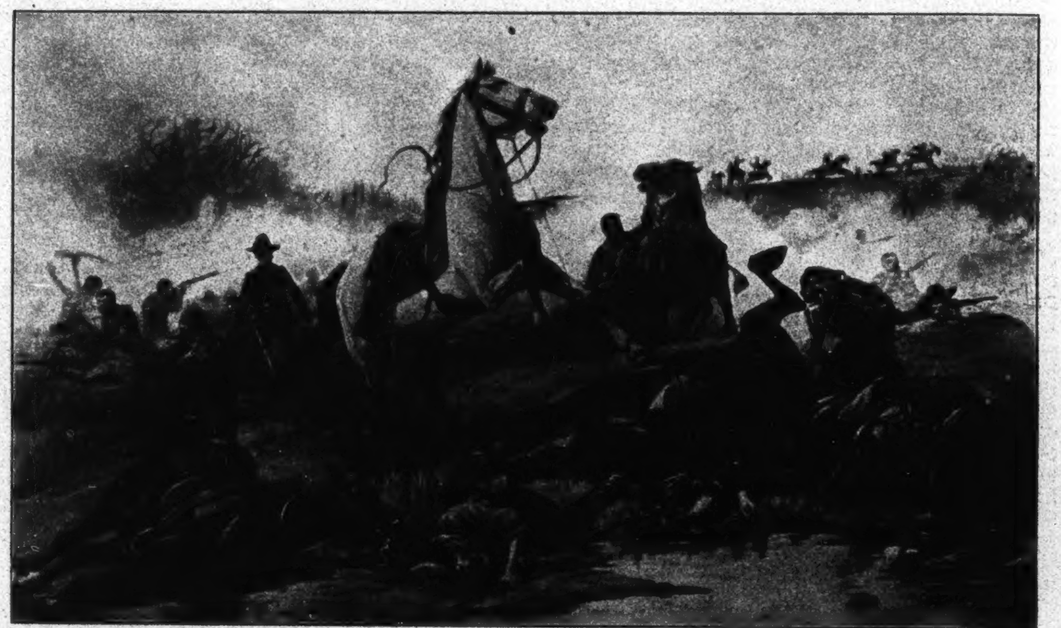
The Indians were astounded and distracted by their bloody and unaccountable repulse and the death of their leader. We quote again from General Forsyth:

> "In the meantime the valley was resonant with the shrieks of the women and children, who, from their coign of vantage on the hills, had safely but eagerly watched the result of Roman Nose's desperate charge; and now as their fathers, sons, brothers and lovers lay dead on the sands before them, their wild wails of passionate grief and agony fitfully rose and fell on the air in a prolonged and mournful cadence of rage and despair. And as for a short time many of the Indians rode circling around yelling and waving their arms over their heads, hither and yon, apparently half dazed at the death of the medicine man and their great war chief, as well as at the disastrous failure of their charge, the whole scene, combined with the steady crack of the rifles of the Indians in ambush, the reply of the scouts, the smoke of the powder and the view of the dead warriors and horses lying on the sand before us, seemed for a moment or two almost uncanny and weird in the extreme.

In the middle of the afternoon the Indians attempted another charge, but in open order. A volley from the island sent them back, leaving several dead and wounded behind them. Between five and six o'clock they tried it again, and were again repulsed by the scouts with a similar loss. That ended the fighting for that day. To resist these assaults there were only twenty-eight fairly sound men, almost exhausted by hunger and the long day's constant fighting in the blazing sun on a hot sand-bar. Their supplies had run low before the attack, but they now concluded that the carcasses of the dead horses would furnish food enough for a few days if some of the meat, by burial, could be kept from putrefying, and Forsyth believed he could get a man through to Fort Wallace in the meantime for relief. Early that night wells were dug in the sand for water, the wounded were made as comfortable as possible and the defenses strengthened as well as could be, against the dangers of the morrow.

Jack Stilwell and Pierre Trudeau volunteered to attempt the trip to Fort Wallace for relief, and set out that night, exhausted as they were from the day's awful work. They succeeded in eluding the besiegers and in reaching the fort as nearly worn out as human beings could be and live.

On the second day the Indians attempted a surprise but were discovered and driven off with more losses. This was their last effort by assault, and they settled down to starve out the men on the island. The condition of the men was a desperate



The Battle at Beecher's Island.

one, especially that of the wounded. When refuge was taken on the island, the medical supplies were lost in the haste of the movement, so the wounded were without the relief they would have given. On the second night two more men attempted to get through the Indian lines but being discovered by the savages, returned. On the third day there was some firing by both sides, but no injuries were received by the scouts.

About noon of the third day there were indications that the Indians were withdrawing, and in the evening two more men started on an errand similar to that of Trudeau and Stilwell, lest those men might have been prevented from reaching Fort Wallace, and succeeded in getting away. The fourth day was very hot and all the men suffered extremely, some of the wounded becoming delirious. Flesh which had been cut from the dead horses and buried to longer preserve it, became putrid, and the stench from the dead animals lying around was almost unbearable. On that day Colonel Forsyth, with a razor, cut out the bullet that had lodged in his right thigh during the first day's fight. A few Indians were in sight, and every time one of the men exposed himself they fired on him; but it was apparent that the larger part of the savage host had departed, leaving warriors enough behind to dispose of the suffering and starving white men when they could no longer maintain their deadly resistance.

But there were no more casualties on the island. The fifth and sixth days of the siege were passed much the same as the fourth. The seventh and eighth were quieter, and the Indians appeared to have withdrawn, or were quietly holding themselves ready for instant departure. It afterward transpired that the latter was the case, for their scouts had apprised them of the coming of relief for the white men, from Fort Wallace. On the morning of the ninth day the Indians made an attempt to attack the island, but suddenly withdrew and disappeared. A few hours later a troop of the Tenth Cavalry reached the beleaguered men, and succored them. The dead had been buried on the island; where all but one now sleep. The wounded, excepting Lewis Farley, recovered under careful attention, notwithstanding the fearful condition to which they were reduced before relief reached them.

At the time this thrilling and extraordinary affair occurred, that part of Colorado was wholly unsettled, and as the years went on memory of the desperate encounter and unequalled defense grew faint among those who later located in that part of the State, and had heard of Forsyth's siege as having taken place somewhere in that section. On September 17, 1898, three survivors of the battle visited the unnamed and little-known island, which is twenty-two miles south of the town of Wray, and placed a small stone monument on it, bearing the date of the encounter and a brief inscription reciting some of the circumstances. This awakened public interest, and since that time the Colorado Department of the Grand Army of the Republic has taken charge of Beecher Island—as it is now called in memory of the young officer who died and was buried there—marked the graves of the dead, and made proper provisions for preserving and commemorating the historic spot, which was the scene of an unexampled exhibition of the courage, endurance and valor of the Anglo-Saxon man.

In September, 1900, the remains of Lieutenant Beecher, by request of some of his relatives in the east, were exhumed and sent there for re-interment. They had become reduced to the larger bones.

Forsyth fully recovered from his dangerous wounds, became a General in the army, and is still living. Several years afterward, he fell in with a young Brule chief who had been in the fight, and who through an interpreter told the General there were nine hundred and seventy warriors engaged, of whom seventy-five were killed and many more than that number wounded. He asked Forsyth whether he had had enough of the fight before it ended, and the General frankly admitted that he had had quite enough. The chief was then asked how it had been with himself. He answered by silently opening the front of his buckskin shirt, revealing the scar on his breast made by a bullet that had passed through his body.

The hideous cruelty of the Indians of the west when at war has not been equalled by the practices of any other race of people on the earth, so far as history has recorded; and every form of it was visited upon their victims during those five years of turmoil.

In an official report made November 1, 1868, General Sherman related the circumstantial details of many of these atrocities and revolting deeds of the Indians, and in evident desire to confirm their almost unbelievable character, said: "I recite these facts with some precision, because they are proved beyond dispute." The reports of other officers also recount the details of many a sickening tragedy; while Sheridan's "Memoirs," and Custer's "Life on the Plains" throw much additional light on the frightful scenes presented in those memorable years of blood and fire over the region between Denver and the Missouri river border.

With the beginning of these prolonged troubles with the Indians there came a conviction in the minds of many white people all over the west, in Denver as well as in other places, that the only alternative was exterminating warfare; that peace could not and would not come until the last Indian tribe had been annihilated; and that the sooner all the Indians were killed off the better for everybody. The reservation system was then in its infancy, and had not been applied to the fierce, far-roving tribes of the great plains; the white people here believed that it never could be successfully applied to them. Therefore, in their judgment, the only practical remedy for the intolerable conditions was extermination; and this theory, as it was put into practice at Sand creek, had inflamed the tribes and goaded them to add dire revenge to their first great purpose to drive all the whites out of the central region of the west.

This common view of the "Indian question" among the white people of the far west at that time, was fairly reflected by Hollister, who, writing of these matters, in 1867, said:

> "Grant beat the rebellion with hard knocks, and perhaps gave man for man; having more men, he was able to wear it out. It is not a bad illustration of our conflict with the savages. Both were inevitable, and both must end in the same way. The government and the rebellion were incompatible on the same ground; so are our people and the Indians. That was a life and death struggle, ended by the death of the rebellion; this is a life and death struggle, to be ended by the death of the savage—and the sooner it can be finished the better."

While the great rebellion was in progress the Indians had grown confident in their own strength, and sanguine over the opportunity they believed it afforded them to disperse the white people and repossess the country for themselves. When the war closed and the western frontier was reoccupied by government troops, they were greatly exasperated; and the ensuing construction of railways directly through their hunting grounds drove them almost to frenzy.

The expense to the United States government entailed by these Indian campaigns was enormous, the great item having been the cost of transportation which had to be managed by slow and unwieldy wagon trains. All the provisions, supplies, equipage, and impedimenta for the troops had to be thus transported. Then, the difficulty of coming up with the Indians added to the troubles of the soldiers. The Indians were familiar with every part of the country, quick in their movements and traveled long distances by night. They were here to-day and a hundred miles away to-morrow, therefore they were hard to follow and harder to catch by troops encumbered by all the belongings of civilized warfare. The Indians had plenty of good field-glasses bought from the traders, and from distant concealment watched every movement of their enemies. Using pocket-mirrors as heliographs the spies and scouts would signal their tribes over long distances, conveying information of the movements of the soldiers, and directing counter-movements on the part of the warrior bands. Therefore, the old statement that every Indian killed by an United States soldier during these military operations on the plains in those years, cost the government one hundred and fifteen thousands dollars, does not seem incredible, for the army soldiers succeeded in killing comparatively few Indians. The citizen-soldiers, settlers and plainsmen did most of that work. Hollister, in recording his opinion of the Indian in peace and war, said:

"Of the game and wild beasts native to the Valley [the plains] the Indian is the most prominent, useless, pernicious, and costly to hunt."

Still, there were two sides to the story, and the Indian was not alone in asserting that he had suffered many wrongs. Army officers and honest Indian Agents did not hesitate to support him in his claims that he was systematically cheated, swindled, and otherwise imposed on by white men connected with the management of Indian Affairs by the Interior Department in those days. It is an old and well-worn story which need not be far followed here. The Interior Department did the managing, or mismanaging, and then the War Department had to turn out and do the campaigning. But the exasperated western people in those later times did not think well of the regular army soldiers as Indian fighters; they acted mechanically, were seemingly indifferent, and had no personal wrongs to avenge. The fierce methods of Chivington were in much higher favor with many of the people all along the frontier. Jim Baker declared that the Sand creek affair did more to command the fear and respect of the Indians of this region than all their other experiences put together; and others insisted that the government should continue a war of extermination of which that ghastly event was held to be a praiseworthy example.

In several instances costly conflicts that might have beeen avoided were precipitated with the Indians because of unimportant depredations by predatory bands. What was known as the "Harney Indian war" in Utah was one of these, and the cause for it was out of all proportion to the consequences it entailed. A party of Indians stole a cow from a Mormon emigrant who reported his loss to the commandant of the nearest military post. A small detail of soldiers was sent out to recover the cow. The Indian leader declared that he could not return the beast because she had been killed and eaten; that he could not surrender the guilty Indians because he did not know which members of his band had actually stolen her; but that he was willing to pay for the cow in horses. The rash officer in command of the detachment of troops demanded the restoration of the killed and eaten cow within fifteen minutes. Of course, this could not be complied with, and the soldiers opened fire on the Indians, killing the chief and several others. The enraged survivors then fell upon the soldiers and killed and scalped every man. This affair brought on the Harney campaign against the Indians which cost many lives and a million dollars in money--all over the loss of a cow probably not worth more than fifteen dollars.

The five years of warfare were most disastrous to the two tribes occupying this part of the country when the beginnings of Denver were made—the southern Arapahoes and Cheyennes. As we have stated, they surrendered their claims to their lands in this vicinity by the treaty made with them in 1860—an act which they immediately and sorely regretted. Afer that they beat about from pillar to post until hostilities began in 1864, when their Sand creek affliction befell them. A peace treaty of October, 1865, shut them out of the western part of the State of Kansas, contrary, as they claimed, to their understanding of the bargain. As they could not remain in the Territory of Colorado, and seemed to have no abiding place, and no rights left but one to resume fighting, they whooped out on the war-path again, and kept on it until, in the summer of 1867, General Hancock attacked and destroyed a village of three hundred lodges of the Cheyenne contingent, and drove both tribes into making the Medicine Lodge creek treaty of October, 1867. By the terms of this one they were definitely and specifically forbidden all their old hunting range between the South Platte and Arkansas rivers, and limited to a section of country in the Indian Territory. Again they rebelled and took to the open country. Many of them were soon driven to their new domain, but our old acquaintance, Black Kettle—who had managed to live through his many conflicts—with a considerable number of Cheyennes and Arapahoes, evaded his pursuers for a year. Then he was found by General Custer in the Antelope Hills on the Wichita river, and his band nearly exterminated in the battle that followed. The Indians fought like demons, the squaws as bravely and fiercely as the warriors, all of them preferring to die where they were, rather than go alive to the reservation set apart for them. Custer's negative victory was a costly one and his troops went down by scores. One company that had been sent around to take the Indians in the rear were suddenly confronted by a large body of Arapahoes, and every soldier in it was slain. After the battle was over they were found lying there in heaps, but the Indian survivors of the fray were not to be found. All of them had succeeded in making their escape, and Custer was in no condition to follow them. It was not until the spring of 1874 that General Miles succeeded in compelling the defiant remnants of those bands of Indians to surrender and go to their reservation; and he had a great deal of trouble in doing it.

After peace was made all around, an old Cheyenne was observed with a frightfully scarred face and one eye gone. Upon inquiry it was learned that he had been one of a band which captured a wagon carrying some fireworks, among which were some explosive pieces which he supposed to be intended for smoking, cigar fashion. Putting one in his mouth and lighting it, the thing exploded and wrecked his face, which had already been sufficiently hideous.

One of the conspicuously able and unrelenting of the Indian chieftains during that long period of devastation, was Red Cloud, the Sioux leader whose name will always be associated with our annals of Indian warfare. He was a man of much intelligence, and of both military and civil ability. He was the last of the chieftains to make peace. Spotted Tail, a noted Ogalalla chief, went fiercely on the war-path in the beginning, but after a couple of years of the trouble saw the folly of it, made peace and afterward remained friendly, or pretended to do so. Several years later Spotted Tail was shot and killed on the Sioux reservation in South Dakota, by Crow Dog, of the tribe of hereditary Sioux enemies, in a personal affray.

The power of the plains Indians was broken forever by the military operations of the later "Sixties," and all hope on their part of further confederated action was lost. The tribes were compelled to accept the reservation system, and these campaigns practically ended savage warfare throughout the central west. The outbreak of some of the Sioux tribes, and the northern Cheyennes, eight years later, which involved the destruction of General Custer and his command, on the Little Big Horn river in Montana, was the last effort of an overpowered people, but it did not extend to other tribes, and was speedily suppressed. The trouble with the Utes in Colorado in 1879, some account of which we will give in a later chapter, was, though serious, only local in its extent and consequences.

CHAPTER XLII.

DENVER CONDITIONS IN 1865—FIRST GRASSHOPPER INVASION—HIGH PRICES—DENVER ARCHITECTURE—LIMITS OF BUILT-UP AREA—ANTI-GAMBLING CRUSADE IN WINTER OF 1865-66—WORK OF MONTANA VIGILANTES IN AND AROUND DENVER—POPULATION IN 1866—EXTENT OF THE CITY IN 1867—WILD TALES OF SLAUGHTER—GENERAL CONDITIONS AT CLOSE OF 1867—ADVANCED PRICE OF LABOR—DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE—RAILWAY PROSPECTS—ANOTHER "INDIAN SCARE"—TERRITORIAL CAPITAL REMOVED TO DENVER—"CITY LOT QUESTION" ARISES—LAST APPEARANCE OF HOSTILE INDIANS NEAR DENVER—ENCOURAGING CONDITIONS AT CLOSE OF 1868.

The winter of 1864-65 was one of many hardships in Denver. It was an unusually cold one, and the Indians for several months had, as we have seen, been giving much trouble, raiding the routes of travel, with the result that communications were interrupted and made extremely hazardous. Indian aggressions had increased as that winter drew near and many wagon trains bound for Denver were captured and destroyed. Others were deterred from starting out, and in consequence of this blockade the necessaries of life rapidly advanced in price and became scarce. A large portion of everything used in Denver still had to be transported across the plains in wagons. The supply of salt ran low, and the price of that humble necessity rose to one hundred dollars per barrel.

Food prices continued high through 1865. Early in the summer of that year flour sold at from fifteen to twenty dollars for a hundred pounds; beef cost forty to forty-five cents per pound, and hams from forty-five to fifty cents; potatoes brought from twelve to fifteen dollars a bushel, and other vegetables proportionately high prices. In sympathy with this advanced cost of living, wages rose to lofty heights. Common labor was paid from four to five dollars a day, and mechanics received from seven to eight dollars; yet neither class could have as much clear money left at the end of the month as workingmen may now save from the present lower scales of wages, and have a much better time while they are doing it.

Difficult and often interrupted communications over the plains were not altogether the cause of the high prices of that year. The first grasshopper invasion since the settlement of the country came then, and nearly ruined those engaged in agriculture. The insects were in clouds and shoals, and cleaned the ground of vegetation. Growing crops in fields and gardens were eaten by the insects instead of by the people for whom they were intended, depriving the local markets of large and important food supplies. The visitation had a depressing effect, for it was a new disastrous experience in a new country, and no one knew but that it might become one of frequent occurrence. So, between the forebodings and what had actually happened, the cry of "hard times" was heard.

Travel to and from Denver became an expensive undertaking, to say nothing of the danger of encountering Indians on the war-path. The stagecoach fare between Denver and the Missouri river rose to $175, and the price of meals along the way advanced to two dollars while the quality and quantity retrograded. From the Missouri river to Salt Lake City the fare was $350; and to San Francisco $500. Along the routes of travel across the plains the price of hay ranged from seventy-five to one hundred dollars a ton; fire-wood seventy-five dollars a cord; corn from eight to ten dollars a bushel; and in Denver the latter did not often that year get below the higher figure, as all that was in the country had to be brought by wagons from eastern Kansas and Nebraska.

In 1865 the author of "Beyond the Mississippi" again visited Denver. He came in company with Schuyler Colfax, then Speaker of the United States House of Representatives; William Bross, of the Chicago Tribune and then Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois; and Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Republican. The party came by stage from Atchison, Kansas, leaving that place on May 22nd, and making the journey without unusual mishap or adventure. We quote the following from Mr. Richardson's entertaining book:

"In four days and a half from Atchison we reached Denver. Scourged by war and fire and blood, the city has grown up through great tribulation. Repeatedly, Indians have cut off communication with the States for months at a time. * * * * * "

"In some departments of business high prices still prevailed. Six or seven daily newspapers were published. Subscription price of the dailies: twenty-five dollars per annum, or seventy-five cents per week by carrier; weeklies, eight dollars per annum. Single copies, twenty-five cents. Advertisements, two dollars per square of ten lines, for each insertion."

"At my last visit, five years before, Civilization had barely extended to these wilds the tips of her gracious fingers. Now, Denver boasted a population of five thousand, and many imposing buildings. The hotel bills-of-fare did not differ materially from those in New York or Chicago. Single building lots had commanded twelve thousand dollars. One firm had sold half a million dollars worth of goods in eight months.

"With fresh memories of the log-cabins, plank tables, tin cups and plates, and fatal whiskey of 1859, I did not readily recover from my surprise on seeing libraries and pictures, rich carpets and pianos, silver and wine—on meeting families with the habits, dress and surroundings of the older States. Keenly we enjoyed the pleasant hospitalities of society among the quickened intelligences and warmed hearts of the frontier. Western emigration makes men larger and riper, more liberal and more fraternal."

By way of illustrating the off-hand manners in the west in that period, this author relates the following incidents:

"As we reached one station our driver enjoined the waiting hostlers:

'Gents, we are four hours behind time and want to make up the time. We must change these teams in three minutes by the watch'

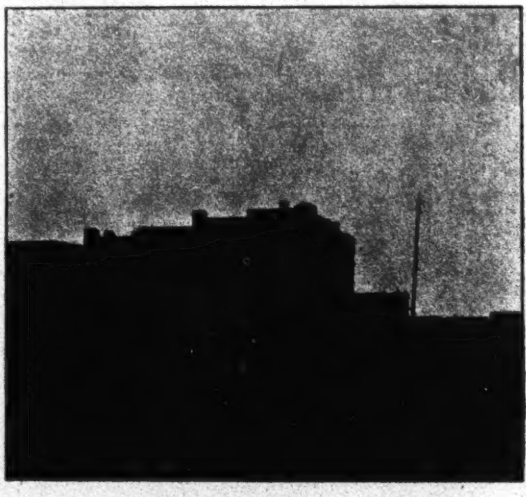
"At the last telegraph office before the end of our journey, the operator said to Mr. Colfax and his party:

'The Denver people are making preparations to give you fellows a grand reception'"

At this period in her career Denver was still far from being a handsomely built young city, notwithstanding the "imposing" buildings mentioned by Richardson. The rawness and uncouthness of frontier architecture were yet with her, though many of the more flagrant aspects had disappeared. The United States "Mint," the new Methodist church at the corner of Lawrence and Fourteenth streets, the new building at the corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets in which the First National Bank was located, and the seminary for young women at Arapahoe and Fourteenth streets, were regarded as the architectural ornaments of the city—the structures that were pointed to with pride. There were no three-story buildings, but a large number of the new ones were of brick. An important consequence of the fire of 1863 was the prohibition of new frame buildings in the business district. That fire brought the community to a realization of the danger such structures entailed in a locality subject to high winds and in a city with inadequate means of extinguishing a conflagration. The municipal policy then inaugurated establishing safeguards against fire has been since amplified to such an extent that the city has enjoyed a remarkable freedom from serious losses by that element.

The improvement in Denver architecture was in a considerable degree due to that original inhibition of wooden structures. However, scores of the old ones still survived, and had steadily grown uglier as they advanced in years. On the Auraria side they were in proportionately greater numbers, as there had been no sweeping fire over there.

Apprehension caused by the Indians, the depressed condition of mining, and the trouble entailed by grasshoppers, in 1865, prevented much advancement in Denver in that year and made it rather a period of preparation; though there was some progress. The effect of the civil war's termination had hardly begun to manifest itself by the western emigration that became so heavy soon afterward. Beyond the replacement of structures burned in 1863 or destroyed by the flood of 1864, many buildings better than any preceding ones had been erected by the close of 1865. But the building operations up to that time had not extended the city limits to any considerable distance. Its area was still small. On the Auraria side little new work had been done toward making that division larger in built-up territory; the Highland section had grown some, but it was still of relative unimportance; the east side had done better, but outside the area bounded by the two streams, and Champa and Twentieth streets, the prairie dogs were little disturbed. In the summer of 1865 Caleb B. Clements built a small brick house—the third structure east of Broadway—on the block now occupied by St. John's Cathedral, and which is still standing in the rear of that church. Later in that year Elias Gilbert put up a frame house near the inter-



North side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth in the later Sixties. (Photographed on Sunday.)

section of Twenty-first and Welton streets, which was the outpost in that direction.

Long before this, Denver had passed through the worst of its ordeal in dealing with the lawless, and had come out of the crucible of sad and violent experience, partly purified. It had gone by the days in which cut-throats, thieves and gamblers attempted to control the community through outrage and intimidation, and had held high carnival in their work of robbery and death.

But the cleansing was yet unfinished; there were still many offenses against reasonable public sentiment, and the worst of these was the flagrant conduct of the remaining horde of gamblers. These men, as a rule, were not murderers; not thieves in the common definition of the term; and had escaped the conclusive attentions of the People's Courts. But they were numerous, influential and brazen in 1865. Possessing much ready money backed by willingness to spend it freely in sustaining themselves and their sinister occupation, they had managed to exert political control of the municipality, and in a measure to dictate the choice of municipal officers. So powerful were they at one time that they induced or persuaded the Territorial Legislature to enact a law legalizing gambling.

These men were pursuing their shameless vocation in the open day, and in the most conspicuous locations. They had their dens in some of the best buildings in the best business quarters of the city, and were receiving the negative support of a certain class of citizens who held themselves above direct association with such men, but who indirectly profited by their operations. Step by step these offenses grew in magnitude, until they were conducted in full view of all the passing throng, just the same as the pursuits of merchants and other business men; and there was presented the extraordinary spectacle of bands of music playing in front of the open doors to attract the wayfarers' attention, and to lure them to bankruptcy amid the exciting scenes of plundering that were shading and shifting within. Men were stationed on the sidewalks to personally solicit and urge seemingly reluctant passers-by to enter and take part in the gaming, of which there was no pretense of concealment; on the other hand, all possible, flagrant publicity was given it. In other and more pretentious places elaborate luncheons were spread, wines freely served, cigars supplied, theoretically free to all comers, but paid for by the fleeced victims to whom they served as lures.

Influenced by and participating in the strong public sentiment that had arisen against gaming, the Legislature of 1866 struck at the great and shameless evil. It enacted a law prohibiting every form of gambling, no matter by what means, in the Territory of Colorado; and specifically forbade all municipalities sanctioning gambling by ordinance or license, or showing it any leniency. This legislation, unlike some of previous devising, greatly astonished the gamesters, but strengthened the determination of a large majority of the people that gambling should be suppressed. Public sentiment, patient and long-enduring as it had been, had also been stimulated by the steadily, quietly growing morality of the city, despite these excrescences, had crystallized into a grim and ominous resolution that the outrageous conduct would be ended, and a "Committee of Safety" had been organized. If the new law proved incapable to deal with the evil, there were ways and means, concerning the effectiveness of which there was no difference of opinion; the same by which the community had several years before been rid of characters more dangerous to society than the reckless gamblers. In some way a premonition seemed to float through the air that if the law were defied, tree-limbs and ropes were destined to figure in subsequent proceedings as they had in the pioneer purification of Denver.

The swarm of human parasites was quickly conscious of these mysterious atmospheric forebodings; and was not long in understanding them to be the distant faint mutterings of a coming storm that would sweep them off their feet and leave them suspended between heaven and earth, if it should break upon them in its fury. A shiver ran through Denver gamblerdom, for it knew full well the possibilities, if not probabilities, that were impending. There was haste in removing the more flagrant aspects of the occupation; there was a drawing-in of obtrusive bravado; and there were more gracious manners and much conciliatory talk. But these were not enough. The aroused sentiment drove the gamblers out of the public places and into a retirement which, if it did not mean extinction of their business, did mean their permanent withdrawal from public view.

In the winter of 1865-66 some more grim examples of vigilance committee methods occurred here, though they were not the work of Denver men nor were their provocations of Denver origin. For several years prior to that time the Montana mining country had been infested by even worse desperadoes and robbers than had afflicted Denver in 1860. Late in December, 1863, a Vigilance Committee was organized at Helena, and by February 3, 1864, had hanged thirty-one men, including the local Sheriff, Henry Plummer, who was the chief of a large organization of road agents, murderers and horse-thieves; and among those later executed was an Idaho former Sheriff. Through 1864 and 1865 the work of extermination went on, the desperadoes being hunted down far and near like wild beasts, or driven from the country; and altogether, it has been stated, about 140 men were summarily executed. Notwithstanding the vengeance that was being wreaked upon their kind in that country, some of the road agents continued at their work in the meanwhile.

On July 13, 1865, occurred the Portneuf canon massacre of the passengers in a stage-coach running between Helena and Salt Lake City. The driver, one Frank Williams, in collusion with the bandits, drove his stage into an ambush where all his passengers, among them having been several prominent men, were slaughtered; Williams alone being unhurt. The road agents obtained about $60,000 in gold-dust.

The escape of Williams caused him to be suspected, but he later managed to dispel suspicion, and continued driving a stage, his reputation having previously been good. Late in the year he asked and obtained leave of absence from the stage company, for December, for the purpose of visiting Salt Lake City. At that place he soon began prodigally spending gold-dust. News of this was sent to Helena, and a small party of Vigilantes at once set out to capture him. Becoming uneasy in consequence of having been asked where he got the gold-dust, Williams had slipped away from Salt Lake and come to Denver. The Vigilantes followed him here. Williams was at the old Planters' House when they came to that hotel, saw and recognized them, and at once left the house by the rear way. He boarded the first east-bound stage-coach next morning, but about noon the Montana men learned that Williams had thus fled. They followed on fleet horses and overtook the coach at Godfrey's ranche down the Platte, captured the man, returned with him to Denver and put him in the old jail on Larimer street near Fourteenth. They then informed members of the Denver "Committee of Safety" of the reasons they had for suspecting Williams of complicity in the Portneuf massacre. The prisoner was given a trial which was not concluded until the third day, when Williams broke down, confessed his guilt, and gave the names of all directly and indirectly connected with the dreadful affair. The Court by which he was tried met in the second story of Nye's store on Fifteenth street. He was turned over to the Montana men who put him in a carriage at night, drove a short distance up Cherry creek and hanged him to a cottonwood tree. In the Rocky Mountain News of January 30, 1866, the following appeared:

Old Planters' House, southeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets.

> "Considerable excitement was created in town last night by the discovery that some person or persons had been scattering coffin-shaped papers around and pinning them to the doors of nearly every house in Denver, and the report that a man was found hanging to a tree in Cherry Creek with an enlarged counterpart of the mysterious coffin and a red cross pinned to his breast."

Williams was buried under the tree that had served as his gallows, and years afterward a plow passed through his grave and turned his bones up to the light of day.

In the meantime Williams' confederates in Montana had in some way learned that the stage-driver was again under suspicion and that the party of Vigilantes had gone to capture him. This caused a stampede among them, and several had headed for Denver. The Montana men had remained in or near Denver after hanging Williams, and their additional work in that line is indicated in the following from the Rocky Mountain News of February 6, 1866:

> "John G. Stevens, of Walker Bros.' (Salt Lake) train, in a letter dated 'In Camp, near Ft. Lupton, C. T., January 31,' states that on the preceding day a wooding party discovered the bodies of three men hanging to a cottonwood tree. No papers were found on them by which they could be recognized. Two were dressed in dark citizens' clothing, the other had on military pants and a civilian's coat and vest. A man of the train declared that he had seen one of the men in Denver, but did not know him. On the breast of each was pinned a black coffin and a red cross. A large crowd of vigilantes had been there, and from the horse tracks it appeared that they had come from, and departed in the direction of, the city [Denver]."

No further particulars of the execution of these men were ever publicly known. The News, commenting on it, editorially said: "Those who have reason to fear the Vigilantes are trembling in their boots."

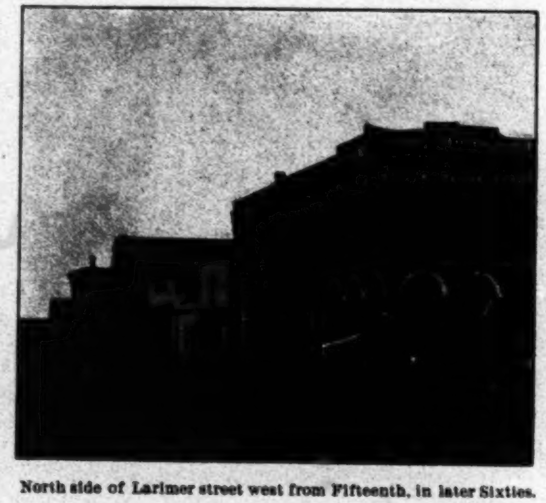
But there was still more of the operations of those Montana Vigilantes in the Denver region. A few days later the passengers on an east-bound stage from Denver had the monotony of their long ride across the plains broken, when several hours out, by seeing the bodies of two men hanging back to back on one telegraph pole. They had evidently been hanged the night before, and their bodies were adorned similarly to those that had been found near Fort Lupton. The matter was reported at the next stage station, and the station hands went to the place and buried the bodies.

During the spring and summer of 1866 several reports of one or more dead men having been elsewhere found hanging, with the same grim placards attached to their bodies, were current in Colorado newspapers, but many of them would seem to have been confused accounts of the executions mentioned in the foregoing.

According to the Territorial census of 1866, made by authority of an act of the Legislature, Denver in the summer of that year had about 3,500 resident people. In that year, and even to the close of 1867, there were still comparatively few improvements between Stout street and the brow of Capitol Hill; beyond that, toward the east, where there are now miles of stately homes, there was practically nothing. On the intervening land between the Hill and Stout street a few small houses were scattered here and there, but teams with wagons could have been driven over it in almost any direction—and often were. Fourteenth street below Stout, and its cross streets for a block each way, constituted the favorite locality for the more pretentious residences; and there are yet many fine homes in that part of the city, built during the next decade. Lawrence and Arapahoe streets in their extent of that time were residence streets; a considerable portion of Larimer on the east side was still occupied by dwellings, but the dominance as the great commercial thoroughfare which that street attaind in the decade of 1870-80 was already foreshadowed. Some good dwellings were on Curtis street and a less number on Champa, beyond which the few and mostly unimportant stragglers appeared on the city's outskirts to the eastward. Nothing more had been done in the Capitol Hill district until 1867 when John Wanless built a dwelling on Lincoln Avenue near Seventeenth, and this was followed by the Sargent house on the same street, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Avenues. With Brown's, and Clements' two—the frame and the brick—the Sargent house made the fourth in that quarter. Through the close of that decade the open, unobstructed plains came down to the brow of the Hill. These hillside builders were regarded as rather singular men for choosing to go so far off in the country to build their houses; and the dwellings did look lonesome and forlorn standing away out there by themselves.

Blake was still the important business street it had been from the beginning, but the tide of travel had increased on Larimer. Fifteenth was also a busy avenue, but Sixteenth and Seventeenth were still "side streets." All the streets leading toward Capitol Hill were, beyond Stout, far more conspicuous on the plats of the real estate men than on the land set apart for them, and the Denver practice of "cutting across lots" was a much easier proposition than it is now. The lower blocks of Fifteenth street were important parts of the business center, but that thoroughfare soon lost its identity in the open country, and blended into a winding road-way which went up the Hill and off to the southeast on about the same line the street would follow if its course were now continued in that direction. This road-way was along the line of the old Santa Fe-Fort Laramie trail, and was a favorite path with the Arapahoes in their migrations to and from the town in its younger days.

Between 1865 and 1870 the old Auraria City district lost much of the prestige it had previously enjoyed, the tendency of the city's growth becoming distinctively and unmistakably toward that on the east side of Cherry creek. In 1867 a large area of "West Denver" that is now traversed by Colfax Avenue was little improved by dwellings or anything else; and farther to the south of Colfax in that district of the city all the land was undisturbed by the builder. Across the river where the pioneer town of Highland had been platted in 1859, and had waited so long for the development to which it was justly entitled, some beginnings had at last been made and a few hundred people had established their homes over there. But even as late as 1870 that quarter of the city gave little promise of the wonderful development which came to it in more recent years.



North side of Larimer street west from Fifteenth, in later Sixties.

The activity in the Far West in 1867 attracted many visitors who came to see the new and strange country and to witness the rapid development it was undergoing. One of these was the Reverend Hepworth Dixon who, after the fashion of many of his contemporary visitors, recorded his impressions and experiences in a volume entitled "New America." Mr. Dixon stopped in Denver and remained several days. "New America" contains some most extraordinary and fantastic accounts of life in Denver at that time and of the social aspects presented by the city. The good man was of a most receptive turn of mind, and was sadly imposed upon. He made the acquaintance of Robert Wilson, a young man then resident here and who possessed an imagination which in its fertility equalled that of Dixon's for guileless receptiveness. Robert told wild tales of rioting and slaughter going on in the city, and Mr. Dixon preserved them faithfully in his book, rewarding Robert in the same narrative, by installing him as a hero in the strife that made life here a daily affray. According to Mr. Dixon the streets of Denver early every morning were strewn with the bodies of the dead who had perished through the night, and presented something of the appearance of parts of a battlefield. Ordinarily from three to five men were gathered up as the morning's harvest, and sometimes that many were slain in open day, between the rising of the sun and the going down thereof. All differences of opinion, whether as to politics, the weather, the reconstruction policy, the honesty of a "deal" in a "social game," or the prowess of the disputants, were instantly settled with the revolver to the certain undoing of one, and frequently of both, of the disagreeing gentlemen. Curiously enough, Mr. Dixon did not appear to have himself witnessed any of these alleged contributions to the cemeteries, but he accepted the tales of his new friend, Robert, without questioning their fidelity to truth. Indeed, he implies that Robert, through motives inspired by pride in the town, withheld accounts of some of the more desperate affairs of slaughter, and that, therefore, "New America" did not recount the full story of the horrors of existence in this remote city situated in the midst of a vast region swarming with red savages who were but little more bloodthirsty than the white ones who swaggered around on the streets of Denver. At the time of Mr. Dixon's visit Denver was enjoying an era of quiet and peace within her gates, though the red men were on the war-path some distance outside, and his weird stories rested on the baseless fabric of "Bob" Wilson's exuberant imagination, strengthened so far as might be, by a willingness to impose on the credulity of a guileless stranger in what was to him an exceedingly strange land.

Another visitor here at that time was Colonel A. K. McClure, later editor of the Philadelphia Times, and a man of national reputation, from whose writings we have quoted. He told of his travels in a most readable book entitled "Three Thousand Miles in the Rocky Mountains." While Mr. McClure was in Denver the Indians were behaving badly. They were killing employes of the stage companies, and isolated settlers, raiding and burning the stage stations and running off the stock. Travel was seriously interrupted, and dangerous in many directions; and the stage line from Denver to Salt Lake had been forced to suspend operations. Mr. McClure and his party were anxious to go forward to Salt Lake, so he telegraphed General Augur, in command at Omaha, asking for a detachment of troops to escort a stage to that point. The General sent a negative reply by wire, and included so many military and other reasons in it, that the message cost the journalist eighteen dollars and six cents; whereupon, the correspondence instantly ceased.

Denver had met and overcome many of the usual difficulties and obstacles that beset young communities on the frontier of a generation ago, and a great many more that were not usual. Its location so far beyond civilization in the beginning, and its early deprivation of the restraints of organized government, had made it a refuge for scoundrels of all grades of villainy. The exigencies of the civil war and of the Indian outbreaks had emphasized its comparative isolation during those troublous years of strife; serving, however, to make its substantial people who held on to their faith in its future more self-reliant and determined than ever. The adverse circumstances of the ineffective ways and means of quartz mining, of which we have already told, had added to the perplexities of the situation vital problems peculiarly their own; the town's history had been stained and blotted by the deeds of desperadoes who had made the place their harbor; and, as if all these troubles were not enough, she had suffered much from the wrangles, and jealousies and selfishness of many of the Territorial politicians.

By the close of 1867 most of these unwelcome conditions had either passed away or the beginning of the end of those remaining was in sight; but the wars of the politicians still went on, to the detriment of the city, and of the Territory which, largely by reasons of their contentions, had to sit and patiently wait for the statehood justly due it. The railroad situation, however, and as related in detail in a subsequent chapter, had become acute, and the new town of Cheyenne menaced Denver's supremacy. The gamblers who recently had occupied choice and prominent places into which they had lured their victims with alleged music, or enticed them by force of persuasion and pretended affection of twining arms, had been driven into retirement; and so far as they continued their avocations did so with caution and secrecy. The sturdy, earnest, faithful majority of the people had so steadily and persistently battled against defiant wickedness that the latter had given up the contest and surrendered. It is to be said again that the newspapers of that time had been the foremost of the fearless and tireless warriors in the long and trying campaign against vice and crime. The measure of their influence for the higher standard of public sentiment that triumphed over iniquity, established new and better conditions, and made Denver a place of commendable order, can not be laid down by metes and bounds.

It is not to be understood that Denver had swung far to the other side of moral ethics, and had taken on what we are accustomed to hearing described as puritanical aspects. Far from it. Notwithstanding the troubles that continued to hang over it, the town was socially pleasant and rather animated and gay. While its material prosperity had been retarded, and was still depressed, the people just at that time were uplifted by the prospect of soon having a railroad, to build which a company of their own citizens had been formed. The streets of the town were thronged with people, and with traffic created by the struggling but reviving mining camps which drew nearly all their supplies from or through the still hopeful young metropolis. While Denver had some schools and churches, it also had its rather worldly places of alleged amusement and a race-course, all of which were supported in a more cheerful spirit than might have been expected under existing circumstances. The devotees of chance could still find welcome in quiet, reserved quarters, but the defiant flagrancy of the managers of such places was gone. The professional gamblers remained in considerable numbers, as they do to-day, but they had to conduct their business without ostentation. Considered all in all, and especially considering the unusual circumstances of Denver's then remote situation and the general character of a restless mining region, the affairs of the community were as well ordered in these times, publicly and privately, as those of any city of equal size anywhere in the western country.

The era of remarkable activity and prosperity in the United States that followed the civil war produced astonishing results in the west, but Denver did not receive her fair share until the opening of the next decade. It was an era of westward emigration and westward railroad building. The most conspicuous effect of it here in 1867-68 was in the greatly advanced price of labor. Instead of being a drug on the market, as it had been in the first year of that decade, it was, in consequence of many workingmen having gone into the railroad-building districts to the eastward, in rather active demand at relatively high prices. Miners were paid five dollars a day; mechanics five and six dollars a day; farm and ranche hands received from forty to sixty dollars a month and their board; common laborers earned daily from three to three and one-half dollars. Female servants were hard to get at any price, and still harder to keep. Comparatively few could afford to pay their way out from the States, and there were not a great number of them in the city. Ordinary house servants commanded from forty to sixty dollars a month and their keeping. Cooks were considered great prizes at wages ranging from seventy-five to one hundred dollars a month and their board. But these high wages were not all of the householder's burden and bother. Often the servant or cook would get married and leave before she had become acquainted with the family. All who wanted to marry had their choice of a dozen willing, anxious, worthy men; and most of them would quickly make a choice and go into houses of their own.

During the later years of that decade agriculture had received the attention of many of the people, not only in the general vicinity of Denver, but elsewhere in the Territory; and with the exception of corn, the home-grown crops abundantly supplied the people with all the products of the soil. In 1866 the Colorado Industrial Association had been organized, and in October of that year the first fair in Colorado was held here, at which a very creditable display of agricultural products and handicraft was made. Richard Sopris was the leader in the enterprise and President of the Association. A native of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, (July 26, 1813), he became a citizen of Indiana, where he engaged in canal and railroad building, and in steamboating. A "Pike's Peaker" of the spring of 1859, he was one of the pioneer miners on Clear creek, as the reader has been told. Late in 1859 he became a citizen of Denver, and during the remainder of his life was an active, prominent and useful man in city and county affairs. He died in Denver, April 7, 1893.

North side Blake street, west from Fifteenth street in later Sixties.

The fair of October, 1867, was a great advancement over the first one; and the third one, opened late in September, 1868, was equal to the preceding two combined. The annual exhibitions of this association were continued throughout the next decade, and were very popular with all the people.

The discovery—and one that appears to have been profoundly surprising—that wheat would grow and mature here resulted from the accident of a few grains having been dropped in a kitchen-garden in 1859, where they produced results which became the talk of the town. Those few stalks which were the pioneers of the fields of wheat along the South Platte river, were observed by W. P. McClure in October of that year standing in W. H. Parkinson's house-lot. In 1867-68 the general prices of grain ruled high. Wheat ranged from $4.50 to $6.00 per bushel; corn, from $3.00 to $5.00; oats, $2.50 to $3.00; rye, $4.00 to $5.00; barley, $2.50 to $3.50. In 1869 the prices were lower, but continued relatively high until the completion of railroads to Denver made available grain from the Missouri river States at freight rates quite different from those of the "prairie schooners." Preparations for building Denver's pioneer road to Cheyenne, were put under way near the close of 1867 and work was nominally begun in May, 1868; but two years elapsed before it was completed. Its history appears elsewhere with that of other railway undertakings.

The rapid westward progress of the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific railways in 1867 had promised improvement in Denver's prospects, stimulated hope, and sustained the courage of those who had shared the fortunes and misfortunes of the town from its beginning. While these roads were not routed to Denver, and the general railway details for the immediate future were still somewhat uncertain, it was expected that somewhere in the operations, both actual and potential, Denver's opportunity would arise. It was evident that the city could not and would not enter upon a career of active growth and prosperity until the coming of railroads. In April, 1867, after a spirited local campaign resulting in the re-election of Mayor DeLano, a total of only 1,524 votes had been cast at the election. At that time the ratio of voters to population was far larger than in older communities, and this result indicated what should have been expected of the census of 1870 unless some extraordinary increase had intervened.

In the summer of 1867 there was another "Indian scare," though of far less magnitude than that of 1864. Raiding Indians appeared along the Colorado-Kansas, border, killing some of the settlers, running off stock, destroying property, and interrupting communications. Our people were much excited over the situation, and in June volunteers were called for, and several companies promptly enrolled. But they did not go into service, as the immediate danger to the city passed away, and there had been delay in equipping them for active operations through some neglect of the United States military authorities or a misunderstanding with them. The causes of the alarm had been exaggerated so far as they directly menaced Denver, but as one consequence that summer was a rather dull one in business and in improvements.

Denver had suffered the chagrin and humiliation of seeing Golden priding and pluming herself as the capital of the Territory; and next to the Indian outbreaks and the uncertainties of the railroad situation, this was her sore grievance. Great, therefore, was her elation when the Territorial Legislature, on December 9, 1867, the eighth day of the session, by an act passed after a vigorous fight against it, made Denver the capital and moved over here to finish its legislative labors. Beyond the sessions of the Legislature Golden had been rather the nominal capital than the actual one; for, excepting a brief period under Governor Cummings, the Executive offices and general business of the Territory were in Denver. But the moral effect of Golden and not Denver being even the nominal capital was felt to be a bad one; it lessened the city's importance and influence; and made an unfavorable impression abroad at that somewhat critical period, from a local standpoint, in the then opening era of railroad construction in Colorado. This event was one of conspicuous importance in the history of the city, and its advantageous influences were far-reaching. Henry C. Brown promptly clinched the proposition by stepping forward with a donation of ten acres of land for a capitol site; and a more appropriate one could not have been found in the Territory. The Denver Pacific Railroad Company had been organized, the Territorial capital had been secured and made secure, and that year closed with a brightening future for Denver.

The April election in 1868, at which William M. Clayton was chosen Mayor, ended a local campaign in which the old bone of contention, "the city lot question," was the principal issue. It was fiercely, and so far as some men were concerned, compromisingly, discussed; and was the cause of what was the angriest public controversy in the annals of the city. Even to this day are heard echoes of the rancor and personal hostilities engendered by that memorable contention. The correspondence arising in the preparation of this work included letters from a considerable number of men here and elsewhere, survivors of our pioneer times, who allege their one-time ownership of many city lots to which they derivied title of right from the "Auraria City" and "Denver City" Town Companies, or from persons whose titles came from those pioneer organizations; and that in the processes of carrying out the purposes of the Act of Congress of May 28, 1864, and of certain other arrangements made at that time, intended to confirm all rightful real estate titles coming down from the old town companies, deeds for their lots were given to persons who had neither just claim nor right to them, to the great distress and loss of the rightful owners. Many of these stories are exaggerations based on misunderstandings of the cause and extent of the trouble, and others indicate ignorance of legislation that adversely affected indifferent or negligent non-resident property-owners. Nevertheless, there was enough of wrong in the proceedings to cause a very dark blot on the city's history. While no definite, categorical statements can be made, for the reason that no direct evidence of the wrongs alleged to have been committed exists in tangible form, all record proof of the facts having long since disappeared, we present in a succeeding chapter dealing with the changes in the city's original boundaries, and collateral subjects, an outline of the origin and progress of the trouble indicated by "the city lot question."

As we have said, the controversy over the matter in that spring of 1868 was an angry and bitter one. Men were publicly accused of having been "lot-thieves" and other types of rascals. The outbreak had been brewing and threatening for two or three years, and when it came it caused a storm. The passing of the election did not quell it, for the contentions were continued in the city newspapers through to the summer of that year, and came to the surface frequently in subsequent years.

The uproar would probably have continued longer in 1868 had not the Indians interrupted it by another of their characteristic outbreaks that threatened the city seriously, and ravaged a large part of eastern Colorado. In July of that year Governor Hunt was over in the Ute country pacifying those people and persuading them to make Ouray their chieftain as successor to the one who had recently died; which they finally did. But, in sympathy with their race elsewhere, and under the bad influence of Captain Jack and old Colorow, who insisted on hostilities against the whites, some of them had been very restive after the death of their head chieftain, and in the earlier part of his visit Governor Hunt was in great personal danger. While he was absent, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, having repudiated their last treaty, as we have related in the general account of the Indian wars, had returned to the Colorado plains between the South Platte and Arkansas rivers. At first they made little trouble, but about the close of August they began killing, burning and destroying. Accounts of Indian depredations are near enough alike for one to answer for all, and we have already had many of them. On August 28th the bodies of Mrs. Henrietta Dieterman and her young son, frightfully mutilated, were brought into the city. They had been killed, after the mother had been subjected to the usual horrors inflicted upon white women by the Indians, on Comanche creek. This spectacle caused profound alarm and aroused a feeling of most revengeful excitement. Territorial Secretary Frank Hall was Acting Governor in Hunt's absence, and promptly organized forces to protect the city and drive out the Indians. The regular army troops should have done this, but they did not. A volunteer company of cavalry under Major Downing took to the plains; and another, the "Platte Rangers," organized farther down the river, under D. R. Bailey, and including such men as Holon Godfrey, Elbridge Gerry, and Jared L. Brush, now of Greeley and recent Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, did likewise. A brother of Brush, who had been a ranchman down the Platte, had been one of the early victims in this Indian foray, and several others also had been killed in that part of the country; while many more had been massacred to the east and southeast of Denver. The rangers came up with the Indians before Major Downing could reach them, and killed eight or ten of them in a long chase that drove them back to the southward. When the repudiated treaty with these Indians had been made, many of them asked and received a kind of

View about Denver in 1867, showing old "Denver Theater" on Northeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence Streets.

certificate of good character setting forth that they had become "good Indians," and presumably were entitled to consideration as such. Many of the Indians engaged in this bloody raid carried these certificates and treacherously used them wherever they could do so to their advantage.

As some account of the Indian depredations in 1868 has already been given, it is not necessary to add here more than a few local details. None of the bands came close to the city, but a large party of Arapahoes surrounded Colorado City but did not attack it. This band later moved into the South Park, where they encountered some Utes, their hereditary enemies, and killed several of them. Denver was practically without arms, and destitute of ammunition and other military supplies. The Indian troubles so far as they might affect this immediate part of the country were supposed to have ended, and our people were engaged in building a railroad.

View northward from Fourteenth and Lawrence streets, 1867.

Acting Governor Hall was placed in a trying situation. The Territorial treasury was empty, no regular troops within reach, and the small, unprepared and unfitted militia organization utterly inadequate for any such service as the emergency demanded. So, his only recourse was to call for volunteers for mounted service under Major Downing, and to also call upon the citizens for horses and equipments for them, and commissary supplies, which were promptly furnished. About enough old carbines to arm Downing's men were in the armory, a supply of ammunition was gathered up, and the Major left the city with his men before day-break on the morning of August 29th. Telegraphic communications remained open, and in the meantime Governor Hall had advised General Sheridan of the perilous situation in Colorado, and asked him for assistance. Sheridan had his hands full, and told the Governor to call on either Fort Hayes, Wallace or Reynolds; but no aid could be had from either quarter. So, the Governor had to fall back on the old proposition of calling upon the people to protect and defend themselves. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was finally dispatched to Denver for the use of the citizens, but did not arrive until October 29th. By that time the military operations of the regular army had broken the power of the Indians and prepared the way for peace. This invasion in 1868 was the last of the Indian troubles that brought danger near to Denver.

Aside from the perils attending that invasion, the autumn of 1868 was a season of better times here. After the immediate danger had passed business activity set in, for it was becoming evident that the warfare of the plains Indians, so far as it could menace the city, was nearing its end. The mining interests had been relieved of the worst of the depression that had so long hung over them, as ways and means had at last been developed for extracting the gold from the refractory ores and were in successful operation. The Denver Pacific railroad was under construction to Cheyenne, the fall business was heavy, and an unusual amount of building was in progress. But the prospects for early and direct rail communications with the outside world had a more beneficial influence than all other encouraging conditions put together.

CHAPTER XLIII.

DENVER VIGILANCE COMMITTEE WORK—CITY INFESTED BY DESPERADOES OF THE RAILROAD BUILDING ERA—FIRST OF STRICTLY LOCAL LYNCHING—DENVER PACIFIC RAILWAY—GROWING IMPORTANCE OF CHEYENNE—GOVERNOR GILPIN'S MEMORABLE ADDRESS—CITY'S IMPROVED APPEARANCE—REVIVAL OF MINING—REAL ESTATE VALUES—CENSUS OF 1870—COMPLETION OF DENVER PACIFIC AND KANSAS PACIFIC RAILROADS.

As we have previously stated, the first deliberate, actual lynchings in Denver's history, excepting the Montana cases, did not occur until late in this decade; and then not directly for murder, but for robbery; though the victims had records as murderers, and were "all around bad men." On November 20, 1868, late in the evening, Judge Orson Brooks, an old and good citizen of Denver, and at that time the city Police Magistrate, while on his homeward way, was stopped at the corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets by two men, one of whom seized and held him while the other rifled his pockets of upward of one hundred dollars in money. Such a robbery in itself was bad enough, but to "hold up" and "go through" the city Police Magistrate seemed to involve a special defiance of law and of the law's executives. It is not probable that the footpads selected their victim intentionally, though men of their kind usually know Police Magistrates by sight, anyway. Judge Brooks did not recognize his assailants, but D. J. Cook, who was City Marshal at that time, soon identified the work as that of Sam Dougan and Ed Franklin, two well-known criminals then in Denver. They had been in and around Denver, a few years before and then transferred themselves to the successive terminal points of the advancing Union Pacific railway where they had developed as typical "bad men" of the more or less temporary railroad towns. They had left Laramie while preparations for their lynching were in progress by some of the exasperated people of that town, and had come to Denver to better their depressed fortunes. Several robberies and brawls had occurred here just prior to the Brooks case and in which this pair were believed to have had their hands. Cook and United States Deputy Marshal Haskell found that Dougan and Franklin had left town suddenly after Judge Brooks reported his experience, and traced them over to Golden. They learned that the men were there and had been spending money freely in successfully getting drunk. They found Dougan in a saloon, and as soon as he saw the officers a fusilade of revolver shots began which resulted only in wounding the barkeeper and in enabling Dougan to escape through a back door and get away in the night. Cook then located Franklin in the Overland Hotel and went thither to capture him. He was found in one of the rooms in a half-drunken sleep, and when aroused instantly drew his revolver; but Cook, knowing the man's desperate character, was too quick for him and fired first, Franklin falling dead where he had stood. Cook had the dead man brought to Denver and buried here. Dougan had fled northward and was pursued and captured about half way between the mouth of the Cache-a-la-Poudre and Cheyenne. His captors brought him to Denver and put him in the old Larimer street prison. When it became known that Dougan was here a Vigilance Committee was organized to hang him. Learning of this, Marshal Cook, after nightfall on December 1st, started with the prisoner to a place of safety on the West Side, intending to lodge him in a stronger building and capable of better resistance to a mob. The committeemen soon learned of this movement and intercepted Cook and Dougan at the Larimer street bridge, taking the prisoner from the officer and marching him to a tree standing by the side of Twelfth street, between Larimer and Market, from a limb of which they hung him. A wagon was drawn under the tree, Dougan made to stand up in it while the rope was being adjusted, and it was then pulled away leaving the man to die of strangulation. He had begged for his life in his incoherent promises to leave the country and never come back; he acknowledged having killed a teamster named Curtis, at Black Hawk, four years before, for which he lay in jail over there several weeks awaiting trial, but managed to break out and get away; he at first denied any part in robbing Judge Brooks, but in the next breath admitted that he and Franklin had done that work; he denied to the last several other murders and lesser crimes charged upon him by his executioners, and in the midst of his denials and abject appeals for mercy the moving wagon left him hanging in the air. The body remained there until ten o'clock the next day when it was taken away and buried. Later, the convenient tree was cut down by the citizens living in the vicinity to prevent its further use for such a purpose. Dougan was only twenty-three years old, and before entering upon his career as an outlaw had been a teamster at Central City.

During the brief period covering the events narrated in the foregoing there was confined in the Larimer street prison a man named Musgrove, who was held on a charge of cattle-stealing, but who had a long and bloody record as a frontier desperado. He was of middle age and had been successively driven from California, Nevada, and Utah as an outlaw; coming into Colorado in 1863, he signalized his arrival by killing a man at Fort Halleck, was brought to Denver for trial and discharged by the United States Commissioner for alleged lack of jurisdiction. Musgrove then became the leader of a gang of thieves operating in Jefferson, Clear Creek and Gilpin counties, from which he fled to escape the fate which later befell him here, and went to the Poudre valley where he became a daring and pestiferous stock-thief. In 1868 he joined the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians in their foray into Colorado late in the summer and in the autumn of that year, and as the leader of one of the bands had left a trail of blood and destruction behind him. He had not long been out of this inhuman work when he was captured and brought to Denver. Nominally he was a prisoner here as a cattle-thief, but his career with the Indians constituted in the minds of the people his great and unpardonable crime.

Southwest corner Fifteenth and Blake streets in later Sixties.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of December 2nd, five hours after Dougan's body had been cut down, the Vigilance Committee, largely augmented in numbers this time, went to the Larimer street prison, took Musgrove out, put him in a wagon, marched with him to the Larimer street bridge, drove the wagon down into the bed of Cherry creek, fixed one end of a rope to the bridge and the other around the outlaw's neck, and ended his career without trial or further ceremony. Musgrove was defiant and courageous to the last. When the Committee's leaders entered the prison he made fight with a stick of wood, and they had some difficulty in overpowering him. Two or three shots were fired at him but none took effect. He appeared cool and collected while on the way to the bridge, and said that he supposed he was to be hung because he had been an Indian chief. At the bridge he asked time to write two messages, one to his wife and the other to one of his former comrades. He wrote without any sign of fear or nervousness, and handed them to R. W. Woodbury for delivery. His arms and feet were then bound, yet he managed to get some tobacco from his vest pocket and made a cigarette which some one lighted for him, and which he began smoking. As the wagon moved away he bent his knees and leaped upward into the air, the sudden jerking of the rope as he descended to the limit of its length dislocating his neck; a result he evidently intended to accomplish by his last movement in life. Soon afterward his body was taken down and buried.

There was no concealment of identity on the part of those who participated in these executions. Musgrove was hung in the middle of the afternoon—in broad day-light. The execution of Dougan, though at night, was the work of well-known men who also assisted in the disposition of Musgrove; and a few of them are still living in Denver. No such thought as prosecuting any of them for their acts occurred to any one. The community, while it deplored the necessity for such proceedings, approved and upheld the course adopted to rid the town of some of the most desperate and dangerous men who ever trod the earth. While Musgrove's body was still swaying from the bridge the commander of the Vigilantes, a well-known and most excellent citizen whose name is a familiar one in the annals of Denver, addressed the large crowd, reciting the causes for what had been done and announcing that there were still a dozen or more men like the two that had just been put out of the way, whom the Committee would hang if they were found in the city after twenty-four hours, or if they ever came back here again. This, following what had already been done with ropes, was sufficient warning, and before the next afternoon some forty or fifty individuals, each of whom was conscious that his record entitled him to a place in the speaker's list of a dozen, were putting stretches of the plains between themselves and Denver as fast as they could. They did not dare seek refuge in the mountain mining camps, because they knew that ropes could and would soon be made ready for use over there.

It is to be remembered that the construction of the Union Pacific railroad across the plains was attended by the presence in the various temporary terminal points of the most extraordinary collection of desperadoes, outlaws, thieves, gamblers, swindlers and other types of scoundrels, ever known in any country. When the road reached the mountains, as it had at this period, many of these men left its camps and sought new fields. A considerable portion of them, seeing that Denver had become the focus of railway construction with its attendant large disbursements of money, had put in here for harvesting what they regarded as their share of it. Their presence, character, and intentions were known, and the beginning of their work had been made; and, it was rather for the purpose of checking it somewhere near the outset, than on account of many flagrant deeds of violence already committed, that the Vigilance Committee of December, 1868, was organized and did its work; although, as we have stated, there had been in the autumn of that year a significant activity in the growing circle of men known to be capable of any form of crime. Then, the enforcement of Territorial law was far from being efficient and satisfactory, and none better knew its weaknesses and how to take advantage of them than the man who made robbery, violence and other crimes his profession.

Northwest corner Fifteenth and Blake streets in later Sixties.

With the coming of 1869 all the energies and all the interest of the resolute but still rather forlorn-looking little city were centered on the fortunes and fate of the Denver Pacific Railway Company, the local organization of Denver men exclusively, that had been wrestling with the grave and vital problem of building a railroad northward to a connection with the Union Pacific road at Cheyenne. That great undertaking had then crossed the mountains, and its construction was nearing a connection with the Central Pacific railroad builders from the Pacific coast. Denver's future was involved in the immediate building of a road that would link it with the trans-continental lines, but the company that had undertaken the task was beset by many difficulties. Furthermore, the Colorado Central railroad was then projected on lines ignoring Denver as a place of importance, and contemplating for it nothing more than a branch or spur.

To add to the perplexities of the situation and to the uncertainties of the future, it had suddenly appeared in 1868, as heretofore mentioned, that the Rocky Mountain metropolis might not arise here on the South Platte, but that it seemed destined to develop from the railway town of Cheyenne. Many people had already left Denver and located in Cheyenne in anticipation of that probability becoming a certainty. Greatly at variance with railway practices of our times, the Denver Pacific Company took the local public into its full and unreserved confidence. Public meetings had been frequently held and were characterized by the most unreserved discussion of the railroad situation. Former Territorial Governor Gilpin was an enthusiast on the subject of railway building, and at a public meeting of the Denver Board of Trade held in February, 1869, to accelerate the construction of the road, delivered a heartening address to his fellow-citizens, that became the talk of the town for weeks afterward, and is still recalled with feelings of satisfaction by many of the old-timers who heard it. Governor Gilpin was a brilliant, as well as an enthusiastic, man; yet his oratory was of a style and fashion now almost, if not quite, extinct. It was fervid, extravagant, and flowery, and is a fair example of that which was much in vogue between thirty and fifty years ago. With something like prophetic vision, in view of all that has been accomplished since that time, and especially so now that the United States is established as one of the great powers of the world with territories, peoples and dominion in the distant Orient, Governor Gilpin, seeming to have looked far across into the future and seeing what was destined to come in the closing years of the century, said:

"As for the site upon which the city of Denver is founded, it is pre-eminently cosmopolitan. It pre-occupies the auspicious focus into which Nature groups all her colossal elements. We are at the base of the Eastern Cordillera, whose summit is nowhere penetrated by navigation for a distance of two thousand miles from the principal meridian which parts and unites the two hemispheres of the globe."

"Here the vast arena of the Pacific fits itself to the basin of the Atlantic edge. The goal is reached where the zodiac of nations closes its circle. The gap between the hemispheres is bridged over forever. We are upon the isothermal axis, which is the trunk line (the thalwez) of intense and intelligent energy, where civilization has its largest field, its highest development, its inspired form."

"There is an intoxicating grandeur in the panorama which unveils itself to the spectator, looking out from the crest of the neighboring Cordillera. In front, in rear and upon either hand, Nature ascends to her highest standard of excellence."

"Behold, to the right, the Mississippi basin; to the left the plateau of table-lands; beneath, the family of parks; around, the radiating backs of primeval mountains; the primary rivers starting to the seas; a uniform altitude of 8,000 feet; a translucent atmosphere a thousand miles removed from the ocean and its influences; a checkered landscape, from which no element of sublimity is left out—fertility and food upon the surface, metals beneath, uninterrupted facility of transit."

"Behold here the panorama which crowns the middle region of our Union, fans the fire of patriotism, and beckons on the energetic host of our people."

"Here, through the heart of our Territory, our population, our mines, our farms and habitations, will traverse the condensed commerce of mankind, where passengers or cargoes may, at any time or place, embark upon or leave the vehicles of transportation."

"Down with the parricidal policy which will banish it from the land, from the broadest dwelling of the people, to force it on to the sterile ocean, outside of society, through foreign nations, into torrid heats, along circuitous routes, imprisoned for months and dwarfed in great ships."

"Railways, multiplied and spanning the continent, are essential domestic institutions, more powerful and more permanent than law, or popular consent, or political constitutions, to thoroughly complete the grand system of fluvial arteries which fraternize us into one people—to bind the two seaboards to this one continental union, like ears to the human head—to radiate the rural foundations of the Union so broad and deep, and establish its structure so solid, that no possible force or stratagem can shake its permanence—to secure such scope and space to progress, that equality and prosperity shall never be impaired, or chafe for want of room."

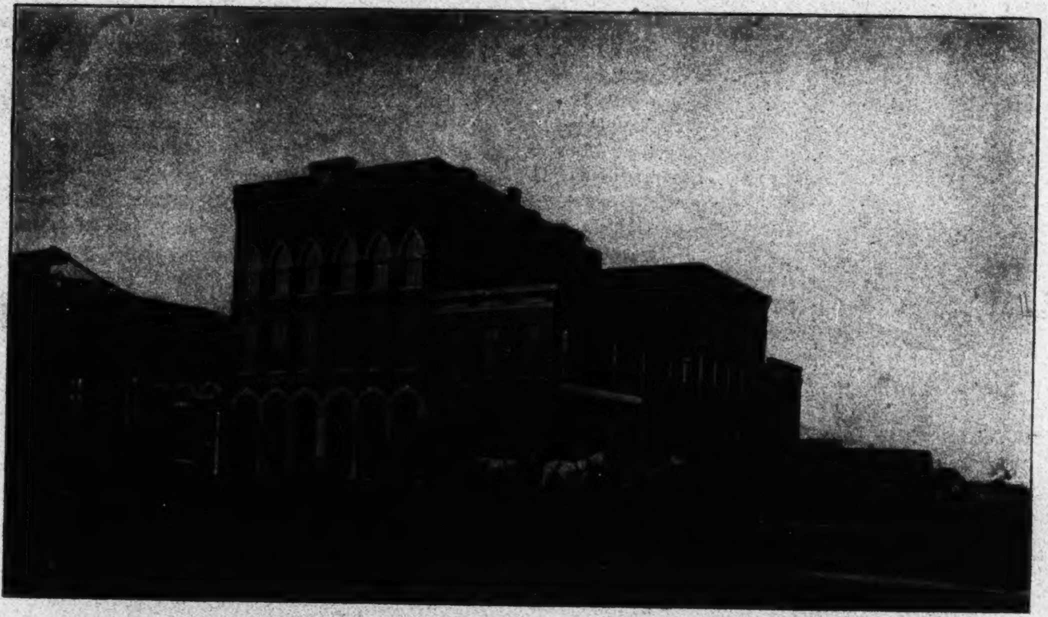
"To Denver is secured a career into which all those favorable facts of position and circumferent area are now united. The North American people number 50,000,000 in strength; 2,000,000 annually shift their homes. This force is par excellence the pioneer army of the North American people. This movement causes an uninterrupted pressure of the people from East to West, resembling the drift of the ocean which accompanies the great tidal wave. Diurnally is the surface of the sea lifted up in silence and poured upon the coasts of the continent. Exactly similar to this is the movement, annually gathering force, and seen to impel our people through and through from the Eastern to the Western limit of the land. The inscrutable force of gravity which, with minute accuracy, holds the planets in their orbits, or causes each drop of rain to fall, sways the instincts of society. The gravitation presses to all directions upon the axis and to the focus of intensity. This regular instinct of movement has been transiently interfered with by the artificial passions and demoralization of civil strife."

"It rapidly assumes again its temper and its regularity. Our neighbors from California work up to us with miraculous energy and celerity. They bring with them the open avenue to us from Asia."

"The Mexican column reaches us from the south. On the north the activity is great and in close contact. These several columns simultaneously converge upon us. They increase every moment in numbers, weight and celerity of motion. We no longer march into the blind wilderness dependent upon and chained exclusively to Europe in the rear. We open up in front the gorgeous arena of the Asiatic Ocean. At present the huge city of London monopolizes the imports from the Oriental world. These are stored there and retailed to the people residing in the basin of the Atlantic."

"Upon the labor of the American people so far as they participate in the consumption of Oriental wares is harnessed the frightful burden to support the British people and the British Empire, and to be devoured by their voracious despotism of trade. The work of emancipation is accomplished by the intrepid energies and conquests of the pioneer army of North America. It only remains to be appreciated by the people. We are about to supply by direct export, the food and precious and base metals to 850,000,000 of neighboring Asiatics! To Japan! To China! to India. To the Philippines! the Celebes. To the Archipelagoes of the Sooloo Sea and Polynesia! These are larger in aggregate area, and more populous, than Europe; and are nearer to us."

"Included with the equatorial zone, but approached by us through the temperate zone, they overflow with merchandise desirable to our people in multitudinous affluence. To us will belong the prodigious carrying trade upon the seas for these infinite multitudes. The equatorial heats are outflanked and avoided. The conflict for dominion over the multiplied commerce of the world, is fought, and conclusive victory is won for our country. A large majority of the American people now reside within the Mississippi basin, and in this Asiatic front of our continent, which is born from us, nascent powers, Herculean from the hour of their birth, unveil their forms and demand their rights. States for the pioneers; self-government for the pioneers; untrammelled way for the imperial energies of the forces of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Sea, may not long be withheld by covetous, arbitrary and arrogant jealousy and injustice! In the conflict for freedom, it is not numbers or cunning that conquers; but rather daring, discipline and judgment, combined and tempered by the condensed fire of faith and intrepid valor. As it is my hope in these notes to contribute what may be valuable, I adhere strictly to severe facts, and reject absolutely all theory and speculation. These facts are as indestructibly established as is the alphabet, and are as worthy of unquestioning faith and credence. That we may further look into the gathering achievements of the near future, without obscurity, and with an accurate prophetic vision, I may, without censure, submit what is within my own personal experience. It fell to my lot during the years from 1840 to 1845, alone and in extreme youth, to seek and chalk out in the immense solitudes filling the space from Missouri to China, the lines of this dazzling empire of which we now hold the oracular crown—to have stood by its cradle—to be the witness of its miraculous growth. It is not for me in this season of gathering splendor, to speak tamely upon a subject of such intense and engrossing novelty and interest. I may properly here quote the concluding sentences of a report which I was required to make on the 2nd of March, 1846, to the United States Senate at that time brimful of illus-



View in Denver at close of decade 1860-70—southwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets.

trious statesmen. What I said there and then in the first dawning twilight of our glory, I will now repeat:"

"'The calm, wise man sets himself to study aright and understand clearly the deep designs of Providence, to scan the great volume of nature, to fathom, if possible, the will of the Creator, and to receive with respect what may be revealed to him. Two centuries have rolled over our race upon this continent. From nothing we have become 50,000,000. From nothing we are grown to be in agriculture, in commerce, in civilization, and in natural strength, the first among the nations existing or in history. So much is our destiny—so far up to this time—transacted, accomplished, certain and not to be disputed. From this threshold we read the future.'"

"'The untransacted destiny of the American people is to subdue the continent, to rush over this vast field to the Pacific Ocean, to animate the many hundred millions of its people, and to cheer them upward; to set the principle of self-government at work, to agitate these herculean masses, to establish a new order in human affairs; to set free the enslaved, to regenerate superannuated nations, to change darkness into light, to stir up the sleep of a hundred centuries; to teach old nations a new civilization, to confirm the destiny of the human race, to carry the career of mankind to its culminating point; to cause stagnant people to be reborn, to perfect science, to emblazon history with the conquest of peace; to shed a new and resplendent glory upon mankind, to unite the world in one social family; to absolve the curse that weighs down humanity, and to shed blessings round the world.'"

The latter part of Governor Gilpin's address, with its references to setting "the principles of self-government at work," to "establish a new order in human affairs," to "teach old nations a new civilization," to the Philippines, and to the many other now familiar propositions, reads more like an optimistic response to a toast to the country's "manifest destiny," at some great banquet in the Nation's capital in our own times, than like the utterances of a Denver citizen who was merely talking to an assemblage of his fellow-townsmen in a little, far-isolated frontier town in the distant west thirty-two years ago.

By 1869 the general appearance of Denver had been materially improved in what may be called its landscape aspects. The winding ditch from far up the Platte that had for several years brought water to the Capitol Hill elevation, had been of invaluable service. Water flowed at the sides of the streets, giving life and vigor to many trees that had been planted, and enabling door-yards to be made green with turf and more heartsome by the presence of verdure and flowers. Nothing growing out of any of the improvements that had been made was so welcome in the relief and satisfaction afforded as the results that had followed watering the town by the old ditch.

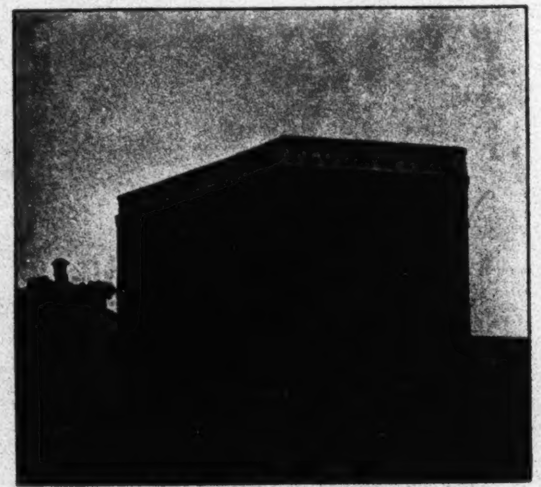
The spring and summer of 1869 passed without notable incidents outside of those associated with the prospective completion of the Denver Pacific railway and its alliance with the Kansas Pacific. Business was improving in every department of trade. The greater stimulation came from the fast-increasing prosperity of the mining camps. Good results were coming from the gold mines, now that the metal could be profitably extracted from the ores, and silver mining had become promising in some of the mining districts. The Georgetown district was being developed, and its new sources of mineral wealth that yielded so much in subsequent years, were opening the eyes of the miners who, in earlier years, had regarded the silver that was ingrained with most of the gold as only a troublesome vagrant whose absence would have been gratifying. The mining towns, proper, all along the ranges, were reviving, and all these improved conditions were reflected in the increasing activity in Denver. Agriculture had also made great advances, and at that time there were near two hundred thousand acres of land under cultivation along the streams flowing eastward from the mountains.

During the autumn of 1869 and under the influence of the more active construction on the Denver Pacific to Cheyenne, and on the Kansas Pacific, the route of which had been changed toward Denver, the assumed values of real estate had been greatly advanced, and were represented by figures larger than ever thought of before. It was apparent that the city's future was now fairly assured, yet transactions were not numerous enough to constitute a "boom." Many additions were platted, but there was no great crowding up of buyers. Rents had also reached high figures and tenants appeared to be carrying heavier burdens than the immediate conditions justified. While the long-standing faith of some of the citizens that Denver must and would become a great city still held fast, property-owners were over-estimating the immediate benefits of railway communications, great as they proved to be, in the increased valuations they placed upon real estate in the autumn of that year. But there was a firmness in their views that indicated a belief that if necessary they could well afford to wait a little while for the full realization of their expectations; and they did have to wait.

In what we have said in the foregoing concerning the higher valuations of real estate, the reader will understand that they were higher only in comparison with the previous depressed conditions, but trivially low when set over against prices twenty years later, or against the present values of the same properties. Even in much later times real estate prices were absurdly low as compared with those of the great speculative era that ended in 1893, or with those of the present time.

The approach of the railways also had a decidedly stimulating effect on improvements in 1869, and a considerable number of good buildings were erected that year, among them being several large and substantial dwellings, and a score or more of new business structures to replace old ones that were regarded as being unfit to survive the coming of the iron horse.

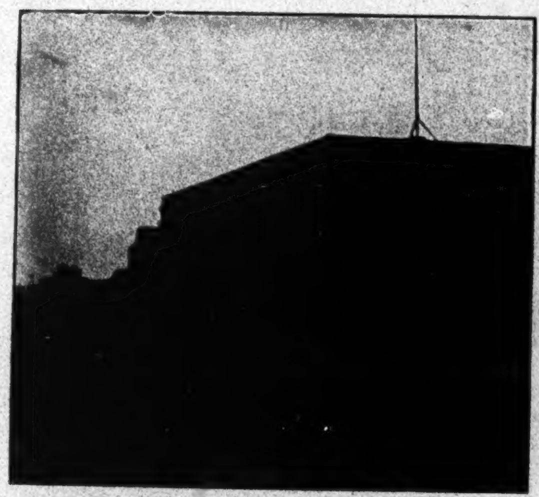
In the spring of 1870 as railway connection was approaching completion, great interest was also centered upon the result of the United States census of that year. It had appeared that the city's population through the busy months that had passed, had very greatly increased; but there were so many transient people coming and going—a sort of floating population—that these appearances proved sadly misleading. In 1866, as we have stated, a census of the Territory was taken pursuant to an act of the Legislature, and as it had a bearing on one of the several movements for Statehood, it was not probable that very many people were overlooked. That enumeration returned a population of 27,931 in the Territory and but a few over 3,500 in the city. The encouraging revival of operations in the mining districts that had afterward set in and brought with it a large increase of business to Denver, was also attended by an incoming of many new people. In 1867-68 the usual estimate had given Denver from six thousand to eight thousand inhabitants, though two or three thousand more were added by the more enthusiastic statisticians. 1869 was thought to have added at least a thousand more. Great, therefore, was the amazement and incredulity when the census-taker of 1870 reported that he had found only four thousand, seven hundred and fifty-nine proper residents who were entitled to figure in his lists—a net gain of only ten over the enumeration of 1860.



Northeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets in later Sixties.

It was hard to realize that this could be true—that the established population was still of only village proportions, when Denver was so much unlike any village that ever was seen, with its crowded streets, bustling activity, and the best business establishments between St. Louis and the Continental Divide owned and conducted by men unsurpassed in enterprise and integrity. The work of the census-taker, though it was probably approximately correct, did not harmonize with the apparent conditions nor with previous anticipations. An understanding of these matters and situations assists us in our efforts to realize the almost unbelievable fact that the Denver which is spread out before us now in the dawn of the new century has been almost wholly created within thirty years. The sudden gain or loss of a population equal to that officially enumerated in 1870 would not now make any noticeable difference.

But, the event in 1870 that overshadowed everything else, that marked an epoch in the city's history, was the coming of the locomotive in June, just about eleven years after the great discoveries of gold here in the mountains were fairly developed and the actual settlement of the Pike's Peak country may be said to have had its general beginning. The Union Pacific and Central Pacific had met beyond Ogden, Utah, in May, of the previous year, and track-laying on the Denver Pacific had advanced toward Denver from Cheyenne until, on June 15th, the rails had been laid into the city. The company had purchased for construction purposes from the Union Pacific an engine that had been similarly used on that road, and had led the way across the plains. It was the first locomotive that crossed the Rocky Mountains and the first to enter the Utah basin. When the Denver Pacific got it it was given the name "D. H. Moffat" in honor of a man who was with others instrumental in enabling it to finally get to Denver. Among the crowd that greeted it were some men who had not seen a locomotive since they had crossed the Missouri river on their long journey over the plains in 1858 or 1859, and who had concluded that they might never see one again.



Northeast corner Fifteenth and Blake streets in later Sixties.

But the arrival of the "D. H. Moffat" did not mark the formal opening of the road. This eventful ceremony, or ceremonious event, occurred on June 24th, which was a day of days in Denver. After the long waiting, the many tribulations of the railway company—of which some account is elsewhere given, the tremendous efforts and great sacrifices that had been made to overcome them, the "last spike" was driven on that day and Denver made a railway center. This spike was of silver contributed by the miners in the Georgetown district. The entire population of the town, and many people from the mining camps, were present to see that "last spike" driven home, to hear the speeches, and to enthusiastically congratulate each other over the completion of the long iron trail that stretched away to both oceans. The first railway train, outside of construction operations, had come in from Cheyenne, and the blasts of the engine's whistle made the sweetest music the pioneers of Denver had ever heard.

Two days later, on the 26th, the cornerstone of a brick building for a passenger station was laid at the foot of Twenty-second street, then on the city's outskirts, by the Masonic order, and with much ceremony. Bishop Randall, a pioneer here for the welfare of his fellowmen, delivered an address there that day which, for eloquence, feeling and appropriateness, has not been surpassed in Denver between that time and this. Upon the completion of the Kansas Pacific road on the 15th of August, following, it, also, used that building, which thus became the city's first union passenger station.

So, the pioneer era in Denver was ended.

CHAPTER XLIV.

EARLY CHANGES IN CITY BOUNDARIES—TERRITORIAL ACT OF MARCH, 1864—"CONGRESSIONAL GRANT"—CONDITION OF REAL ESTATE TITLES—JUDGE HALL'S LAND ENTRY—ENTRIES OF ADJACENT LANDS—OLD PLATTINGS AND STREET NAMES—MEANING OF OLD STREET NAMES IN BUSINESS DISTRICT—CHANGE OF NAMES BY CITY COUNCIL—SOME PARTICULARS OF THE "LOT QUESTION"—CONFUSION OF CONTROVERSY AND WRANGLING GROWING OUT OF IT—EXAGGERATED LOSSES—POPULAR MYTH OF "LOST REAL ESTATE RECORDS."

Important changes were made in the plats of the three Cherry creek towns within a few years after the original surveys were completed; and beginning in 1860, many changes in street names ensued. All the street names or designations bestowed by the Aurarians and Highlanders in their towns have disappeared, and a majority of those originally given the streets of "Denver City" have also vanished. The consolidation of the three towns under the "act" of the "Jefferson Legislature" in December, 1859, and practically effected in the spring of 1860, and which was made a regular and legal fact by the First Legislature of the Territory of Colorado by the act of November 8, 1861, necessitated changes because of the previous duplication of names of some of the more important streets. That consolidation included and was limited to all the territory covered by the original plats of the towns, which, with respect to area, were laid down on an ambitious scale.

By an act approved March 1, 1864, the Territorial Legislature re-defined the corporate limits of Denver, materially extending their area, nearly the whole of the added districts having been open, unoccupied prairie. Under that act the territory of the City of Denver was defined to be as follows: the northwest quarter of section 3 in township 4, range 68 west; the north half of section 4 in township 4, range 68 west; the southwest quarter of section 27 in township 3, range 68 west; the south half of section 28 in township 3, range 68 west; and all of sections 33 and 34; making a total of three and one half sections, or 2,240 acres. Of this land 960 acres included in section 33 and the west half of section 34, constituted what soon after became known as the "Congressional Grant" by the act of Congress approved May 28, 1864. The act of the Territorial Legislature merely enlarged the area of the city, and had no bearing whatever upon the question of title to any of the land. Within the 2,240 acres as defined by the act was the land which was later platted and became lot-additions to the city, as stated in the following: part of H. C. Brown's, Casement's, Clement's, Elmwood, Evans', Gaston's, Hunt's, Kasserman's, Smith's, Steck's, Stiles', Union, Whitsitt's, and Witter's First.

In May of 1864, Congress passed the "Grant" bill, the law being entitled "An Act for the Relief of the People of Denver, Colorado Territory." As we have already related, the Indian title existed over the land when the pioneer towns were located here, and was not extinguished until the autumn of 1860 when, by the treaty with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes, at Bent's Fort, the title passed to the United States. Up to that time the citizens of Denver had been merely squatters on Indian land to which they could acquire no title by any existing process, nor could the town companies give valid title to lots sold or given away in the towns. Neither could the Territorial Legislature afford any relief. After the Fort Bent treaty the land remained unavailable for entry under the general land laws until it had been surveyed. However, when the land became subject to entry the "Denver City," "Auraria City," and "Highland" Town Companies, expecting to have their respective town sites recognized by the government, applied for town site grants. Theoretically, the land on which the town was built, or any part of it, was open to entry by an individual; but, under the peculiar circumstances it is not at all probable that he could have obtained any of it from the government. The life of any one who attempted such a thing, in defiance of the title of right vested in the owners of property in Denver, would have been worth very little at that time.

Notwithstanding that efforts were early instituted to have a proper and adequate remedy provided by law for these unusual conditions, they were not successful until 1864, owing chiefly to the difficulty of getting Congressional attention to a matter relatively so unimportant in that period of civil war. The Congressional "Relief" act was intended to correct all defects of title growing out of the extraordinary circumstances under which Denver was founded, and provided for giving valid titles to all who had title of right descending from the operations of the Denver Town Companies. Under the general land laws only one and one-half sections of land could be granted for a town-site. Each of the three pioneer Town Companies had at the outset expected to be separately recognized and to receive separate grants. But, as the towns had been consolidated into one, the "Relief" act did not go beyond the limits established by the general laws. It set apart all of Section 33, and the west half of Section 34 as the Denver town-site; created the Probate Judge of Arapahoe county a Trustee, or Commissioner, to make entry of the town-site, at the established price of $1.25 per acre, and to receive filings on all lots and parts of lots within the 960 acres, from rightful owners of such lots, as appeared by the records of the Town Companies and by those of Arapahoe county. Ninety days time was allowed such owners in which to apply to the Probate Judge for their deeds, or certificates of ownership, after that officer had acquired title for the whole tract through the general land office.

The records of the Denver Land Office show that Probate Judge James Hall made filings on Section 33 and the west half of Section 34 on May 6, 1865, on which date the "Congressional Grant" became of record and legal effect in the Land Office here—a year after the enactment of the "Relief" law. The records show that he paid in $1,196.60 for the 960 acres and the office fees. As the land alone at $1.25 per acre would have cost $1,200, this indicates that the specified sections were found by accurate re-survey to have been a few acres short. Those 960 acres now include the heart of the city and represent values of many millions.

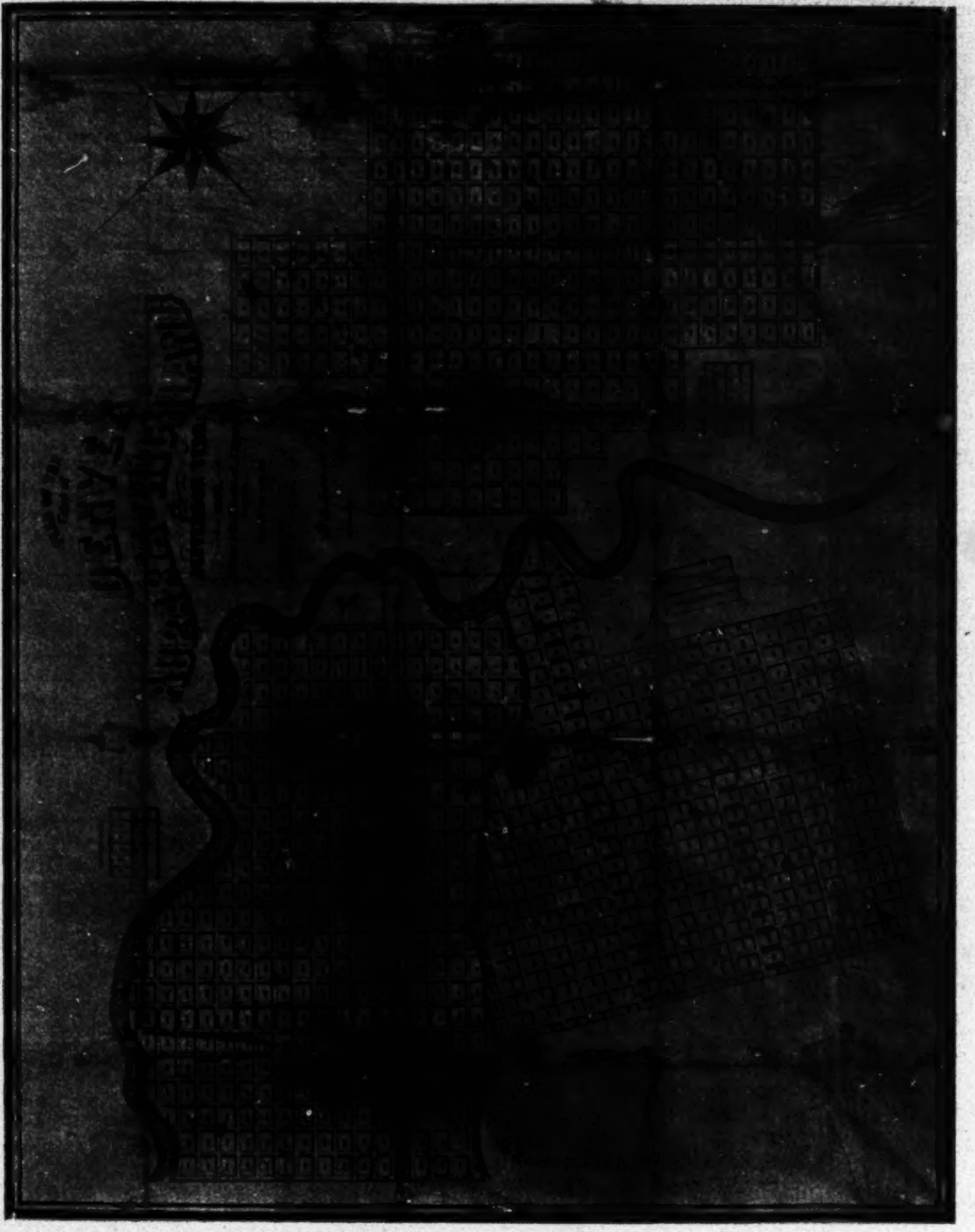
The Probate Judge, acting as Trustee, or Commissioner, was authorized by the law to be reimbursed for his original outlay, and for his services in giving titles, by fees to be paid him by property-owners who received valid titles from him. The boundaries of the "Grant" are familiar to many, but it may be worth while to indicate them here. Colfax Avenue west from Broadway is on the south line of sections 34 and 33; the course of Broadway north from Colfax is very nearly on the north-and-south half-section line of section 34 —near enough for our purposes. Therefore, the boundaries of the "Grant" may be stated as beginning at the intersection of Colfax Avenue and Broadway and running north one mile; thence due west one and one-half miles, cutting across the Platte river near the foot of Fifteenth street; thence due south one mile, and re-crossing the river, to Colfax Avenue; and thence due east one and one-half miles, along Colfax to Broadway.

As our copy of the old map of 1859 will indicate, the "Grant" cut off a large portion of the original plat of "Auraria City," about the same area from that of "Denver City," and left almost the entire plat of Highland out in the cold; that is to say, the Auraria plat lost all south of the line of Colfax Avenue; the Denver plat all south of the Colfax line, and all east of Broadway; and that of Highland all but a small angle, one leg of which was the river line. The land clear around the "Grant," including parts of Sections 3, 4, 27, 28, and 34 designated by the Territorial act of March 1st, thus became subject to entry under the pre-emption and the homestead laws; and it appears that the passage of the "Relief" act limiting the town-site to one and one-half sections was anticipated. The land office records show that several such filings were made prior to its passage. F. J. Ebert's was of date November 9, 1863; James McNassar's, February 24, 1864; Henry C. Brown's, Aprjl 15, 1864; and L. B. France's, May 24, 1864. Many others followed in 1864 and 1865, and it was not long until filings had been made on all the land within hopeful distance of the town.

When these bordering lands were platted and made additions to the town, the streets in all of them, excepting over a moderate area to the northeast of the "Grant," were laid down east and west, north and south. The two great thoroughfares, Colfax Avenue and Broadway were established as what may be called base-line streets for the eastern and southern new districts, and additions in the western new district conformed to them in street arrangements. On the northeast of the "Grant" several of the additions continued the awkward, diagonal courses of the streets within the "Grant" as platted in pioneer times. These details account for what is to new-comers and visitors the rather curious circumstance of the streets in the central and northern parts of the city being in their courses so completely out of harmony with the general street arrangement elsewhere.

Cutting off areas from the pioneer city plats, re-dividing the detached land into lots, and re-locating the streets through it, necessarily entailed no great hardships on any one; for the land on which the changes were made was almost entirely unoccupied and unimproved, and the streets were visible only on the town plats. Liberties much greater were taken with the plat of Highland, than with those of "Auraria City" and "Denver City," and but little of that pioneer town's original street arrangements now exists.

These extensive modifications of the old map of Auraria, Denver and Highland caused, as we have said, the disappearance of many of the original streets in what had been the far outlying sections of the pioneer towns; and with them their names went into oblivion. While some minor changes in street names were made later, it was not until 1873 that a general overturning of street nomenclature occurred. By an ordinance approved February 20th, a general change was made in the names of the streets and a new system of street numbers



First Map of Denver, Auraria, and Highland.

provided for. At that time the platted additions to the city, to the eastward of Cherry creek, had been sufficient to exhaust the letters of the alphabet as street designations. So, that ordinance abolished the alphabetical series and substituted the present numerical method which is applied to Sixteenth and all its parallels on both sides of Cherry creek in what is left of the old area of "Auraria" and "Denver City." In 1886 two ordinances were passed which made a somewhat general change in street names in the new parts of the city which had in the meantime been built up, and which established the present decimal system of street numbering. Since then street nomenclature in the growth of the city has conformed to the general plan suggested by the ordinances of 1886.

The accompanying map of the three towns is a reproduction of the first one made. It bears the indorsement "H. M. Fosdick, Engineer, Dec. 1st, 1859," and was published at the close of that year by Fosdick and L. N. Tappan, the scale being eight hundred feet to an inch; which, of course, does not apply to our reduced copy of it. It is impractical to bring within the limits of a page of this size a satisfactory map of so large an area as that embraced by the original, and a folded "insert" quickly parts company with a volume which receives much handling. Therefore, our reproduction is not recommended for greater utility than that of giving a general outline of the three towns; though a reading glass will be of some assistance in bringing out details. Fosdick and Tappan's maps are not abundant, and those extant are, like the one from which we copied, much the worse for the wear and tear of years.

We have deemed it important to give some attention to the details of the original platting, and particularly to the names or designations which the pioneers attached to their streets in the beginning; also to the earlier structures which occupied the sites of buildings that have succeeded them in the central part of the city—the latter appearing in a subsequent chapter.

The diagonal courses of the streets in the central part of the city—which is the "old" part—are somewhat confusing to the stranger. Geographically they lie nearly to the forty-five degree points of the geographical circle. In speaking of their sides, even the citizen is not quite sure whether they should be called "east" and "west," or "north" and "south;" and the terms are not infrequently used conflictingly. For convenience in designating locations of buildings and for other purposes of that sort we have assumed that Sixteenth street and its parallels are north and south streets; and that Larimer street and its parallels run east and west.

The course of Cherry creek apparently suggested this street arrangement to the pioneer surveyors of Auraria and Denver; Auraria setting the example, and Denver following it. However, their successors in town platting adopted a better system with the result that nearly all of the streets elsewhere within the city's limits range with the main points of the compass; Colfax being the great east and west Avenue clear across the city, through its general geographical center; with Broadway from the intersection of Nineteenth and Welton streets, south, as the north and south thoroughfare. On the northward side of the Platte river, in a little more than what is left of the old town plat of Highland, the streets are diagonal; but elsewhere in that section of the city their courses are north and south, east and west.

The founders of Auraria City did not perpetuate their names in their street nomenclature. Their streets running at right angles to Cherry creek were numbered; beginning with 1st street, near the Platte river, their numbers continued consecutively up to and including 23d street. Under this arrangement, what is now Larimer street on that side of the creek, was 5th street according to their plat. Their streets running at right angles to these numbered streets and parallel with the course of the creek, received proper names, mostly those of the Presidents. Crossing the creek at Larimer street the first cross street encountered was Front street (the present Thirteenth), a short one; the next was Cherry, another short one; then, in order, came Ferry, St. Louis, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Quincy (John Quincy Adams), Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison, Polk, and Taylor streets, Platte Avenue, Pierce and Buchanan streets. Why they refused to honor Tyler and Fillmore is not known. On their plat their 5th street (our Larimer) reached the Platte river before the last four cross streets, as named above, could intersect it; a bend in the river farther upstream making room for Taylor street, Platte Avenue, Pierce and Buchanan streets. The reader will, of course, bear in mind that most of these Auraria streets would have been hard to find unguided by the surveyors' stakes, and that some of them never had any existence except on the town plat.

Across in Highland—which late in 1859 and for several years after was a town only on the map—the streets were laid out to the same compass-points as those of Auraria, and some of them were given the same names. Cherry, Ferry, St. Louis, Cheyenne, Arapahoe—each of the three towns had "Cheyenne" and "Arapahoe" streets—Washington and Adams streets on the Highland plat would have been continuations of Auraria's streets of the same names, had they been connected by bridges across the Platte. Easterly from Cherry street in Highland came, in order, Marion, Foster, Byers, Pollock, Ming, Wooton, Carson, Slaughter, Douglas, Jackson, Wood, Allen, Sopris, Wyatt, Hughes, Wallingford, and Murphy streets. Most of these names are those of Cherry creek pioneers, and have figured in varying degree in our narrative. The Highland streets at right angles to these were numbered, beginning with 1st street next to the Platte and continuing consecutively to 18th street, inclusive. New surveys wrought great havoc in the map of Highland, and subsequent changes of street names left little or nothing of the town's original street nomenclature. On the map of the three Cherry creek towns Highland covered a larger area than either of the others.

The founders of Denver City were determined to perpetuate their names in those of a portion of their streets, and some of them succeeded in doing so. They designated their streets which we now know by numbers—Sixteenth and its parallels—by letters of the alphabet; our Sixteenth having been their G street. A street lay far up Cherry creek and near by and parallel with it, showing on the map a length of seven and one-half blocks. Then came, in order, B, C, D, E (Fourteenth Street), F (Fifteenth street), and so on, consecutively, out to Q street, inclusive. The streets at right angles to these were given proper names, most of which are retained. Beginning at the Platte river, the map of 1859 shows them, in order, as follows:

Bassett,
Williams,
Delgany,
Wewatta,
Wynkoop,
Wazee,
Blake,
McGaa,
Larimer,
Lawrence,
Arapahoe,
Curtis,
Champa,
Stout,
California,
Welton,
Clenam,
Clancy,
Wapoola,
Parkinson,
Cheyenne,
Smith,
Platte,
Dudley,
St. Charles.

At the present time, following Fifteenth street—the only one intersecting all of them—from the Platte river to Broadway, the cross streets, reduced in numbers to twenty-one, bear names as follows:

Bassett,
Chestnut,
Delgany,
Wewatta,
Wynkoop,
Wazee,
Blake,
Market,
Larimer,
Lawrence,
Arapahoe,
Curtis,
Champa,
Stout,
California,
Welton,
Glenarm,
Tremont,
Court Place,
Cleveland Place,
Cheyenne.

We have endeavored to place on record the derivation and meaning of the names of these streets as they appear on the Fosdick and Tappan map, together with some account of the changes made in names, and of other matters pertaining to them. The results of our researches and inquiries appear in that which follows.

The last-named four on the old map—Smith street, named for H. P. A. Smith of the Denver Town Company; Platte, named for the river; Dudley, for Judson H. Dudley who was prominent in the pioneer affairs of both "Auraria" and "Denver City;" and St. Charles, which was all that was left of the town the site of which was so unceremoniously "jumped," were cut off when, by the law of 1864, the nominal area of the Denver town-site was reduced by the "Congressional Grant," and which left Cheyenne street with its present length of about a half block. These four abolished streets would have angled up the slope of Capitol Hill, with St. Charles intersecting the line of the present Logan Avenue and extending beyond it.

The derivation of Arapahoe and Cheyenne, names of local tribes of Indians, needs no further explanation; nor does that of the name of California street, which was appropriately transplanted from the older to the new land of gold.

S. S. Curtis, who was one of the managing members of the Denver Town Company, in response to our request for information concerning the derivation of the names of some of these old streets, said:

"The intention of the Directors of the Denver Town Company in naming the streets was to give those running in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction, alternately names of members of the Town Company and Indian names. The pressure from members of the Town Company to have the principal streets named for themselves was so great, however, that two Indian names were stricken out and McGaa and Lawrence substituted. The Indian names were furnished to the Directors by old John Smith and William McGaa (the latter known as "Jack Jones"), both "squaw men" of no force of character whatever; but from having been first on the ground and because of favors shown Charles Nichols and other members of the Lawrence ["St. Charles"] Company, were made members of the [Denver] Town Company.

The names were given to me to put on the plat of the town by the Directors, and changes were made several times. I believe I knew the meaning of most of the Indian names in those days, but they are mostly gone from me now; but I will tell you what I can. I think "Wewatta" was the name of Jones' squaw; the first syllable being Arapahoe for short and fat. "Champa," I think is Arapahoe for some common animal, deer, antelope, horse, steer, buffalo, wolf or dog. "Welton," I am confident was the name of a member of the Town Company from Leavenworth. I do not know where "Glenarm" came from, it is not Indian. The meaning of "Delgany" and "Wazee" has gone from me entirely; "Wazee" is Indian, but "Delgany" is doubtful."

We will now consider these street names, in order, beginning at the river, if our reader will consent to follow us.

Bassett street, always a short and unimportant one, was named for the unfortunate Captain P. T. Bassett, Recorder of the Denver Town Company.

Williams street, the present Chestnut, and also short and unimportant, was named for A. J. Williams, of the pioneer mercantile firm of Blake & Williams, and for many years a prominent citizen of Denver. By a dispensation of the City Council the street's name was changed to the hackneyed one it now bears, but in the eastern part of the city another was later given the name of Williams.

Delgany street bears a name of unknown origin. Mr. E. P. Stout wrote us that he thought it was not one of the original names, but was given later. Mr. Curtis says the name is "doubtful." None of the old-timers now in Denver know anything about it. The name is on the first map, but is not found in the record of the Denver Town Company.

Wewatta street, according to the recollection of Mr. Curtis, bears the name of Trader Smith's "short and fat" squaw. In this we have learned he is mistaken; "Wapoola" having that distinction. Mr. E. P. Stout says "the name was selected by Wm. McGaa. I presume it was the name of one of the squaws who were camped on the town-site at the time." Colonel T. C. Dickson, of Cheyenne, says it is a qualifying Indian term for water; the first syllable being an Indian term signifying "clear," or "pure," or "cold;" and the remainder an Indian application of the English word "water."

Wynkoop street was named for E. W. Wynkoop, Governor Denver's pioneer "Sheriff" of this region, who was one of the organizers of the Denver Town Company, and a prominent and active man in the early affairs of the city and Territory.

Wazee street carries an Indian name, as Mr. Curtis states, but his inability to definitely explain the meaning of the word extends to all others to whom we referred it. Mr. Stout says "It was a name given by Wm. McGaa, but I don't know its meaning, though he pretended to give it at the time."

Blake street bears the name of Charles H. Blake, of the old pioneer business firm of Blake & Williams, both members of which became actively identified with the Denver Town Company, though in the beginning they located in Auraria.

McGaa street, the present Market street, had the name of the irrepressible William McGaa, assistant founder of "St. Charles," Auraria and Denver City. In 1866 its name was changed to Holladay street, in honor of Ben Holladay, of overland stage-coach fame, and some years later its present name was given it.

Larimer street was named for General William Larimer, one of the leading spirits in the organization of the Denver Town Company, and a man of much ability and great force of character.

Lawrence street has the name of Charles A. Lawrence, one of the originators of the Denver Town Company and who was active in the affairs of the community in 1858-59-60.

Curtis street was named for S. S. Curtis, who came here in the autumn of 1858 and became identified with the Denver Town Company immediately after his arrival.

Champa street has an Indian name, concerning the meaning of which the reader has already seen what Mr. Curtis has said. We have been unable to find any one who can positively say which of the native animals was known to the Arapahoes by that name. Mr. Stout says the word was supplied by William McGaa, who gave its meaning at the time, but that it is now forgotten. Boyd's (Stephen G.) "Indian Local Names with Their Interpretations" (1885), gives "Cha-pa" as the (presumably Sioux) name of the beaver. It is also the Indian name of a small river in Minnesota. Another word, somewhat similar in sound and meaning, is the Ute Indian name for the bear—"Yampai," pronounced "Yampa." It is almost certain that our Champa is McGaa's version of one of these two words.

Stout street has the sturdy name of E. P. Stout, the first President of the Denver Town Company, and who was one of the promoters of that enterprising organization. He did not long remain a citizen, as he returned east in 1861, like many others in that year.

Welton street was named for N. W. Welton, one of the pioneers of the fall of 1858, and a shareholder in the Denver Town Company. In the record of that company his name is written "Welden" and "Welton," the latter being the correct form.

Glenarm street appears on the Fosdick & Tappan map as Clenam street, which evidently resulted from a passing error. Mr. Stout informs us that it was named by William McGaa after "Glen Arm," which he claimed was a noted estate in Scotland and which he admired exceedingly. McGaa appears to have had much to do with the detail affairs of the Denver Town Company.

Clancey street, our present Tremont, was named for William Clancey, of the Denver Town Company, and now living at Butte, Montana. Mr. W. N. Byers says the pronunciation of the word became Glancy, and then Glency. Finally the City Council thought to remedy things by changing the name to Tremont, as the street's namesake had forsaken Denver. But for a long time many people took Tremont to mean Fremont, and it is only within recent years that the name of the "Pathfinder" has been dropped as a commonly used name for the street.

Wapoola street, the present Court Place, was one of those given an Indian name in the beginning. The word is, in the Sioux tongue, "Wa-po-la," and was the name of trader John S. Smith's squaw. This information came from William Denver McGaa, who says he obtained it from his full-blooded Sioux grandmother, Mrs. Larocque, now at Pine Ridge, South Dakota. The City Council was responsible for the present colorless name of the street.

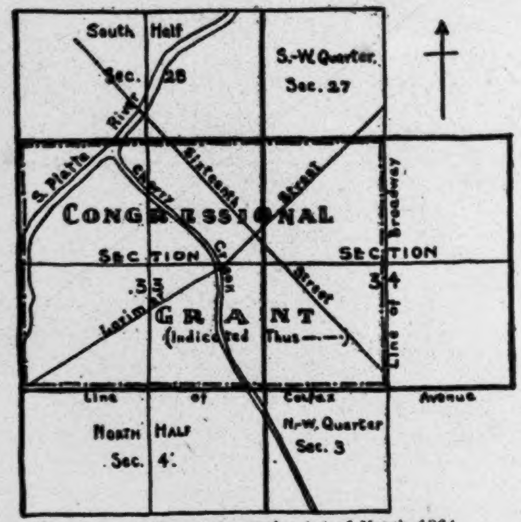
Parkinson street, the present Cleveland Place, was named for Captain J. T. Parkinson who was identified with both the Auraria and Denver Town enterprises when they were set on foot, and who arrived at the mouth of Cherry Creek in October, 1858. The City Council changed the name when it was doing other work of that kind, but good reasons for the change are not apparent; for the old name had the merit of local historic association, while the present one has no such significance.

In an earlier chapter we have mentioned what is known in our local annals as the "City Lot Question," and while, as we have said, it will serve no public good to now overhaul the old and no longer vital question, it is proper, from a historical standpoint, to outline as definitely as can be done, the causes of the trouble. Many and long and loud have been the complaints of fraud, injustice and wrong claimed to have been committed in giving effect to the "Congressional Grant" act of 1864, and in transactions related thereto. It is alleged to this day that many lots in some way passed into the possession of other than the rightful owners, and that many persons who had temporarily become non-residents, though still claiming title to property in Denver, lost their property in the processes here that followed that Congressional enactment. This is the substance of the plaintiffs' grievances; and it can not be fairly denied that they recall a rather dark page in Denver's history.

Much the greater number of the alleged wrongful acts were associated with property in the old "Denver City" district. In the pioneer proceedings town lots were disposed of by dividing a large number among the respective shareholders, donating others to persons who would build on them and for various special purposes, and reserving still others to be sold at public sales to provide for the expenses and debts of the Town Companies. Each company kept a lot-record called the "Block-book," in which was registered every lot, together with the name of the owner of each one that had been disposed of by the company, attached thereto. Here, the rightful title to property really began. Certificates of lot-ownership were issued by the officers of the companies to lot-owners, and which were transferable by merely indorsing them on the back. When conveyed in this manner, or by a deed, the new owner filed the document with the Recorder of the Town Company in the domain of which the property was situated, for record in a book kept for that purpose by each company. In this way the recording of real estate transfers was started. After "Auraria City" and "Denver City" united in the spring of 1860, the recording was done by one officer, who systematized all that had previously been done. Although Arapahoe county was then alleged to be in existence, he continued to record transfers of real estate, and a few years later his records by purchase and legal enactment became Arapahoe County Records.

As we have stated on a preceding page of this chapter, the "Congressional Grant" act made the Probate Judge of Arapahoe county a Trustee, or Commissioner, to carry its provisions into effect; and gave city property-owners ninety days within which to file with him their claims and proof of ownership and receive valid titles for their property. At the expiration of that time there was a large number of lots upon which no filings had been made, and which apparently remained unclaimed; the owners thereof being either negligent or absent, or had abandoned them; or, as was the case in many alleged instances, totally ignorant of the Congressional enactment and of its provisions governing the manner in which their rights could be protected.

The City of Denver then placed its filing upon all such unclaimed lots, in the interest of the public welfare and with the view of securing from the proceeds of later sales of all for which no rightful owner could be found, a fund for school purposes; an action that received the hearty approval of the great body of the citizens. The large number of unclaimed lots, that were rising in value as the city revived after the close of the civil war, naturally attracted covetous eyes, and a jealous watchfulness was necessary to safe-guard them for the ultimate purposes had in view. As time passed on the community rested in the confident belief that the property from which a school fund would ultimately be assured was under safe protection. Then came disquieting rumors to the effect that the public interests were menaced by transactions alleged to have been made with reference to some of the lots. These were followed by public charges that startled the community, and were to the effect that transfers of the abandoned lots were being made without regard to the public interest in them, or to the rights of those who had failed to file their claims within the stipulated ninety days.



Denver's Boundaries, under Act of March, 1864.

Then followed a tempest of accusation, and denial and recrimination, out of which arose much bitterness of feeling, angry personal animosities, and great public excitement. The community and the press became divided on the "Lot Question," and the consequences of the turmoil endured for years, with lingering echoes of them existing to this day. Yet, from a historical standpoint, it resulted in nothing tangible upon which any categorical statement of the extent of the alleged wrongful acts can be made; and we have no desire to place on record charges unproved in any established tribunal, against the men then alleged to have been the more responsible for the alleged wrongs and whose lips are now forever sealed; but who passed away with the adverse conviction of a majority of their fellow-citizens still standing against them. Such a statement, with the details that accompanied the accusations, would require several of these pages for its presentation. But, it would right no wrongs and restore no rights; nor would it serve to efface the memory of a most unpleasant episode in the city's history, the particulars of which were now perhaps as well left in obscurity.

There was another, but in public estimation, far less important feature of the general "Lot Question," and differing in character from what has been outlined in the foregoing. It related to transactions between individuals and grew out of these circumstances: after the "Congressional Grant" bill became a law, all the land adjoining the 960 acres became, as we have stated, subject to entry as public land, though prior thereto, extended tracts of some of it had been included in the old town-surveys, and lots in it had been sold and taxed. When the entries of these lands were made, owners of such lots declared their intention to contest the filings of the pre-emptions, in the Land Office, unless they were given the lots and fractions of lots that stood in their respective names when these pre-emptors secured the patents for their lands from the government. It has always been asserted, and believed by many, that the City of Denver sustained these lot-owners in their demands, and obtained from all pre-emptors whose lands included such lots, bonds obligating them to transfer such lots to the rightful owners; that the city was custodian of the bonds, for which the little safe in the little old "City Hall" was the depository; and that the bonds were in the safe when it and the "Hall" were swept away by the Cherry creek flood in May, 1864.

The requirements of the bonds were complied with by all the pre-emptors but two who, after the flood, refused deeds for the lots. Therefore, after the safe was lost its recovery became a matter of supposed great importance, and much searching for it was made in subsequent years with the hope that its contents might still be in preservation. This hope has not yet entirely vanished. Some six or seven years after the flood, the bond of one of the pre-emptors, who had fulfilled his obligations, rather mysteriously appeared and was placed on record; but explanation for its separation from the other bonds assumed to have gone off with the safe was never made. It was of no particular value, as all its obligations had been cancelled, and this perhaps was the reason it was permitted to again see the light of day and was finally returned to the man whose signature it bore. Owners of lots in the lands pre-empted by the two alleged derelict bond-givers, never received titles to them, notwithstanding that they had bought and paid for them, and had paid taxes on them for several years. These transactions were naturally the cause of much bitter personal feeling and angry hostility which, also, endured for many years.

Of the controversies we have here been considering, the merits and demerits involved could not be—or, at least, were not—definitely determined when the circumstances were fresh many years ago; and certainly it would now be quite impossible to do so. It remains to be said, however, that losses of Denver town-lots in the early times by alleged dishonesty and by other causes for which the owners were not directly responsible, never aggregated, either in value or extent, anywhere near the dimensions attributed to them by many published reminiscences. As to values, it is to be remembered that in the pioneer times town lots were about the cheapest things in the Denver market, and not infrequently their sometime owners regarded them as having no value. They often constituted the stakes in games at cards when cash was scarce, and a survivor of those days still living in the city claims to have had at one time an accumulation of nearly a hundred town lots to which he had acquired title by holding better "hands" than his friends could show. In the very early days the two lots on which still stands the old Cole's Hall building on the south side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, sold for eighty cents; one for thirty-five and other for forty-five. Many men who left the country upon the outbreak of the civil war sold their lots for anything they could get; and if they could get nothing, went off and abandoned them for good. In 1862 when many others left here for the new gold-fields in Montana the same thing was repeated. It was only within a limited area of the city limits, in the fairly built-up parts, that real estate had value of consequence as late as 1863; and even then the improvements represented the principal part of it.

So, it is not improbable that many stories of alleged losses entailed by alleged wrongful acts, and others inspired by the belief that the Cherry creek flood carried away records, grew out of afterthoughts; out of circumstances entailed by neglect and abandonment by claimants; and, retroactively, out of the later prospects for the town's development and future prosperity when railroads began to appear as probabilities. Yet, the allegations of men who said and still say they knew nothing of the proceedings by which their property passed to the hands of others, until afterward, and in some instances until several years afterward, are not provided for in the explanations we have here set forth.

The flood in Cherry creek has been made to account for many alleged losses of property. It became mixed up in subsequent versions of the "Lot Question" in which the accused are represented as having claimed that the confusion was due to losses of records; and that the accusers asserted the records had not been lost in the flood, but were purposely destroyed, and that the flood was an opportune circumstance by which to account for their disappearance; and that their disappearance was a part of the programme then in view. The flood cut no figure whatever in the main controversy, but the belief that it did, and that it was responsible for large losses of property titles still retains its hold upon popular reminiscences. The usual form of these is to the effect that the "City Hall" and the city safe contained all the real estate records of Denver up to May, 1864, and that the loss of the "Hall" and safe entailed all the trouble incident to the "Lot Question," and to other alleged property-losses, by reason of the records having been destroyed by the waters. Real estate records were not kept in the "City Hall," and neither the "Hall" nor the safe contained any records other than pertained to city business; unless they may have been possessed of the alleged bonds of the two derelict pre-emptors we have above mentioned; as those documents would, if they ever existed, have belonged to the city archives.

Out of the belief that the real estate records went down the river with the "City Hall," and that even the records of the county Probate Court went with them, arose the many fanciful narratives, often related by the assumed-to-have-been victim, of heavy losses of town-lots by reason of Cherry creek carrying away all record evidence of title. Such reminiscences are still in circulation and command interest and sympathy, while they do no particular harm. Yet, it might be well to consider that Cherry creek has sins enough charged against it for cause, without having others for which it was never responsible added to its burdens.

CHAPTER XLV.

COLORADO'S PIONEER CAPTAINS—ADDITIONAL PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE RUSSELL BROTHERS—FAVORABLE INFLUENCE OF RAILWAYS—EFFECT ON REAL ESTATE AND GENERAL BUSINESS—ARRIVAL OF CHINESE—CONSTRUCTION OF GAS WORKS—FIRST WATER WORKS SYSTEM—NEW COLONIES IN COLORADO; GREELEY, LONGMONT, COLORADO SPRINGS, AND FORT COLLINS—DENVER'S SUBSTANTIAL DEVELOPMENT—BROADER MUNICIPAL POLICY—GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS—PROMINENT VISITORS—MR. GREELEY'S LAST COMING—FAMOUS "DIAMOND SWINDLE"—"DENVER CITY" BECOMES DENVER—ITS POPULATION—PANIC OF 1873—HAYDEN'S SURVEYS—WRANGLES OF POLITICIANS—THREATENED REMOVAL OF TERRITORIAL CAPITAL TO PUEBLO.

Denver's pioneer era had not been a long one in years, but the years it included covered an epoch-making period; not only for the Great West, but for the Nation. The events of those years often made the months seem many and long to those who constituted civilization's working force here in isolated Colorado. Aside from all that, the conditions that had been encountered here and so triumphantly overcome, were extraordinary conditions; and in the eagerness to accomplish results the few years in which so much had really been done seemed long to men so impatient of any delay.

The conditions in Denver throughout that pioneer era could only have been met and mastered by extraordinary men; and they who did so were an unusually able, energetic, resourceful community of young men; nearly all of them were young. There were few in "middle life" among the founders and builders in the city's pioneer era.

As it was in Denver, so it was elsewhere in Colorado—the general pioneer movements were led by intrepid young men; those who came after the work had been begun none the less so than those who led the way in 1858. In each advancing stage of the progress, here in the town and abroad on the plains and in the mountains, were found ready men who seemed to have been especially fitted by Nature to deal with the arising necessities and emergencies of the recurring situations. It is a distinction to have been one of Colorado's pioneer Captains.

Before passing to consideration of events in what it may be convenient to call the new era in Denver, we will give some further attention to the personal history of the three Russell brothers, W. G., J. O., and the Doctor, who, as we have seen, organized the first company of Colorado gold-seekers, directed the building of the first habitation for white men on the site of Denver, and are entitled to take rank as the foremost of Colorado's pioneers. They did not permanently remain here. In the autumn of 1859 they went back to Georgia for a winter's visit at their old homes. They returned early in the following spring, bringing with them still another party of Georgia men. W. Green and the Doctor came to Denver from the Missouri river by way of the Smoky Hill route, surveying and measuring that route for and under contract with the City of Leavenworth and finding the distance to be 610 miles. The Doctor became interested in mining in the Gregory districts with his brothers but continued the practice of his profession; and the three were thus engaged during the ensuing two years.

In the summer of 1862 the three brothers, who were frankly in sympathy with the cause of their section, in company with a few others originally from northern Georgia started for their old homes by way of New Mexico and Texas—through the back door of the Confederacy. The entire party was captured an the Canadian river just inside the Texas line by Lieutenant Shoup, of the First Colorado Volunteers; the men being accused of Confederate sympathies and intentions. They were taken back to Fort Union, New Mexico, turned over to Captain Plympton, Commander of that Post, and detained there as prisoners several months. Early in 1863 United States Marshal A. C. Hunt, afterward Governor of Colorado Territory, supported by the intercession and influence of the Russell brothers' Denver friends, who were certainly not of Confederate sympathies, went to Fort Union, secured the release of the prisoners and had their property restored to them. Whereupon the entire party returned to Denver; Dr. Russell remaining in the city, while his brothers resumed mining. Of the subsequent movements of his brothers, and of the family of W. G. Russell, Dr. Russell says:

"Early in May, 1863, W. G. and J. O. Russell left Denver to make their way back to their old homes in northern Georgia, by way of Louisville, Kentucky. After reaching Louisville they struck out afoot for the south, traveling mostly by night. They crossed the Cumberland mountains and finally succeeded in reaching their homes.

"W. G. Russell's wife whose maiden name was Willis, was of Cherokee descent, her grandfather whose name was Daugherty, having been a half-blood Cherokee. They had six children, three sons and three daughters. The widow died in 1893; the eldest son, John, was killed near Leadville some years ago, by the caving in of a mine; the youngest son was accidentally killed in the Cherokee Nation; the surviving son and three daughters now live in the Nation. J. O. Russell is now living in Menardville, Texas."

Dr. Russell also included an account of W. Green Russell's later movements and of his death; but that of the latter's daughter, Mrs. Martha Marshall, of Briartown, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, who was with her father in his later years, being rather more circumstantial, is presented here instead. We are also indebted to Mrs. Marshall for the use of the portrait, the only one in existence, from which our portrait engraving of her father was made:

"Upon my father's return from Colorado in 1863 he at once raised a company of soldiers and in command of them entered the Confederate army and served until the close of the war. After the war he remained at his old home in Georgia until 1872, when he sold part of his property there, and on May 2nd we—he and his family—started for Colorado. We were all summer on the way, occasionally stopping for hunting and fishing. Two other families went through with us and they still live in Colorado. We traveled by ox-team about ten miles a day, my father going back there more for my mother's health and pleasure than anything else."

"We arrived at the head of Apache creek, Huerfano county, October 20th. There my father took up some land on a small stream, and after we were settled, occasionally went away on hunting and prospecting trips. In the summer of 1874 my father sold that place and moved into the Sangre de Christo mountains near Fort Garland. There he worked two summers in placer mining, making very little. In October, 1876, he sold his claims and we all started back to Georgia, arriving at my uncle's—John R. Russell, of Indian Territory—near the town of Cincinnati, Arkansas, on December 10th. On learning from his brother of the great fertility of this part of the Indian Territory where I live, my father decided to visit it, and did so. He liked it so well that the return to Georgia was abandoned and we remained at my uncle's until March 5, 1877, when we moved here to Briartown with the intention of locating; my mother being part Cherokee, entitled us to take up or buy a place."

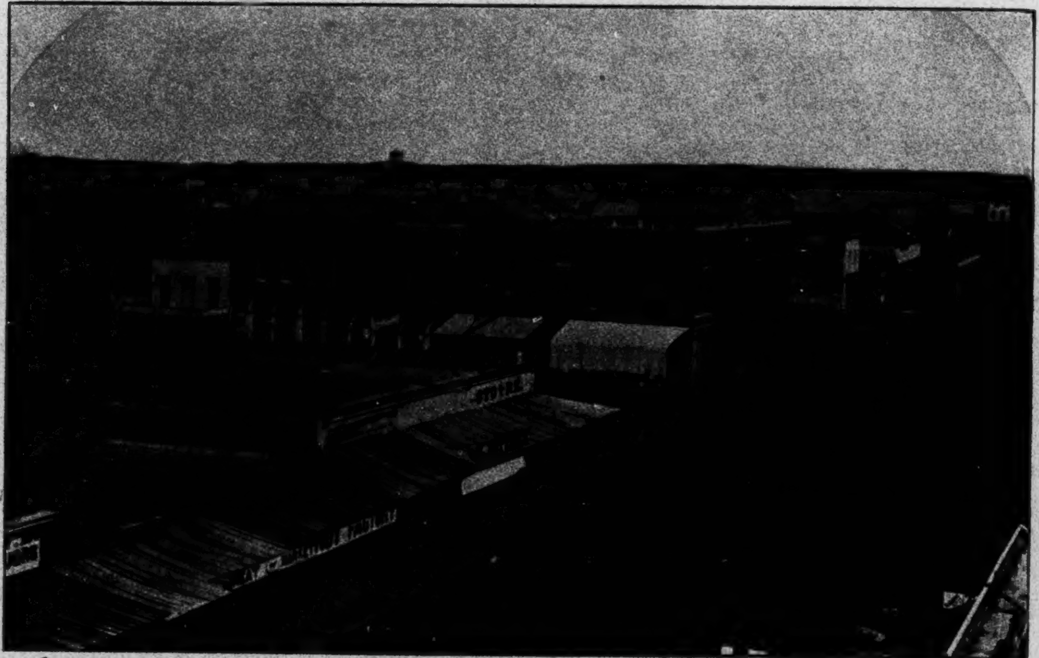
"My father began farming and sent his children to school. Everything, corn, cotton and all, grew finely and my father said he was permanently settled at last and was satisfied. But he was near his end. The last of June my mother was taken with malarial fever, and before she got better we were all down with it—chills and fever—and on some days not one of the family would be able to even hand another a cup of water; and the good neighbors took care of us. While we were thus situated father became much disheartened and decided to get back to Georgia, intending to start as soon as the summer heat passed and the weather got cool, if we were able to travel. On the 14th of August he was able to be up, and while out in the yard fell in a convulsion. We got help and brought him in, but he was never out of the house any more. He died on August 24th—ten days later. He did not seem very ill at times and would not have a Doctor until two days before his death. Good Doctors were then not known in this country and the one he had did no good, as he did not know what to do for what turned into a very bad case of congestive fever."

"My father was buried by friends and neighbors, not one of his family being able to attend his funeral. He was a Mason but there were no other Masons then here, nor were there any ministers. So he was buried without any kind of service, here at Briartown School House, on the South Canadian river, in Canadian District, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory."

"My father was born in South Carolina in 1818, being nearly sixty years old when he died. When we came here he was as healthy and strong as most men of forty. His hair was dark, his beard just a little gray, and he did not look much older than he does in his picture I send you; but in his last year or two he wore his beard unbraided. His last visit to Denver was in the summer of 1875 when he went there to look after the big ditch he had sold long before. In the winter of 1877-78 my mother took us back to our home in northern Georgia where she died in 1893. Then we sold our old home there and came back to this country."

When W. G. and J. O. Russell left Denver in May, 1863, Dr. L. J. Russell with a party of miners set out for the then newly-discovered gold-fields in Montana, which were causing much excitement and which drew hundreds, if not thousands, of men from Colorado. This terminated Dr. Russell's residence in and connection with Denver. He remained in Montana several years, and then, after a return to Georgia, finally located, as we have stated, in Bell county, Texas, where he is still a physician in active practice. His place in our city's history is that of having been, more than any other man, its founder. He bore a conspicuous part in the pioneer attempt to establish civil government in this region in the form of the "Territory of Jefferson," participating as a leader in every step toward the final organization of that historic and most interesting example of the love for and devotion to self-government inherent in the character of the American people.

J. O. Russell, who was known here as Oliver, also entered the Confederate army upon his return to Georgia in 1863, and served through the war. Later he located in Texas and is now living at Menardville, in that State. In clothing, equipping



View in Denver, looking eastward from Fifteenth and Larimer streets, at the close of the pioneer era. (From a photograph.)

and otherwise providing for his company of soldiers, W. Green Russell expended nearly all the net proceeds of his mining operation in Colorado. The three brothers were natives of South Carolina, but early in life removed to northern Georgia.

In speaking of Dr. Russell to the writer, Andrew Sagendorf, who knew him well in that autumn of 1858 and until the Doctor left Denver, said:

"Dr. Russell was, and is now I have no doubt, for the natural character of a man doesn't change much, a peculiarly winning kind of man. He was one of these gentle, humane, considerate men; kindly in disposition and quiet in his ways, but who could be positive and determined enough when necessary. All of us liked him, and he was always giving us reasons for liking him better. I am sure that every one who knew him here has none but pleasant recollections of him."

While the completion of the two railroads to Denver did not immediately precipitate a great "boom" in the young city—a circumstance that caused a little disappointment in some quarters—it was followed by a remarkable change in the feelings of the people and the fortunes of the town. All doubt of the future vanished and a confidence bordering on enthusiasm pervaded the community. The stability of Denver's position as the metropolis of the region was assured by the relations that had been established between the Denver Pacific and the Kansas Pacific roads. While the city was the terminus of each, the two were so allied that their operations would not contribute to the upbuilding of a rival city, to Denver's detriment.

Until these relations had been accomplished, which occurred before the roads were completed to the city, the conditions were quite different. It had seemed, as we have related, that Golden might, and possibly would, forge ahead under the influences of her prospective railroad facilities and become the nucleus of the chief city of Colorado. The projectors and builders of the Colorado Central Railway, of which some account is given in a succeeding chapter, openly declared that Denver would go to decay and be abandoned by her people, who would transfer themselves over to the base of the mountains and become citizens of the new metropolis. But the predictions and promises made by Denver's Captains while the community was struggling to find ways and means by which to construct the pioneer Denver Pacific road, were more than fulfilled. In 1870 Golden's hopeful ambitions fell away and this city's future had at last been made broad and certain.

Though, as we have said, there was no decided "boom" in real estate in 1870, of the speculative variety, there was a great advance over former values and much activity in that and other lines of business. In that year sales of real estate aggregated nearly one million dollars, and the value of improvements more than one-half million. The commercial trade was estimated to have been between eight and nine millions, and the business of the manufacturers nearly one million. A relatively large influx of people came that year, and estimates, made conservative by experience with the official census of the early summer, accorded to the city late in the autumn a population of 5,000; which was probably not enough by several hundred.

The hotels were crowded with strangers and the then new American House was the center of interest in the newly-arrived. The Denver Theater, which had for some time been closed for want of patronage, had been re-opened with new splendors and was nightly filled to its limits of capacity. The streets were thronged, and the atmosphere heavy with rumors and discussions of new enterprises of almost every kind and quality, but of which railroad building and mining were the most important. Among the strangers who came that year, within a month after the opening of the Denver Pacific, were a few Chinese, the scouts of the larger body that soon followed. These pioneer Celestials came quietly and unobtrusively, but their reports must have been favorable, for it was not long before their brethren came trooping in. Some opened laundries, others became good house-servants, and still others went to the mining districts and patiently toiled in the previously worked-over bars and gulches.

One of the conspicuous improvements made in 1870 was the construction of gas-works. On November 1, 1869, Colonel James Archer, who was identified with building the Kansas Pacific railway, and who became and remained until his death, one of Denver's forceful and valued citizens, had proposed to the city the construction of gas-works. The people heartily approved his proposition and Colonel Archer organized his company on November 13 of that year. He appears to have proceeded under an ordinance passed on January 10, 1868, for a preceding but ineffective enterprise, as we more fully relate in a later chapter. The city entered into a contract with Colonel Archer's company for lighting the streets, and he agreed to have his plant in operation by January 1, 1871. Construction work had to await completion of the railroads, and pipe-laying was begun on September 20, 1870; about two miles of mains being required. The buildings with their appliances were erected at Eighteenth and Wewatta streets on part of the premises now occupied by the Pintsch-gas plant of the present Denver Gas & Electric Company, and were completed before the close of that year. Owing to trouble with the coal first provided, the gas service was not satisfactorily ready until January 22, 1871, and then it made a most welcome change in methods of illumination, for previously the artificial lights were chiefly those of tallow candles. The maximum price of gas to private consumers was five dollars per one thousand feet, and for several years the maximum was charged.

The construction of gas-works was not the only great public utility, and still greater satisfaction and convenience, for which the people of Denver were at that time indebted to the enterprise, energy and foresight of James Archer and several other Denver men of action. Simultaneously with the inception of the gas-works, Colonel Archer proposed to construct a general system of water works by a company which he would organize. The people received this proposition with some incredulity but with much more delight, and almost unanimous approval. Colonel Archer completed his arrangements in the autumn of 1870, and organized the Denver City Water Company, composed of Denver men, to construct and operate waterworks on the Holly direct-pressure system, using steam power and distributing through between three and four miles of street mains. A contract was made with the city for fire protection by fire-hose hydrants on the streets, on a very fair basis under the circumstances and conditions of those times. Construction work began before midsummer of 1871 and was hastened to completion. The pumping house was a small brick structure at the northeast corner of Bassett and Fifteenth streets, the water having been taken from a large well in the river bank near that point, and by a Holly steam pump maintained at required pressure for service in buildings and, upon occasion, at far higher pressure for fire purposes. The system was not quite completed that year, but on January 10, 1872, it was ready for service and began supplying water. Further details of the organization of this first waterworks company appear in our account of the development of Denver's great waterworks system in a succeeding chapter.

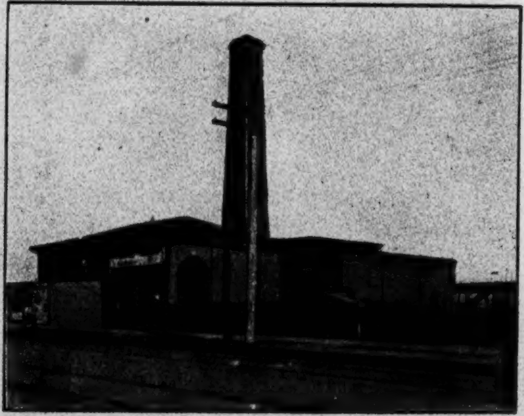
Old Gas Works at Eighteenth and Wewatta streets—now the Pintsch Gas plant of the Denver Gas & Electric Company.

Until that time the people of Denver had depended for their domestic water supply on ordinary wells in their door-yards and here and there along the streets. Through the great bed of sand underlying the lower levels of the city from twelve to twenty feet below the surface, there is a constant flow of pure, cold, sparkling water which abundantly supplied all the wells; but that understrata that affords ready circulation for the underflow also affords contamination the same facilities. At that time the population was not, relatively, so widely distributed as it is now, and the city was without sewers. Therefore, the new waterworks had much to commend them to the people.

Another important and significant event of 1870 was the coming of the advance guard of the Union Colony and the founding of the city of Greeley. While it was not of direct concern to Denver, it was in every other way, because it was what may be termed the first duly organized effort to occupy the land of the plains and to further advance agriculture. The movement that resulted in this, had been instituted in the east in the autumn of 1869 by Nathan C. Meeker, then agricultural editor of the New York Tribune, and as heartily seconded and encouraged by Horace Greeley, who used the Tribune to advance the undertaking. On December 23, 1869, those who had become interested in the movement met at Cooper Union, New York city, and organized the Union Colony; electing Meeker, President; General R. A. Cameron, Vice President; and Mr. Greeley, Treasurer. It is inexpedient for us to take up the matter much in detail. About sixty persons organized the association, but later there were many additions, and ultimately the membership aggregated near five hundred; not of the often resourceless class of immigrants, but substantial people—farmers, professional men, merchants, mechanics and the like. They were principally New England, New York, Ohio and Indiana people. In April, 1870, the delta formed by the South Platte and the Cache-a-la-Poudre,rolling, treeless but fertile prairie, was selected as the Colony's location. The streams were fringed by cottonwoods and afforded facilities for irrigation. Meeker had previously visited Colorado and then conceived the undertaking which he later consummated. His plan was to locate the contemplated colony in the South Park, but was dissuaded from that by Mr. W. N. Byers, who visited New York, attended the organization meetings and gave the people the benefit of his large and varied knowledge of this part of the country. The Colony bought from the Denver Pacific Railway Company and from individuals about 12,000 acres of land around the mouth of the Poudre, and acquired by entry and otherwise 60,000 acres more of public land. Early in May, 1870, the first party, consisting of about fifty families, arrived by rail by way of Cheyenne, and began the pioneer work in founding the city of Greeley.

In 1870 another Colorado colony to locate within tributary distance of Denver, was organized at Chicago, and to which the founding of Longmont was due. A tract of 55,000 acres of land was bought from the National Land Company of which W. N. Byers was resident agent here. The Colony located on it in March, 1871, and by adding the French word for mountain to the name of the great peak towering above the ranges near there, made a name for their settlement.

Colorado Springs, the offspring of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, though not a colonial enterprise of the same character that the others were, was a development of that same general period. It was founded in the summer of 1871 by an organization called the Fountain Colony, of Colorado, and of which General R. A. Cameron was Vice President and General Manager of affairs. The association acquired 10,000 acres of land along Monument creek, and on July 31st the first stake on the site of what is now a large and flourishing city, was driven. Colorado City, dating from pioneer times, had then all but given up the ghost, and was a mere hamlet. At the close of 1871, Colorado Springs consisted of more than one thousand and fifty buildings, and a newspaper had been established there.



Denver's first Waterworks Pumping House—now dismantled. (From a recent photograph.)

Fort Collins, a decayed military post that had been built during the Indian troubles in the "Sixties" and named for an Ohio army officer, became a town in 1873 under the direction and management of General R. A. Cameron, who was a colonizer by instinct and who, as proved by results, was provided with judgment to match his energetic ability.

These substantial evidences of the attractiveness of our country here, together with the progress of the older towns, were as gratifying to the more thoughtful citizens of Denver as if all the newcomers had been added to the city's population; and even more so.

The years 1871 and 1872 were very prosperous ones, and the city here was fairly started upon its new career, if such a distinction may be made between the times we are considering and those of the ante-railroad pioneer era. The country was filling with new people, enough of whom had located in Denver by midsummer of 1872 to increase its population to between eight and nine thousand, at least; though from twelve to fifteen thousand were "claimed." The mines were doing excellently, and many new and opulent districts, especially for silver, were developing. These prosperous conditions were reflected in the property valuations for taxation; or, rather, in the increase of property for assessment. The figures for 1872 were, for the city, upward of seven million dollars; and with the county's added, upward of twelve millions; values which may be said to have been created here in a dozen years or so—though it is quite probable that the true values from a trading standpoint were two or three times the amounts stated.

With the new era and its consequences came the need for a broader administration of municipal affairs. The term of Mayor Joseph E. Bates was the first in which the city's chief executive undertook to deal with the new conditions that had arisen. He was a man of much ability and who saw the necessity for many changes; most of which he officially and urgently recommended, and a considerable number of which he saw accomplished. The police department was reorganized on an efficient basis, the volunteer fire department strengthened, and a board of health created. The street grades had been practically those of the natural conditions, and their correction was inaugurated. In the business sections the sidewalks, so far as there were any, were of planks that made rough traveling; in the residence parts there were none. In these matters a new order of things was also instituted. The pioneer founders and platters of the city had practically made no provision for parks. They hardly realized that their towns, even when united, could or would possibly grow to a size requiring parks for the citizens. In their time the difficulty was to get the ground occupied; not to keep it open. It is quite probable that if any one had suggested to them the actual need for city parks on their plats, they would have concluded that a far greater and an immediate one existed for a small asylum for insane advisers. Mayor Bates saw the need for such provisions, and in his recommendations on the subject may be found the germ of the city's present park system which, if it is not all that could be desired, is an excellent beginning toward that end.

"Billy" Wise's "National Park" on Champa street near Twenty-seventh—a locally famous "road house" in the earlier Seventies.

In 1867 the United States government had ordered a geological survey of the Rocky Mountain country, along the fortieth parallel, and the explorations were placed under the charge and direction of Clarence King, a man of many high attainments. His work, which continued several years, with headquarters at Denver the larger part of the time, was chiefly devoted to the mineralogical resources of the country to be surveyed—their distribution and relative situations. In 1873 another expedition was thrown into the field, by the War Department, under the general charge of Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, the primary objects being to discover the most available routes for the movement of troops and wagons between interior posts; and incidentally to conduct researches in geology, zoology, botany, archæology, and other special branches of science. This expedition was in the field three years, and a part of it in Colorado most of the time. In the reports of this work are many maps in detail, illustrations, and other matter of great geographical and scientific value.

In the earlier days the "prominent visitor" to Denver was and had been a far more prominent personage than he is in our times, and received quite a different kind of attention. Now he comes and goes so frequently and so numerously that special ceremonies on his account are hardly expedient in a large and busy city. The first one was Horace Greeley, who came in June, 1859, and of whose experience here we have already given some account. Through the next few years, including the war time, "prominent visitors" were rather conspicuous by their absence. On May 27, 1865, Schuyler Colfax, Lieutenant-Governor Bross, of Illinois, and Albert D. Richardson arrived in Denver, and the entire party was warmly welcomed. Mr. Colfax had near relatives among Denver's pioneers, and our great cross-town avenue was named for him. Upon this first visit a ball was given in his honor, tickets to which were eagerly bought by Denver citizens at sixteen dollars each. On June 29, 1866, Bayard Taylor came to Denver in company with the noted American artist, William H. Beard, who died in New York in February, 1900, and the two delightfully spent several weeks in Colorado. In those years Taylor was connected with the New York Tribune. He re-visited Colorado and Denver in June, 1869, and the charming letters he wrote to that paper during his two visits were afterward published in book form, and even to this time there is nothing in Colorado literature that gives greater pleasure to the reader than those old-time letters. On September 10, 1866, General Sherman and his staff reached Denver, and on the evening of the 11th were banqueted at the Pacific (Broadwell) House. General Sherman came again on September 6, 1868, and with him were Generals W. B. Hazen and W. J. Palmer, Professor Louis Agassiz and others, escorted by a detachment of troops. The distinguished visitors were guests at the old Planters' House, where a banquet and other festivities were given in their honor. Albert Bierstadt, the famous painter of landscape pictures, was also a visitor in that period. In company with and under the guidance of Mr. Byers, the famous artist received, while ascending to the summit of Mount Evans, the inspiration of his noted and magnificent painting, "Storm in the Rocky Mountains;" though the locality pictured is near Colorado Springs. Learning that Mount Evans was then nameless, he modestly asked upon his return to Denver permission to name it Mount Rosa, after an Alpine peak it much resembles. That name adhered until the Colorado Legislature formally sanctioned the bestowal of that of Governor Evans upon it; a change which some of our people even yet think should not have been made. General Hancock with an escort of soldiers came on June 24, 1867, and made a brief stay. With him was Henry M. Stanley, then correspondent of the St. Louis Democrat, with Hancock's expedition against the warring Indians. Stanley returned east in a little row-boat, going down the Platte to the Missouri and thence to St. Louis. He had an adventurous journey, and was several times fired on by Indians; but lived to brave greater dangers in Africa. On June 17, 1868, William H. Seward with a large party of friends, arrived in Denver, and a "reception" was given the visitors that evening. On July 15th General Schofield and his staff came in from the plains; and in that month Professor F. V. Hayden of the United States Geological Survey, with several of his associates in scientific work arrived here. General Grant, in company with several other distinguished men, made his first visit to Denver on July 23, 1868, and was received with enthusiasm. He was given the freedom of all there was of the city at that time, and almost prodigal hospitality was bestowed upon him. A public reception was given him in the old Masonic Hall in the third story of the Tappan building on Fifteenth street. The visitors went from Denver to the Clear creek mining districts where they saw the practical side of mining. General Grant came here again in April, 1873; still again in October, 1875; and two or three times in later years, receiving upon each occasion the attention of the whole city. On August 8, 1868, Mr. Colfax came again, and Samuel Bowles, the noted editor of the Springfield, Massachusetts, Republican, was with him; both receiving a hearty welcome. The third visit of Mr. Colfax was in September, 1873, when he delivered an address to a multitude of people at the Denver fair. Cyrus W. Field, then in the zenith of his Atlantic cable fame, was a visitor in October, 1869; and, of course, received many attentions. But none of these we have mentioned was given a heartier, more whole-souled welcome than that extended Horace Greeley when he came upon his second visit, October 11, 1871, after an absence of a little more than eleven years. He was astounded and delighted by the developments and progress that had been made, for they seemed to have fulfilled the predictions he uttered in his speeches here in 1859, and those embodied in his letters of that time to his Tribune. As a measure of hospitable impulses toward a guest, it is often said that "nothing is too good for him;" but in Denver at that time the people thought there was nothing good enough for Mr. Greeley. He made many impromptu addresses, and one evening lectured on "Self-Made Men," in the Methodist church at Fourteenth and Lawrence streets to an audience that literally packed the building. At that time Mr. Greeley presented the personal appearance by which he is remembered by all who knew him, and as which his figure was made familiar in pictures to millions of his fellow-countrymen; a round, full face, fringed with "whiskers" under his jaw from ear to ear; wearing large "spectacles," a big, soft, whitish felt hat, a long frock coat, and rather "baggy" trousers. Men, women and children greeted him without ceremony, and in his characteristic hearty way he was responsive to all of them. He went from Denver to Greeley, founded earlier in that year, which has developed into the beautiful little Colorado city that is a fitting monument to his memory; and thence returned to New York. That was his last visit to Colorado; one year later came his memorable and disastrous Presidential campaign, and within a month or so after its close—in December, 1872, his pathetic and lamented death occurred. On January 17, 1872, the Russian Grand Duke Alexis arrived in Denver, after having engaged several days in a great buffalo hunt on the plains that had been arranged for him by several prominent army officers including

General Sheridan and his staff, and under the practical direction of William F. Cody—"Buffalo Bill." More buffalo than a dozen Grand Dukes could have eaten in a lifetime were slaughtered. Governor McCook, former Governor Evans, Mayor Bates and several other prominent Denver citizens went to Cheyenne to meet the party, which included several Russian officers and notables beside the Grand Duke, and escort the visitors to the city. The Grand Duke received every social attention, and expressed himself as delighted with the character, manners and customs of the people. The conspicuous event of the Grand Duke's sojourn here was an equally grand ball—that would have been greater had the American House been larger—given there in his honor. More than one Denver dame now fat, fair, and upward of forty, cherishes among the brilliant and delightful episodes of her social career the remembrance of her dances with the Russian Grand Duke at that locally famous ball at the American House. But the railroads had come before the Grand Duke got here, and from their advent the "prominent visitor" came so frequently that buffalo hunts, balls, meetings and other more or less public festivities could not be provided in honor of all of them, and their entertainment soon passed into the less conspicuous, and probably more satisfactory, domain of private social intercouse in the homes and clubs of Denver.

The American House, Sixteenth and Blake streets.
(From an old photograph.)

In 1872 a wave of excitement passed over Denver and Colorado in consequence of the alleged discovery of diamonds in northeastern Arizona, and the character of the cause of it was not fully revealed until the next year. Two swindlers, named Arnold, and Slack, conceived the plan of "salting" certain districts in Arizona with imported rough diamonds, and then exploiting their pretended "discovery" of a new diamond field. They were in Denver while their scheme was in course of preparation, but the affair never really reached any great proportions here; nor became of local significance, further than to inspire some belief that if diamonds existed in Arizona they probably could and would be found in Colorado, also. The two swindlers carried their scheme so far as to enlist the active interest of many men of national reputation in New York, San Francisco, and elsewhere; but the fraud was exposed by experts and the shrewdly-laid scheme collapsed before any great harm had been done.

As Denver's business increased and improvements continued to be made with much activity through the period between 1870 and 1875, and it was seen that the town was destined to become a city, in fact, the last word of the name "Denver City" began to gradually pass out of use. It would be difficult to state just when the abandonment of the superfluous word commenced, and when it ended; for it hung on here and there pretty well through the decade of 1870-80. When the Denver Times was established in the spring of 1872 its proprietors discarded the needless word, "City," from the title and head-line legends of the paper. This appears to have been one of the early instances of the change, if not the first, and the good example was followed in subsequent years by several Colorado towns. Towards the close of 1873 the superficial appearance of the busy, hustling, crowded town indicated a population of something like twenty thousand, but again were the appearances misleading. A census was made in January, 1874, by city authority, and the count aggregated 14,197. But these figures demonstrated a remarkable growth in less than four years.

The panic of 1873 was felt to some extent in Colorado and Denver, but not very gravely. There were a few sympathetic failures here, but none of any special importance. Business was in good condition, the mines were doing well, and affairs generally were progressing very favorably. That panic in the eastern part of the country was largely due to over-building of railroads, and to a disordered currency system; but Colorado was and always had been on a gold basis; and, therefore, the currency problem was not present here. The Denver banks never felt any strain in 1873, and went about their business as usual. As we have elsewhere mentioned, some large enterprises, especially of railroad construction, in Colorado, for which outside capital was essential, were checked in that year; and otherwise, the most noticeable effect of the trouble was in a shrinkage of real estate values in Denver. But, taken altogether, 1873 gave Denver no decided backset. The town increased in population and in business that year, and the general development of the Territory had made and was making great advances. The assessed valuations in the Territory for taxation in 1873 were $35,582,438; and for 1874 they had increased to $44,392,806. In 1874-75 many men who had suffered great losses in the east in 1873 came to Colorado to start anew, and most of them again got on their feet. Denver received a full share of them and they soon became prosperous and most progressive citizens.

In 1872, Professor F. V. Hayden, long connected with the United States Geological Survey, with his photographer, W. H. Jackson, whose name is familiar to Denver people, had made a tour through part of Colorado, and in his report for 1872 gave a brief general sketch, of great interest, of the magnificent scenery and the geological features of the regions visited, with analyses of the mineral springs. In 1873 and 1874 his survey of Colorado was prosecuted most zealously. Denver was made the headquarters of the work which was separated into seven divisions to prosecute specifically the topographical, geological, botanical, zoological, archaeological, paleontological, and photographical branches of the service, which in all respects was of great value to science and to the country at large. The report for 1874 contains, beside the strictly scientific history of the country, many interesting observations on its condition and development at that time. In 1880 Professor Hayden published a volume of scientific information concerning the mountain States and Territories, entitled "The Great West," containing over five hundred pages, made up of selected matter from other sources, with some fine descriptive matter of his own, in which seventy-five pages are devoted to Colorado.

There were but few events in Denver between 1870 and 1875, aside from those of a political character, that stand out in bold relief against the historical horizon. It was a period of industrial and business activity of steady and comparatively rapid city growth, of railroad building, of mineral and agricultural development. It was a period in which Peace was winning her victories here and was busy with all her arts. She could not, however, control the Territorial politicians; there was no peace among them, and their wrangles and tumults became a greater public affliction than ever; for all of which Denver was the center of their stormings. The intrigues, machinations, and recriminations reached a climax in 1874, and brought on the fiercest of their conflicts. The Legislature proposed making Pueblo the seat of Territorial government, and came dangerously near doing so; the bill passing the lower house by a decided majority. This caused profound excitement and alarm among the people of Denver, and it was only by their untiring efforts that the bill was defeated by a close vote in the upper house which then had but thirteen members. Next came the arbitrary removal of Governor Elbert and others of the Territorial officers, with the re-appointment of McCook as successor Governor; acts that incensed the people more than anything else that had occurred under the Territorial form of government. McCook could not withstand the adverse public sentiment. He was confirmed in June, of that year, and in February, 1875, gave way to John L. Routt. The appointment of Routt was accompanied by an understanding here and at Washington that it was to be the beginning of the end, in Colorado, of the abominable system of Territorial government and misgovernment; and that it was the first step in an immediate and final movement for Colorado's admission as a State. To the intense satisfaction and relief of the truly long-suffering people, it proved to be so.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CLOSE OF THE TERRITORIAL ERA—"HARD" WINTERS—CITY'S PURCHASE OF CAPITOL HILL DITCH—GRASSHOPPER VISITATION—LAST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—CELEBRATING STATEHOOD—ADVANCEMENT OF CITY AND STATE—"MURPHY MOVEMENT"—FLOODS IN CHERRY CREEK—PROPOSITIONS TO DIVERT CREEK—EFFECT OF LEADVILLE "BOOM"—ACTIVITY IN BUILDING—FREE MAIL DELIVERY—CITY'S EXTENT—OUTBREAK OF UTE INDIANS—PROFOUND EXCITEMENT IN DENVER—PARTICULARS OF THAT TRAGEDY.

The plan of this volume provides for presenting historical accounts, in some detail, of the development of our school system, of the growth of religious denominations and building of churches, of railway building, the city government, newspapers, and financial institutions, and of various other elements in the upbuilding of the city and State in chapters special to each, wherein continuity of narrative may more conveniently appear. Therefore, the review running through this part of the volume does not cover all the events of the periods under consideration.

Governor Routt's administration of Territorial affairs in 1875, in its efficiency was accompanied by a feeling of satisfaction among the people combined with confidence that the Territorial era was approaching its end. They saw and knew that the movement for Statehood was sincerely and earnestly under way unvexed by the jealousies and strifes and antagonisms to which previous failures were chiefly due. This conviction that their political affairs were soon to be re-adjusted upon the basis of self-government had a most beneficial influence upon every avenue of activity and progress. The election of members of a State constitutional convention in October, 1875, was the work of enthusiasm born of confidence in great benefits to come, and resulted in the choice of an able body of men; and when the convention met in Denver on December 20th the people foresaw their sooncoming deliverance from Territorial thralldom. With this passing reference to the improved and improving political conditions we will return to consideration of other affairs.

While the fact does not necessarily imply any change of climate, the most severe winters in Denver's history were those of the decade 1870-80, and the most trying and disagreeable of them was that of 1874-75. It was a season of snow and sleet storms with a temperature plenty low enough. Railroads experienced great and prolonged difficulty in moving their trains, and at times could not move them, at all. The high winds packed the cuttings with a hard combination of snow, sleet and sand against which a snow plow was as impotent as if it had been driven against the mountains. Upon several occasions trains were caught helpless between such barriers, could move neither way, and were held for a couple of weeks, the passengers being taken away in road vehicles. A train on the Kansas Pacific, with eighty-five passengers aboard, had an especially hard time getting across the plains to Denver, and was eleven days on the way—far worse than the slowest stage-coach time. The passengers ate everything in sight at all the stations, and finally fell upon the edible things among the large quantity of express matter the train carried, and consumed all of them. At last, the belated train, to which a relief expedition had been sent, was dragged into Denver on the eleventh day of its journey by four locomotives; and its worn-out, ravenous people turned loose on the city's flesh-pots.

Early in 1875, A. J. Williams, then an Alderman, concluded that the city ought to own the old ditch from Littleton down to Capitol Hill, and on March 2nd introduced in the Council a resolution providing for a vote of the people at that spring's municipal election on a proposition to issue $60,000 worth of bonds to buy it. The bonds were to run twenty years and to bear ten per cent interest. The ditch, water rights and franchises of the company owning them were thought by some to be well worth the money, but a majority of the voters thought otherwise and the proposition was rejected. It was again submitted at a special election held May 19, 1875, and that time it carried by a majority of fourteen. The property was transferred to the city on May 25th. While the ditch is still maintained, its most important present service within the city is that of supplying water to the lakes in the City Park; the flow being through underground conduits across the Capitol Hill plateau.

In 1874 there had been an ominous visitation of grasshoppers, or a variety of that kind of insect, over Colorado, but not serious enough to cause embarrassing damage, though heavy losses had ensued. In the spring of 1875 they appeared again and in myriads. We have hitherto mentioned the first experience with them, that of 1865. They appeared again in 1867, but not in such vast numbers, though in both years they constituted a plague. But the afflictions of those times were not so serious as those of these later years, especially in 1875, when the creatures appeared in great clouds and took the country. The streets and sidewalks of the city were alive with them; they invaded every building and swarmed everywhere. Vegetation vanished under their ravages and the country was stripped of everything they could devour; their presence was a serious calamity, so great were the agricultural losses they caused. Farmers and gardeners were in despair, and many were reduced to bankruptcy. Railroad trains were frequently impeded by them and occasionally stopped; myriads of their crushed bodies making the rails so slippery that locomotives could only and vainly whirl their driving wheels around. They disappeared in 1876 and have not since returned in numbers sufficient to cause serious damage.

Larimer street in 1875. From a wood engraving in which the width of the street was exaggerated and general effects somewhat idealized.

The losses of the agricultural interests in 1875 were so severe that many farmers needed assistance. A public meeting was held in Denver on May 17th, at which a large sum of money was contributed. This fund was applied to the purchase of seeds for replanting in that season and for relieving cases of actual distress. These troubles entailed a depression of business in Denver, and checked operations in real estate to such an extent that those more directly interested declared that times were very dull. But there was by no means a halt in progress, and with the year most of the grumbling about hard times passed away. The extent to which the city had improved in 1875 is indicated by an accompanying view of Larimer street in the autumn of that year.

The State constitutional convention completed its well-done work on March 15, 1876. The last Territorial Legislature—as events proved it to have been—had met on January 2nd, of that year, but in consequence of what was under way for its displacement did little business, and took almost as little interest in the little that was done, as the people manifested. Its chief distinction appears to have arisen from the decision of the lower branch to get along without a Chaplain, and which won for it the name and fame of "the Prayerless House." The proposed constitution for the State was voted on July 1, 1876, and adopted by an overwhelming majority. The deep interest taken in its welfare by the people of Denver was demonstrated by the vote in the city—5,591 for it and only thirty-seven in disapproval. The general vote throughout the Territory was almost as heavily one-sided, except in El Paso county which at that time was almost wholly, so far as population went, another name for Colorado Springs. The Springs sulked over the matter and the vote of El Paso county was relatively heavy against the whole State proposition.

The election returns came quickly in, or enough of them to show that Statehood had triumphantly won. Then followed a season of rejoicings and celebrations in Denver, the like of which for earnest expressions of relief, happiness and public joy had not been witnessed before nor have been equalled since. The Fourth of July was made the great day of celebration. The city put on her holiday attire, invited all the people from near and far, and sent forth a street pageant that is memorable to this day. All the Territorial and city officials, the city departments, the Pioneer association, all the secret and industrial associations, the military, and hundreds of citizens on foot and in vehicles paraded forth in a procession that finally brought up in "Denver Grove" where the speeches were made to thousands; and they were good speeches, too; for the birth of a State under such circumstances as those by which Colorado had been brought into existence was a theme sufficient to convert even a sluggish man into an orator. The celebration was continued until far into the night with fireworks and music and additional oratory. On August 1st came President Grant's proclamation declaring Colorado a State of the Union, followed by nominations for State and legislative positions by both parties, an exciting campaign, the election in which the Republicans won by a narrow margin, the assembling in Denver of the first State Legislature on November 1st, the inauguration of State officers; and the long travail of Statehood was a thing of the past.

While the political events and triumphs of 1876 overshadowed all other things in that year, the material progress in the city was not neglected. Business of every kind was fast recovering from the depression of 1875 and, notwithstanding another invasion of the country by grasshoppers, though of a less serious character than the previous ones, the year of Statehood was one of fairly renewed prosperity for the city. The moral effect of passing under and living under a home government to be controlled, directed and corrected by the people themselves, with all responsibility here at home, was quickly manifest in 1876 and 1877 throughout Colorado. The last-named year was one of steady advancement here and all over the State. Railway building was resumed, and there was a large accession of new people who came to stay, while thousands of "tourists" came to see and marvel. Real estate in Denver moved up again, and there were renewed vigor and confidence among all the builders of the city.

In the summer of 1877 the memorable temperance reform, known as the "Murphy movement," swept over the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and Denver had a full share of it. The first of the public meetings here was held on August 3rd, and for about three months thereafter great interest in them was maintained. A very large number of people signified their participation in and approval of the reform by conspicuously wearing the bit of blue ribbon that was the emblem of the movement; and among them not a few men to whom sobriety had long been a hazy memory. But, as time went on the blue ribbons passed from view; and now that rather extraordinary campaign against intemperate habits is an almost forgotten incident of the past.

The Wentworth House in the later "Seventies." Now part of the St. James Hotel building.

Cherry creek cutting through that part of the city on the eastward side of the River Platte is a nuisance, a blight and an abomination; but it is not now probable that any remedy will be soon applied. It is a standing menace to life and property in a large portion of the city, and should another flood come like the resistless torrent of 1864, it would cause the loss of many lives, and enormous destruction of property. Though thirty-six years have elapsed since the more appalling demonstration of the creek's power for michief occurred, it would be well to seriously consider whether that performance was the most destructive of which it, in conjunction with the Platte river, is capable. There are no sound reasons for assuming that the two streams will not again cause a catastrophe. The great destruction wrought in 1864 was not the only serious trouble made by the creek. During the middle days of July, 1875, there had been an exceedingly heavy rainfall which reached its climax in torrents on the night of the 20th, and made another great flood in the creek. The night was very dark and the terrified people expected a repetition of the experiences of 1864. The situation was exceedingly threatening, but the damage was confined to some lost bridges and an inundation of that part of the city between Market street and the Platte river, on both sides of the creek; for the Platte was also at flood tide. There was no loss of life, but the property damage was probably fifty thousand dollars. The railroads and most of the mountain towns also suffered serious damages, for the heavy rainfall was an extended one. On May 2, 1878, the creek again asserted its destructive power by carrying out most of the bridges in its way and flooding the districts in the lower part of the city. Like the previous ones, this flood came down, as a thief, in the night, and carried with it an immense amount of drift and debris which, accumulating against the bridges, first converted them into dams which threw the water to each side in great rivers before they gave way. Many old citizens thought the amount of water almost equal to that of the flood of 1864. Within two hours each bridge in the city was made a flooding dam and then successively carried away. They were cheap wooden affairs with their supports in the creek bed, and were later replaced by properly constructed iron ones. That night a man named John Taylor had taken up his bed in an empty box-car on the "West Denver" side near the Wewatta street crossing of the creek. The flood overturned the car and Taylor was drowned like a rat in a trap. A boy was also swept off by the waters, but was rescued. This time the property loss was between thirty and forty thousand dollars. Still again, in the night of July 26, 1885—always in the night—the creek repeated the general performance, though with less damage and no loss of life; but it seriously threatened the foundations of the then new City Hall.

After the flood of 1875 a movement to divert the creek from its course through the city was inaugurated, for which there was considerable public demand. The city authorities concluded to build an embankment across the creek valley, about a mile above the Broadway crossing, and then cut a new channel, only twenty-five feet wide, over to the South Platte river to a point near Lake Archer. Surveys were made, no serious difficulties being encountered, and on November 24th the City Councilmen adopted the plan. But in the meantime violent opposition to the project had arisen and divided the citizens into two somewhat overheated factions between which the discussions became rather acrimonious. Two Chicago men submitted a proposition to do the work upon the city's plans, for $100,000, of which $42,000 were to be paid them in cash and the remainder in city lots rescued from the creek bed, at appraised valuations. The Council accepted the offer, and immediately there was a still greater manifestation of indignant hostility from the opposition. Mayor W. J. Barker held the contract under advisement for a day or two and then concluded not to sign it, as he believed the proposed twenty-five-foot channel totally inadequate for the purpose, and also that the scheme was a corrupt one. To clinch matters, the opposition to the whole project obtained an order from Court enjoining the Mayor from ratifying the contract, and that ended the conflict. The general proposition was taken up again in 1876, and on June 22nd of that year the question of issuing $75,000 worth of bonds to pay for diverting the creek was submitted to a vote, and defeated. In 1878 the diversion proposition came up again and met a like fate. One of the later proposed remedies was to cut the new channel across to Sand creek, but nothing further was done. Some engineers thought diversion would only be effective at ordinary stages, and that in flood times the creek would tear its way through any artificial barrier, and reoccupy its old bed. In recent times the creek has been accused of being a disease-breeder, but its ordinary appearance does not suggest any serious results in that direction.

Lindell Hotel, "West Denver," in the "Seventies."

The land-title to the bed of Cherry creek and to some of the ground bordering the bed is vested in the city. When various city lots that had previously been abandoned by their one-time owners, or had remained unclaimed under the old Congressional grant, were sold under the Territorial law enacted in 1871 and directing the sale of all such property for the benefit of the school funds, the city bought the lots that had been platted in, and partly in, the creek's bed as far up as Broadway, at a cost aggregating between $5,000 and $6,000. The number and extent of these lots with relation to the creek-bed were never subsequently definitely ascertained and platted, and these holdings of the city are not accurately known. This ownership would prove an important factor should diversion of the creek around the city ever be undertaken.

The years 1878 and 1879 were times of the liveliest activity in the city that had yet been known. The inpouring of people on their way to Leadville began in 1878, but the great wave of fortune-seekers bound for the new and wonderful camp came in 1879. The movement had a profoundly stimulating effect on Denver. The city's commercial business had previously reached very large proportions, and manufacturing had made great strides; but in the years mentioned all kinds of traffic increased by leaps and bounds. The railroads had all they could manage, and at most exorbitant rates. Railroad exactions and extortions became shameful, and would have paralyzed business in a less resourceful community. In the building trades no one was idle, and newcomers found employment before they could find lodgings. The demand for business rooms and for dwellings was far greater than the supply and rents soared aloft under the combined influences of the development at Leadville, and the city's own forward movement independent of any particular locality. Building operations included many dwellings, and the winter of 1878-79 was not permitted to seriously interrupt the work. Yet, a large number of these dwellings built in "East Denver" between 1875 and 1880 between Broadway, the river, Fifteenth and Eighteenth streets, were torn down by 1890 and their sites occupied by great business structures.

The two very conspicuous improvements in the way of new buildings in 1879, the objects of especial pride and comment, were the Tabor building at Sixteenth and Larimer streets, to make way for which the historic old Broadwell House had been torn down; and the Windsor Hotel, which, upon its completion, had no compeer west of the Missouri river. At that time Larimer street was fronted by many rather imposing business structures, and was in its supremacy as the great commercial thoroughfare; but the Tabor building surpassed all others in size, character and expense of construction, and its builder was then locally referred to as "the Leadville ten-millionaire." Beside the Windsor Hotel, another one, now in decadence, was in construction on what was regarded as the rather remote location for a hotel on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Glenarm streets. To that time the American, the Wentworth—now part of the St. James, and the Alvord hotels had been the more prominent and popular of Denver's hostelries. On Blake, Market, Lawrence, and Fifteenth streets many business buildings were erected in 1879, but with the exception of Fifteenth, the numbered streets were still the by-streets and not business thoroughfares.

The Alvord House, southeast corner Eighteenth and Larimer streets, in the later "Seventies."

A noteworthy addition to Denver's metropolitan conveniences came in the summer of 1879. The city was already supplied with railroads, waterworks, gas-works, telegraphs, telephones, street cars and fire-alarm telegraph service, but everybody still had to go to the Post Office for mail. The "tourist" travel through the city had already attained large proportions, and for most of the visitors Denver was the central point at which to receive their mail while sojourning in Colorado. At times the crowds at the post office became unwieldy, and the lines of people extended from the delivery windows out into the street, after the pioneer fashion of getting up in turn to the stage-coach post office. William N. Byers was appointed Postmaster in the spring of 1879, to succeed E. C. Sumner, and he at once instituted measures to secure free delivery of mail by carriers in Denver. In the summer of that year he inaugurated the service with six men. But the force soon had to be increased. Since 1870 the business of the Denver Post Office has always been abnormally large in proportion to city population; which, to a considerable extent, is due to the presence of the many visitors who annually come to Colorado.

At the close of 1879 there was still little of "North Denver" as compared with its present extent and population. At that time they had only two school-houses, and not large ones, over there. "West Denver" was expanding toward Broadway at a fair rate, but there was a great plenty of vacant land and town lots in the general area bounded by Cherry creek, the River Platte and say West Eighth Avenue. In "East Denver" Broadway was still outside the built-up district to the eastward, and Twenty-third street marked its limits in the northward direction. The Capitol Hill district remained open prairie. There were no improved streets in that quarter—nothing but some roadways; no street-cars; no indications of the remarkable changes that came a few years later. The only conspicuous building east of Broadway anywhere was the dwelling built in 1875-76 by Henry C. Brown on the block bounded by Broadway, and Seventeenth, Lincoln and Eighteenth Avenues. In those years it was the finest residence in the city. It still stands there, on the south part of the block, and is yet a handsome dwelling, even by comparison. In January, 1879, Brown sold the entire block, containing forty lots, to H. A. W. Tabor for $40,000, at that time considered an extravagant price. The dwelling was the only building on the block, and all its furniture and furnishings were included in the sale. That block of land, aside from the improvements now upon it, is worth at a reasonable valuation, nearly a half million dollars at the present time. Fifteen years before, Mr. Brown had in vain offered to sell all or part of that block at the rate of one hundred and fifty dollars each for the lots it made.

This investment by Tabor of a bit of his then abundant wealth greatly stimulated interest and values in property out that way soon afterward. But, up to the middle of 1879 only a few houses, less than a half-dozen, had been added to the pioneer structures on the slope and brow of Capitol Hill, north of Colfax Avenue; and south of that thoroughfare and east of Broadway, there were but two or three in the entire area. Indeed, even so late as that year everything east of Broadway was regarded as being "out in the country." Nevertheless, considering all the conditions and circumstances of the preceding twenty years, Denver's growth had been truly remarkable; and with what had been accomplished, what was then in hand, and what it had before it in the immediate future, it may have warranted the declaration of one of its enthusiastic newspaper men that it was then, in its twenty-first year, "the most active, enterprising, and flourishing city on the continent." So thronged were the streets and so great the bustle, activity, and volume of business that it was assumed and asserted that the population of the city had reached the 40,000 mark. But the census of the ensuing year slightly modified these views and estimates.

The outbreak of the Ute Indians and the massacre at the White river Agency, and defeat of Major Thornburg's command, in September, 1879, caused a profound excitement in Denver, as elsewhere in Colorado. News of the tragedy reached the city on October 1st, and, while it occasioned no alarm here, it produced a public sentiment that demanded severe measures against the Utes. Early in 1878, N. C. Meeker who, as we have previously related, had been chiefly instrumental in founding the town of Greeley, moved by a spirit of philanthropy and a sincere desire to better the condition of the Indians, had secured the appointment as Agent for the White river Utes and had taken charge of affairs at the White river Agency.

View eastward from the southeast corner of Larimer and Sixteenth streets, 1878-79. From a photograph.

For two or three years previous the White River Utes had been very restive and on the verge of a general outbreak. Several white men had been killed by them in the North Park, and later one named Williams was killed by them in the Middle Park. To these acts had been added many depredations, such as burning the buildings of settlers, killing cattle and stealing horses.

Soon after Meeker took charge, a band of his Utes under a sub-chief named "George Washington," and a small band of Southern Utes under a leader named Piah, made a sneaking raid out on the plains. They went as far as one of the forks of the Republican river, where they fell in with a settler named McLean whom they killed. Information of McLean's death did not reach Denver until several days afterward, and the circumstances attending it were not ascertained until some time later. The Utes hurried homeward, stopping in Denver on the way and supplying themselves with whiskey. They passed over into the Middle Park where, in an altercation with a white man, one of their number was killed. Proceeding toward their reservation they stole several horses, and coming to the cabin of a settler named Elliott, they killed him in his door-yard in revenge for the recent death of their comrade.

When news of these acts reached Hot Sulphur Springs a party of twenty-six men, of whom William N. Byers was one, was organized to pursue the Utes. The individual identity of the Indians was then unknown, and news of their depredations on the plains had not reached the mountains. It was not until after the Ute troubles were over that it was definitely known that Washington and Piah had been the leaders. After a day's journey sixteen of the pursuing white men weakened and turned back; but the others under the leadership of Mr. Byers followed the Utes to the White River Agency, where they were met by some seventy or eighty mounted warriors drawn up in battle array.

When the Indians recognized the leader of the white party they made no further hostile demonstration, as he was well and favorably known by many of them. When they learned the object of the visit they demanded that a council be held. They denied all knowledge of those who had stolen the horses and killed Elliott. Piah and his band had gone on southward; but Washington was there and was suspected because he was carrying a lame arm. An examination showed that his arm had been hurt by a fall and not by a gun-shot in the attack on Elliott. Despite his name, Washington was one of the meanest of his tribe. Not being able to identify the Indians who had killed Elliott, and not desiring to attempt an arbitrary reprisal, Mr. Byers had to content himself with a demand for the return of the stolen horses which he had seen as he approached the Agency. Next morning early the Indians had all the horses hitched to a rack at the Agency, and Mr. Byers and his men left with them without molestation. On his way back to Hot Sulphur Springs he camped on the spot where, the next year, Thornburg and his men were ambushed.

Affairs at the Agency were in a threatening condition at that time, and Meeker's authority was weak. An incident in the council revealed that. Meeker arose to say something, whereupon old Colorow jumped up and angrily ordered him to sit down and keep quiet, declaring that the Indians did not want to hear from him, and that only "Byers can make talk." Meeker had to comply with this insolent order.

The management of Indian affairs in those years was corrupt or inefficient nearly everywhere in the west. Supplies for the Utes were long delayed; the game was fast disappearing, and the Indians had upon more than one occasion been reduced to destitution. Agent Meeker had not only determined to remedy these conditions, but he had theories of his own for the moral and physical advancement of the Indians, which he believed would make civilized men and women of them. He was an honest, conscientious man, and an enthusiast in the purpose he had in view.

Through the remainder of 1878 Meeker partly quieted the restiveness of his charges and it seemed that perhaps his methods of a firm but fatherly discipline would result in a permanent change for the better. But, in the spring of 1879 it became apparent that his theories would not serve in practice. Some of the White river Utes again left the reservation, started forest fires that burned over large areas, stole property from the settlers, and burned two dwellings on Bear river. Meeker then called on Washington for some troops to control his depredating charges. Governor Pitkin more fully realized the danger, and advised the Washington authorities that prompt measures were necessary to prevent a serious uprising. A single company of the Ninth cavalry (colored), under Captain Dodge, was all that was ordered to the Agency, but it marched slowly, and was in the Middle Park when the outbreak occurred. The Ute Indians had an intense and special hatred of colored soldiers, and news of the approach of this little command inflamed them to a high pitch. The White river Utes had been clamoring for Meeker's removal. Captain Jack, the Chief of the Yampai band, and a party of lesser chieftains visited Denver and demanded of Governor Pitkin that he secure the Agent's immediate removal, declaring that they wanted many things, but above all others they wanted the White river Agent with his notions of civilizing their people taken away at once.

N. C. Meeker.
Ute Indian Agent.

When the Utes had learned that their Agent who had told them he would have no soldiers around him, would send for some, a stronger spirit of hostility to him was aroused. But the underlying reason for it was that he was in earnest in his attempts to civilize them; several chieftains declaring that they did not want and would not have the white man's civilization. So, this resulted in a fast-widening breach between the Agent and his turbulent charges who persisted in leaving the reservation and making trouble for the settlers around it.

In August, 1879, it was determined that if Agent Meeker could not control his Indians and if the government would not send troops to do so, civil processes would be applied to the marauders. About the middle of that month Major J. B. Thompson, whose house on Bear river had been burned by some of the Utes, obtained warrants from Judge Beck, of the District Court of the First Judicial District, for the arrest of two Ute ringleaders named "Bennett" and "Chinaman." Marshall Bessey, Sheriff of Grand county, left Hot Sulphur Springs on August 22nd, with a posse of four men to capture Bennett and Chinaman. When the Sheriff reached the White river Agency the two Indians could not be found. Douglass, the head chief of all the White river Utes, refused to tell Agent Meeker where they were, and refused to produce them for the Sheriff. Others of the tribes joined in concealing the whereabouts of the culprits, and so the Sheriff and his posse had to return without any Ute prisoners.

This new movement to arrest Utes and try them in the white men's Courts, greatly excited and angered the Indians, and the Sheriff was accosted and halted by many of them in a plainly hostile, if not a threatening, manner after leaving the Agency on his homeward way.

A few days later Agent Meeker was assaulted by the medicine man of the White river Utes, named "Johnson," and severely injured. Johnson would have killed him but for the interference of some white laborers employed at the Agency. This was followed within a day or two by these laborers being shot at but not hit, while plowing in a field near by. The Utes were fast working themselves up to the outbreaking point, and by the first week in September were very near it; so near that any man of experience with Indians and thorough knowledge of their character, would have at once left the Agency, especially when he had a wife and daughter and several others there who were dependent on his judgment and decision. He was urged to do this by John W. Steele, the mail contractor, on September 10th. Steele was the last white visitor at the Agency prior to the outbreak. Meeker said he would not do so, but would again send for troops, and asked Steele to urge their quick dispatch as soon as he reached Rawlins, Wyoming. Meeker then remarked:

"I came to this Agency in the full belief that I could civilize these Utes; that I could teach them to work and become self-supporting. I thought I could establish schools, and interest both Indians and their children in learning. I have given my best efforts to this end, always treating them kindly, but firmly. They have eaten at my table, and received continued kindness from my wife and daughter, and all the employees about the Agency. They are an unreliable and treacherous race."

That night the Utes had a war dance in front of one of the Agency buildings, and gave little heed to the Agent's orders to stop it and disperse. This should have been sufficient warning to him to remove himself and all the other white people from the Agency next morning when Steele departed. But he did not appear to realize the danger. When Steele reached Rawlins he telegraphed General Sheridan the dangerous state of affairs at the White river Agency, and Sheridan replied stating that more troops would be started at once.

The Indians had been preparing for an outbreak all that summer, trading anything and everything tradable on which they could lay their hands, for Winchester rifles and ammunition; one trader selling them three cases of rifles and a large quantity of fixed ammunition. Early in September Agent Meeker sent to Governor Pitkin here at Denver for assistance, but as the Governor had no jurisdiction over the Ute reservation, all he could do was to pass the appeal on to Washington with his urgent advice that troops be stationed at White river at once. But, for some reason this was not promptly done.

Ute Chief Douglass.

Finally, after Governor Pitkin had received and transmitted to Washington the news that Agent Meeker had been assaulted and that Agency employes had been fired upon, Major T. T. Thornburg, commanding Fort Fred. Steele, on the Union Pacific railroad, in Wyoming, was ordered to proceed with three companies of Cavalry and one of Infantry to the relief of the White river Agency. Thornburg's command consisted of Companies D and F of the Fifth Cavalry, E of the Third, and Company E of the Fourth Infantry; his officers consisting of Captains Payne and Lawson, and Lieutenant Cherry of the Fifth Cavalry, Lieutenant Paddock of the Third Cavalry, and Lieutenants Price and Woolley of the Fourth Infantry; with Dr. Grimes as Surgeon. Thornburg left Rawlins on September 14th with a train of thirty-three wagons, for his long and rough march to the Agency, under orders to proceed as quickly as possible. At Old Fortification Camp he left the Infantry Company, under Lieutenant Price, to protect passing supply trains and to act as a reserve force in an emergency. Thornburg and his three companies of Cavalry then pushed on southward. Near Bear river they met ten Utes who professed the greatest friendship, and were allowed to continue on what they declared was a little hunting expedition. Later these same Indians were again encountered. They offered to act as guides to Thornburg and an escort of five soldiers to the Agency if the commander desired to go on ahead of his troops. On the advice of Joseph Rankin, the expedition's guide, this offer was declined. Rankin appears to have been the only man who regarded these Indians as spies.

Thornburg proceeded to the point where his route crossed Milk creek, a tributary of Bear river, within the reservation, and in Summit county. There in Milk creek canon the command was ambushed by a body of Utes numbering between two hundred and fifty and three hundred.

Thornburg was under orders not to attack any Indians he might meet. He was almost surrounded by the Utes, who opened fire upon his command from concealment. In the fighting that followed Major Thornburg and every one of his officers except Captain Payne and Lieutenant Cherry were shot down, together with about one-third of their men, within an hour. After the attack on them opened the troops retreated to their wagon train, made a fortification of the wagons and the animals that had already been killed, and were there besieged. A fearful fire was poured in upon them, yet not an Indian could be seen. During the first night of the siege Scout Rankin got away on a fleet horse and started to Rawlins, one hundred and sixty miles away, for assistance, which he reached in twenty-eight hours. Two other men were sent the next night to find Captain Dodge's company of Cavalry then in the Middle Park on its way to the White river Agency, also. Dodge reached the besieged men on the third day after the attack. General Wesley M. Merritt with a relief column left Rawlins in the morning of October 2nd and reached the beleaguered men early in the morning of the 5th. The Indians had kept up the siege even after Dodge and his men arrived, but when General Merritt and his command appeared they withdrew, after six days of continuous fighting.

The condition of the besieged men was pitiable. No adequate attention to the wounded could be given, the stench in and around their camp was frightful, and a shortage of water had added its distressing consequences. Reinforcements had quickly followed General Merritt, and after their arrival, and after caring for the dead and sending the wounded back to Rawlins, the command moved on to the White river Agency.

In the meantime nothing had been heard of the fate of those at the Agency until October 9th, when news reached Denver from Chief Ouray and by way of the Uncompahgre Agency, that, on September 29th, the day of the attack on Thornburg, Agent Meeker and all the white male employees at the White river Agency had been killed, and the women and children carried off as prisoners. When General Merritt arrived there on October 11th he found a place of desolation, as most of the buildings had been burned. The Agent and all the employees, but one, who had been absent for a day or two, were dead and their mutilated, naked bodies strewn around. We need not describe their condition that presented the usual evidence of the horrors of Indian warfare. The dead at the Agency were Agent N. C. Meeker; W. H. Post, his assistant; Henry Dresser, E. Price, Fred Sheppard, George Eaton, W. H. Thompson and E. L. Mansfield. On the road near the Agency were found the bodies of Carl Goldstien, Julius Moore, Frank Dresser and E. W. Eskridge. All those found at the Agency had comefrom Greeley with Agent Meeker, and all their bodies with that of their chief were later taken there for burial.

Piah.

The attack had been suddenly made early in the afternoon of September 29th, and in a few minutes the frightful work was finished. The body of Eskridge was found about two miles from the Agency. In a pocket of his coat lying near him was a letter reading as follows:

> "White River, September 29, 1 o'clock p. m."
>
> "Major Thornburg:—I will come with Chief Douglass and another chief and meet you to-morrow. Everything is quiet here, and Douglass is flying the United States flag. We have been on guard three nights, and will be to-night—not that we expect any trouble, but because there might be. Did you have any trouble coming through the canon?
>
> N. C. Meeker, United States Indian Agent."

This was written only an hour or so before the attack, and Eskridge had gone only two miles on his way to meet Thornburg, when he was killed. He was accompanied by two Utes, one of whom was Chief Antelope, and both professing to be friendly. They were probably his slayers.

The women and the few children at the Agency hid themselves in one of the buildings when the attack began, but witnessed the death of Agent Meeker and one or two others from their hiding place. When the buildings were fired they had to flee from their shelter, were captured and carried away. We will not dwell on the circumstances of their captivity. Through the influence and peremptory intervention of Chief Ouray, head chief of all the Utes, and after a troublesome negotiation, Chief Douglass surrendered them, and they reached Denver early in November.

The massacre at the Agency was the work of Chief Douglass and twenty of his braves. Up to the moment of the attack Douglass had treacherously professed friendship and kept the United States flag flying at his quarters. The Indians who ambushed Major Thornburg and his men were commanded by Captain Jack, who had for several months been outspoken in his hostility to the whites and to all the methods of the white men.

We can not here enter much further into the details of this last and saddest Indian tragedy in Colorado. It is another of the several subjects, more properly belonging to the history of the State than to that of Colorado's chief city, that would require a volume of its own for full treatment. As we have stated, the excitement over it in Denver was intense. Enough men to form a regiment instantly offered their services to Governor Pitkin and appealed to him to be organized and ordered out on a campaign of vengeance. The Governor, not knowing how far the outbreak might extend, took active and urgent measures for the protection of settlers in what was then the Colorado frontier. Simultaneously, about three thousand Federal soldiers were hurried into the State, and further danger prevented.

The whole country was aroused by the tragedy at the Agency and that in Milk creek canon. A long discussion of the management of Indian affairs was precipitated in Congress, followed by the customary and practically fruitless investigation. Then came the Peace Commission which made peace with the Utes, and a new treaty under which the White river tribes were later transferred to the Uintah reservation in Utah. Neither Douglass nor Captain Jack, the leaders in the outbreak, nor any other, was punished. In an early chapter of this volume the later fate of this pair of Ute chieftains is mentioned.

The outbreak would have gone further and peacemaking would have been far more difficult had it not been for the courage, sagacity and great influence of that Indian statesman, Ouray, the commanding chieftain of the whole Ute nation from the later sixties until his death. The uprising had occurred without his knowledge, and was far removed from anything like his approval. When he heard of it at the Southern Ute agency he declared that the white settlers should protect themselves by every means, and instantly threw himself between the whites and those of his tribes under Douglass and Captain Jack. He had long before realized the uselessness and hopelessness of the Indians resisting the advance of the dominating race. To each successive reduction of the Ute reservations, he assented because he knew it to be wisdom to accept the inevitable in peace; and none of the changes could have been peaceably made without the co-operation he extended. When he heard of the attack on Thornburg, he sent runners with orders to Captain Jack to instantly stop fighting. It was only because of his orders that Douglass surrendered the women and children captives without a resistance that in any event would probably have meant death for them. It was his wife, Chepita, who first received, sheltered and comforted them after their release, and who wept over them because of their misfortunes and condition. The memory of no man who figures in Colorado history is held in higher respect or more profound regard by the people of our State who knew his character and worth, than that of Ouray, the Chief of the Ute nation.

Ute Chief Captain Jack.

The broad ground for the complaints and discontent of the Utes, and the causes leading to their bloody attempt to free themselves, were the persistent and sincere efforts of Agent Meeker to make them adopt the white man's methods of living and of supporting themselves. Calling upon the adults to plow the land and work at tilling the soil, and requiring the children to attend school, greatly incensed them. Just before the massacres Captain Jack, who fairly spoke English, excitedly declared:

> "Utes say Agent plow no more. Utes say Meeker must go way. Meeker say Utes must work! Work! Work! Utes no like work. Utes no work. Utes no like school. Utes no have school."

N. C. Meeker, by nature, training and experience in life, was wholly unfitted for the position that brought death to him; he had not the first qualification for dealing with and managing those mountain Indians. He was a theorist, a dreamer, a transcendentalist. Born in the town of Euclid, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, he had in middle life been associated with the Brook Farm experiment, and with other communities after the notions of Fourrier. After he founded the town of Greeley he built there a large dwelling, still a conspicuous building in the town. At the time of his death he was sixty-four years old. His widow, aged eighty-four, survives, and with a daughter lives in their old home at Greeley. Josephine Meeker, the daughter who witnessed the fearful scenes at the Agency, and endured with her mother a captivity of nearly a month with the Indians, is dead.

Captain Francis S. Dodge, for his gallent services in relieving Thornburg's command was advanced by President Hayes to be Paymaster in the regular army with the rank of Major. He served in the Department of the Colorado with headquarters in Denver until 1899, and at the close of our record was chief Paymaster in Cuba.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE "CHINESE RIOT"—CAUSES LEADING THERETO—ACTION OF AUTHORITIES—RIOT SUPPRESSED—CITIZENS' MEETINGS—INTRODUCTION OF ELECTRIC LIGHTS—FUTILE PIONEER GAS COMPANIES—INCORPORATION OF ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANIES AND THEIR CONSOLIDATION—DEVELOPMENT OF ELECTRIC LIGHTING—NATIONAL MINING AND INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—NATIONAL ENCAMPMENT GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC—DEVELOPMENT OF SIXTEENTH STREET—RIVAL METROPOLES IN THE EARLIER TIMES—CONCEPTIONS OF EASTERN VISITORS—BEGINNING OF DENVER'S GREAT DEVELOPMENT.

Denver has enjoyed remarkable immunity from public disorder and demonstrations of public disregard for the supremacy of law; few cities of its size in this country have a more creditable record with respect to this. The chief event of a riotous character in the city's history occurred in the autumn of 1880. Previous to that year an intense feeling of hostility against the presence in the western country of the large and fast increasing numbers of Chinese, had been aroused in San Francisco and other coast cities, and to give effect to the demand that "the Chinese must go" became a political issue in that section of the country. The Presidential campaign of 1880 had been stained by the political forgery known as "the Morey Letter," a pro-Chinese document attributed to James A. Garfield, and much angry political feeling existed everywhere, and of which Denver had a fair share.

We have already mentioned the first coming of Chinese to Denver in 1870 soon after the completion of the Denver Pacific railroad. During the intervening ten years they had flocked into the city in considerable numbers, the census of 1880 revealing the presence here of 238, generally congregated in the district between Sixteenth, Eighteenth, Blake, and Wazee streets; the larger portion of them engaged in their favorite occupation of laundrying.

As the campaign drew near its close political feeling ran high. On the night of Saturday, October 30th, there was a large political demonstration which included a torch-light procession and in which were carried many "transparencies" supposed everywhere and by nearly everybody to be essential parts of our President-making machinery. Among these appliances were some bearing legends expressing great hostility to the Chinese, and declaring in various exclamatory forms, that they "must go." But the political procession and its "transparency" legends were not the direct causes of the trouble that befell the Denver Chinese the next day; although the demonstration intensified an already excited public feeling, and further influenced hostility and aversion to the slant-eyed sons of the Flowery Kingdom.

The immediate cause of the trouble that broke out early Sunday afternoon, October 31st, was, as is so often the case, a trivial one. Several versions of it were given at the time, but the probabilities seemed to have pointed to one of two accounts which differed more in detail than in the culminating provocation. One was that a white man had gone to a Chinaman's laundry for his "done-up" linen, and either refused to pay the bill, or could not pay it, and walked out with his laundered garments under his arm. The angry and protesting Chinaman followed him into a neighboring saloon where the two got into an altercation, in the course of which the laundryman took an ineffective shot at his defaulting customer with a revolver, and then ran away. The other story, and more generally accepted as the correct one, was to the effect

Dispersing Mob at Sixteenth and Wazee streets.

that several railroad laborers came into town that day with their last-received pay in their pockets and with a notion to have "good time" in their heads; that they were already under fair steam-pressure when they entered a little saloon on Wazee street near Sixteenth, frequented by Chinamen, and where they found two Celestials playing "pool;" that the tipsy visitors interfered with the game, which brought on a rumpus in which one of the Chinamen was hit over the head with a billiard cue, and the other drew a revolver and shot at one of their assailants, but missed him. The Chinese then fled from the saloon and away to their private quarters.

In a few minutes a report sped on the wings of the wind over the lower part of the city that a Chinaman had shot and killed a white man. Crowds gathered and, as usually happens under such circumstances, clamored for vengeance without first ascertaining whether the report had any foundation in fact. The Chinese were to be exterminated or driven out of the city, and a move was made on the Chinese quarter.

In the meantime the wildest terror had seized the wretched objects of the mob's wrath, and they had hidden themselves away like rats, in the cellars and nooks and crannies of their miserable habitations. The mob searched for them, broke in doors and ransacked the laundries. Occasionally a Chinaman was uncovered and broke away at the top of his speed with a howling pack after him. Strange as it may seem, the Chinese so successfully secreted themselves, and those who were discovered were so fleet of foot and so fortunate in finding new hiding places or in reaching other refuges, that only one suffered death at the hands of the mob. In many instances the hunted creatures were received and sheltered by citizens who assumed no small risk in doing so. In one instance, James Veatch then keeper of the old Red Lion Inn at the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Wazee streets, jerked one inside the Inn, barred the doors against his furious pursuers and defied them. The man-hunt continued throughout the afternoon, and the scarcity of Chinamen made the mob still more furious. About six o'clock the only victim of its blind wrath was caught on Seventeenth street and was hanged opposite the Markham hotel. He was an inoffensive old man incapable of harming anyone; but mobs are heartless, soulless, pitiless aggregations of the most cruel and dangerous of all enraged living creatures.

The city and county authorities acted with great promptness, but they had a difficult task before them. Richard Sopris was Mayor; and M. Spangler, Sheriff. The Mayor receiving no response to his call for citizens to aid him in dispersing the mob, ordered a hose company to Sixteenth and Wazee streets and directed that a stream of water be turned on the crowd. This was done, but the experiment instead of cooling the anger of the mob appeared to make it warmer, and caused such a howl of rage and so many threats to slash the hose with knives and even to attack the firemen, that the cold water cure was soon abandoned. Then the entire police force was rallied to the scene of disorder, but as it consisted of only twenty-five or thirty men who were divided into small squads, it was unable to disperse the rioters. The policemen were without a leader, as Chief of Police Hickey happened to be at that time under suspension and awaiting investigation of charges that had been preferred against him.

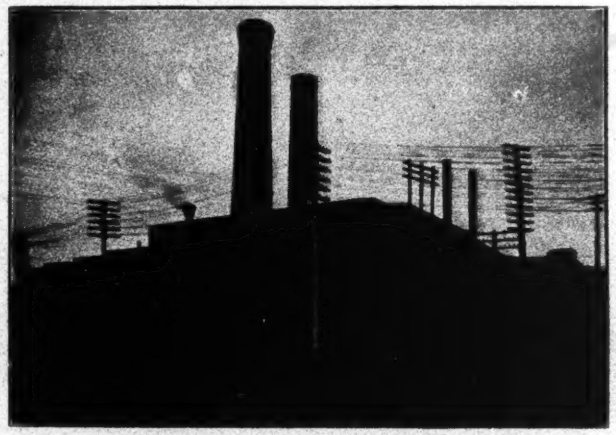
Toward evening and just before the old Chinaman was hanged, David J. Cook, one of Denver's pioneers and who is still a citizen here, volunteered his services to restore order. He was a resolute man, had been Sheriff of the county, a soldier, scout, and detective, and was then chief of the Rocky Mountain Detective Association. Mayor Sopris appointed and the City Council confirmed him as temporary Chief of Police at a meeting hurriedly called about six o'clock. To the police force Cook added fifteen men from his own force, all as courageous and determined as he. In the meantime the liquor saloons in the city had been ordered to close immediately, and Sheriff M. Spangler had assembled a large force of Deputies. The Chaffee Light Artillery under Captain A. H. Jones, and the Governor's Guard under Captain Paddock, had been ordered to be in readiness for immediate action in a greater emergency; but as events turned out such an emergency did not arise. Cook and Spangler and the special men under them were known by hundreds in the mob to be resolute and absolutely fearless, and who would fight to restore order, at any cost to themselves or their opponents. When they appeared in Wazee street the mob began to melt away, the work of destruction there was stopped, and several Chinamen who had just had their shanties pulled down upon their heads were rescued from death. Cook and Spangler went from place to place dispersing the crowds, some of which had surged over into "West Denver," arresting the leaders, and gathering up the terror-stricken Chinese. By ten o'clock in the evening the worst of the trouble was over, about fifty of the mob leaders were in the city prison and more than one hundred Chinese were herded at police headquarters for safe-keeping. Later that night all the congregated Chinese were taken to the county jail for their greater safety, and by morning the streets were clear, and peace and quiet had settled down upon the city.

On Monday business was generally suspended, and in the forenoon a meeting of citizens was held at the Sheriff's office to decide upon further measures for the maintenance of order, and which appointed a large Committee of Control. Later in the day the City Council in a special meeting authorized

D. J. Cook to organize a special patrol of one hundred men to preserve the peace, and at the same time Sheriff Spangler increased his force of Deputies to five hundred men. These precautions were taken more especially for the purpose of preventing disorder at the polls, or a renewal of the outbreak elsewhere, the next day—election day. On Monday evening a public meeting of citizens of all parties, and which was probably the largest ever assembled in the city, expressed the public sentiment in speeches and resolutions most vigorously and unqualifiedly denouncing the violence and outrages that had been perpetrated upon the inoffensive and helpless Chinese. Contrary to public apprehension, election-day was a quiet one, and the Chinamen were not further molested. The arrested leaders of the mob had been released on Monday upon giving bonds to keep the peace, and no further proceedings were had against them, as it was not possible to prove any of them guilty of a specific act of violence, and perhaps not expedient to undertake to do so; nor was the identity of those directly responsible for the death of the old Chinaman on Seventeenth street ever ascertained.

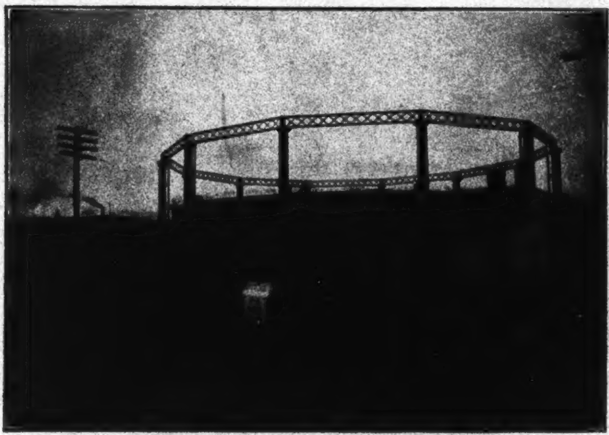
So ended Denver's first and only riot. Cook and Sheriff Spangler demonstrated the power of a few brave men under discreet leadership over even a passion-crazed mob. The excitement throughout the city was intense and thousands of people were on the streets without thought of participating in any form of violence. Hundreds of these crowded into the Chinese district, and by augmenting the numbers there made the situation appear still more threatening by their surging movements to gratify curiosity. Nevertheless, there were enough inflamed by passion and bent on destroying the poor objects of their wrath to make the task of dispersing them one calling for the highest courage and presenting the gravest dangers; for when a mob once tastes blood it is not particular as to whom its next victim shall be.

Since that memorable time the Chinese have dwelt in peace in Denver, and their numbers here have increased, but not largely. The avenues of occupation for them have been broadened, though the majority cling to the wash-tub. Upon one occasion in our Festivals of Mountain and Plain they participated very creditably in the imposing street pageant with a conception of their own which was not obscure in the great array of fantastic creations that appear in our autumn seasons of holiday festivities. Recently—in March, 1900—one of their number, Yung Doo, attained the distinction of being the first Chinaman to commit suicide in Denver by hanging himself in an opium den on Market street; an event exceedingly rare among those people, notwithstanding the hard, toilsome, unattractive lives the great majority are compelled to lead.


Eastside Electric Station, Twenty-first and Wewatta streets—Denver Gas & Electric Company.

Denver was one of the pioneers among the cities of the world in adopting the electric light, and did so early in 1880. During the preceding ten years the city had been fairly well lighted by the gas company organized by Colonel James Archer in November, 1869, and which began supplying gas in January, 1871, as mentioned in a preceding chapter. As we have there stated, Colonel Archer, after incorporating his company, appears to have proceeded in his relations with the city under an ordinance passed January 10, 1868, for an earlier but ineffective gas enterprise, several gas companies having been previously projected; but the city ordinances of that period are somewhat confused and we are not certain about Archer having utilized a preceding "franchise." The records in the office of the Secretary of State contain entries of incorporation of several abortive gas companies before Colonel Archer incorporated his "Denver Gas Company" on November 13, 1869. A "Denver Gas Company" was incorporated May 18, 1866, and another of the same name on December 27, 1867. In the last-named year, also, the "Colorado Land and Mineral Association," a Territorial corporation of which little is now known, proposed among its other projected enterprises, to supply the city and citizens with illuminating gas. The city records show that by an ordinance approved September 16, 1867, the Association was authorized to lay its gas mains in the streets of the city. But the Association laid no mains, nor did it ever reach the gas-making stage of its proceedings. It now seems odd, by the way, that so remote a town by no means out of danger from Indian warfare should have been arranging to establish gas works in its "midst." By a city ordinance adopted January 10, 1868, the "Denver Gas Company" was authorized to lay its gas pipes in the streets under a provision that it should be ready to supply gas on or before August 1, 1869, at a price not exceeding five dollars per thousand cubic feet. We could not determine to which of the two companies of that name, previously incorporated as above mentioned, this ordinance was intended to apply; but this is the ordinance under which Colonel Archer's company, by some arrangement, appears to have operated.

Early in the summer of 1868 Colonel L. Heine came to Denver in company with J. P. Whitney, of Boston. Whitney was interested in Colorado mines and had been the Territory's Commissioner at the then recent Paris Exposition where a fine exhibit of our minerals had been made, chiefly by his personal efforts. There he had met Heine, who was one of the French Commissioners of the Exposition, and who had become interested in what he had learned of Colorado. He accompanied Whitney to America and came to Denver with him. Heine proposed when he got here to invest about $100,000 of French capital in gas works and coal mines, and to lay about five miles of gas mains in the city. On July 3, 1868, he and his Denver associates incorporated the "Denver Coal & Gas Light Company," and on the 13th of that month the City Council passed an ordinance giving the company a "franchise" to lay its mains in the streets. On September 4, 1868, the Council passed another ordinance of similar tenor for the "Colorado Coal and Gas Light Company;" Heine having in the meantime amended the original name of his company by substituting "Colorado" for "Denver." To give the enterprise a good "send-off," a citizens' meeting was held on October 19th at which Heine's enterprises and the actions of the City Council were very heartily approved. Heine negotiated for coal lands at Erie, planned to build a tramway to them, arranged for ground on which to erect his buildings, and appeared very much in earnest in his proposed undertakings. In later explanation of their collapse, which soon happened, he stated that the expected capital had been invested elsewhere in America; and that was the last Denver knew of him.



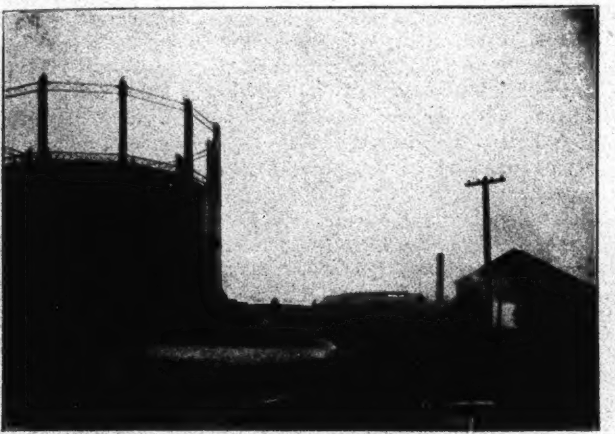
Gas Holder and Pumping Station, Twentieth street District—Denver Gas & Electric Company.

The foregoing reference to Mr. J. P. Whitney recalls the fact that the exhibit of Colorado minerals at the Paris Exposition of 1867 was awarded a fine gold medal—about four inches in diameter. As the exhibit had been collected and taken to Paris largely at Mr. Whitney's personal efforts and expense, the Territorial Legislature subsequently, by resolution, presented the medal to him.

Still another gas company was projected before Colonel Archer took the business in hand. On October 14, 1869, the "Denver Gas & Water Company, of Colorado" was incorporated. This concern appears to have meditated supplying the city with both gas and water, but we found no record of the City Council having granted it a "franchise," and it was the last of the ineffective projects that preceded Colonel Archer, who was the prime mover in building Denver's first gas works, as well as her first water works system.

Soon after Thomas A. Edison perfected his incandescent electric lamps his invention in its practical form made its appearance in Denver; that is to say, in the spring of 1880. In March of that year the Colorado-Edison Electric Light Company was incorporated and organized here, and it introduced and exhibited the first electric lights in Denver. An exhibition plant was installed at Number 390 Curtis street, and on Saturday evening, April 21st, the lights were put in operation here for the first time. The new method of illumination was introduced in dwellings and business houses that year but was not brought into use for public service on the streets until several years afterward, because the gas company's current contract for street lighting did not terminate until 1885.

Nevertheless, Denver was probably the third—certainly the fourth—city in the world to adopt electric lights for street illumination. Following the Edison incandescent lamps came the arc system for high-power illumination, perfected by Charles F. Brush, of Cleveland, Ohio; the preliminary organization having been the "Denver Electric Light Company," incorporated May 30, 1881. However, arc lighting was introduced in service by the "Denver Consolidated Electric Company," in which had been merged the Colorado-Edison company and the company just mentioned; the new company having a capital of $1,000,000. In 1883 the consolidated company secured from the city a contract to light the suburban districts by the "tower" system. Seven iron towers, one hundred and fifty feet high were erected at once, and later



Gas Works at Seventh and Wewatta streets—Denver Gas & Electric Company.

the eighth was added. Each of these towers carried six 3,000-candle-power Brush arc-lights. These towers were conspicuous objects in the day-time, and their lamps were equally so at night, as they shed their mellow light over large areas around them. The towers remained in use until about ten years ago, when they were removed.

The company started with a capacity of about two hundred arc-lights. In 1885, upon the expiration of the gas company's contract for street lighting, it secured a contract for replacing gas by electricity. For this work the Edison municipal system was employed, each of the old gas-lights upheld by the once familiar iron lamp-post being succeeded by twenty-candle-power incandescent lights, which, also, were supported by posts at the street corners. We think a few of these old electric light posts, long disused, still remain on some of the back streets. The lamps were in circuits and it was the practice to light them on the approach of lowering storms and on an occasional dark afternoon; rather more for the novelty of the thing than for any practical utility.

The Fourth of July, 1885, was uncommonly well celebrated in Denver, the festivities having lasted three days. The electric light company made that time the occasion for an elaborate exhibition of its resources. Thousands of colored lamps were suspended at the intersections of the principal streets, producing the striking effects resulting from the similar practice during our Festivals of the Mountain and Plain. The exhibition very naturally made the electric light company extremely popular with Denver's citizens.

The old street gas-lamp passed out of use when the electric street light came in in 1885. The electric company's contract was renewed for another five years, and in the second term 1,100 of the incandescent lamps were in use for street-lighting, some of them being far on the outskirts. But, at the expiration of the second term they were superseded by the arc lights. The company, of which Charles H. Smith was President and General Manager, built its light station at Wewatta and Twenty-first streets, and in 1885 the establishment had the reputation of being the largest single lighting plant in the United States.

Since that time, and also since the original gas company began business, a multitude of lighting companies entered the field. The city ordinances contain privilege records to six or eight of the gas companies under various names, and of eight or ten electric companies. Of these, several of these were in the independent towns that have been annexed to the city. The electric light development is indicated by the present use of about 2,500 arc lights and about 125,000 incandescent, including those operated by private plants.

In 1899 the various lighting companies—both gas and electric—then doing business in the city, were consolidated in one organization; thus placing this business under control of one management. On April 26th of that year this "Denver Gas & Electric Company" was incorporated by Elroy N. Clark, Herman H. Dunham, and Charles W. Waterman, all of Denver, with a capital of $3,500,000. The certificate named as the first Board of Directors William S. Van Soun, T. B. Liverman, S. W. Cantrell, Frank H. DuPuy, Guy Young, Robert C. Young, Angus M. Ward, William A. Burke, Elroy N. Clark, Herman H. Dunham, William W. Field, Charles W. Waterman, and George T. Thompson. These elected G. T. Thompson, President; J. H. Poole, Vice President and General Manager; and F. W. Trueouff, Secretary. Thompson died in the summer of 1900 and was

West side Electric Station, Sixth and Lawrence streets—Denver Gas & Electric Company.

succeeded by Henry L. Doherty as acting President; the other officers remaining the same at the close of our record.

The business of this company is one of the important industries of the city, as it employs about 150 men and carries a pay-roll of about $100,000 per annum. Electricity having to a great extent superseded gas for illuminating, a very large proportion of the gas now made is used for fuel, heating purposes, and for power. Several of the larger buildings in the city have their own electric plants; but in 1900 this company was supplying practically all gas and electricity otherwise used in the city for illuminating, and for the other purposes above mentioned. But early in 1900 the "LaCombe Electric Company" was organized as a general competing concern, obtained from the city a contract for street lighting, and at the close of our record had its construction work under way.

Dynamo Room, West side Electric Station, Sixth and Lawrence streets—Denver Gas & Electric Company.

In 1881 a movement was set on foot in Denver to prepare for holding here the next year an industrial and mineral exposition. The proposition had been well received by the Denver people, and heartily advocated and supported by the Denver newspapers and those elsewhere in the State. Early in 1882 a corporation to carry the proposition into effect was organized, its Board of Directors consisting of S. T. Armstrong, J. T. Cornforth, O. L. Haskell, A. C. Hunt, John W. Knox, W. A. H. Loveland, H. D. Perry, Herman Silver, H. A. W. Tabor, and H. S. Wicks. From these, Tabor was chosen President; Silver, Vice President; Loveland, Treasurer; Armstrong, Secretary; and Perry, General Manager.

Plans for the general scope of the Exposition were speedily perfected and arrangements for constructing a suitable building were soon made. It was at that time anticipated and intended that the Exposition should become permanently an annual event, and preparations were based upon that anticipation. It was scheduled to open on August 1st and to close on September 30th.

In their "Programme for the First Annual Exhibition of the National Mining and Industrial Exposition at Denver," the Directors stated:

> "The principal cause which gave birth to the idea of holding a National Mining and Industrial Exposition in the Great West, was the prevailing ignorance everywhere concerning the wonderful natural resources of that portion of this nation lying West of the 100th meridian."
>
> "It was felt that the necessity existed for removing the many erroneous impressions prevalent, and showing that this part of the United States, instead of being in one portion a barren desert, and in another a mass of snow-clad mountains, really contains a soil encouraging to the agriculturalist, and a marvelous diversity of native minerals, only awaiting the introduction of manufacturing facilities to find an active market."

Construction work on the Exposition building was pushed with great energy, and by the middle of July it was ready for the reception of exhibits. As our illustration of it shows, it was a well-designed and handsome structure of its kind. It was erected in the South Denver district, just east of Broadway, on the land between Virginia and Exposition Avenues. Its dimensions were 500 in length by 316 feet in width; the area being nearly 150,000 square feet. The only surviving relic of it on the site is the fountain at the intersection of Sherman and Center Avenues, and which stands where it was erected in front of the central entrance to the building.

Although everything was not completed and in order on the first of August, the Exposition was opened on that day with all the exhibition space taken. The exhibits were classified in Departments of Mineralogy; Geology; Iron Manufactures; Metallurgical Machinery; Agricultural and Horticultural Products; Steam Machinery and Machine Tools; Agricultural and Horticultural Implements; Vehicles and so forth; Textile Fabrics and Leather Goods; Household Furniture, Manufactures of Precious Metals and so forth; Liberal Arts, Natural Science and Education; Food Preparations, Miscellaneous Articles used in Domestic Economy, and Miners' Supplies; Chemical and Medicinal preparations, and Oil Products; and a Department for Miscellaneous Unclassified Exhibits.

In each of these departments very creditable exhibits were made. Colorado did not get all her agricultural products on display until September, but at that time astonished all visitors not familiar with her progress. The machinery and general miscellaneous exhibits came from all over the country. But the finest and most interesting departments were those of minerals, mining machinery and other exhibits pertaining to mining. It is questionable if such a collection of mineral specimens was ever before brought together, or has been assembled since that time. All of the mining States and Territories elaborately contributed their best, and the value of the exhibits reached into many thousands of dollars. That of the "Argo" smelter had an intrinsic value of more than $150,000, and included thirty-seven silver bricks of more than ordinary brick-size, worth $75,000; and a large gold one carrying a value of $55,000. The mineral and general mining exhibits so overshadowed all others, that the whole enterprise soon became the "Mining Exposition" in the common speech of the visitors.

So extraordinary and elaborate was the collection of minerals that it was hoped toward the close of the Exposition that some plan could be devised under which the bulk of it could be retained and made a permanent one in Denver to be increased from time to time and finally to become a great museum of mineral deposits, not only of those of Colorado, but of so many other western mining States that it would take on a National character and importance. Unfortunately there was no way opened to that most desirable end, and the great collection was scattered after the Exposition closed. Portions of it remained in Denver, other parts were bought to add to collections in the east, and the remainder was taken away by exhibitors.

It was at that time that Indians were first brought into Denver for exhibition purposes. In September Savaro and thirty-three other Utes put up their tepees on the Exposition grounds and became rivals of the "Argo's" bullion bricks in popular curiosity and attention.

Nearly the whole population of Colorado visited the Exposition and there were many others from all over the country; the western tourist having been a numerous and conspicuous figure in consequence of the very moderate rates made by the railways. While the Exposition of 1882 was not financially profitable to the extent that had been anticipated, the results encouraged the corporation to hold another in the autumn of 1883. This second undertaking fell short of the first in variety and extent of exhibits, and also in financial returns; there having been a serious deficiency in the latter. In consequence of this outcome the Exposition corporation announced early in 1884 that it would not undertake a third one.

When this decision was made public, the Denver Chamber of Commerce took under consideration the expediency of holding, under its auspices, an exposition in the autumn of that year, and in April decided to do so. The Chamber appointed from its members a Board of Exposition Managers consisting of W. A. H. Loveland, President; R. W. Woodbury, Vice President; A. E. Pierce, Treasurer; Irwin Mahon, Secretary; B. P. Brasher, E. P. Light, R. G. Webster, and B. F. Woodward. Arrangements were made with the Exposition corporation for the use of its premises, and on September 1, 1884, the third exhibition was opened. It presented the same general features of the preceding two, having been better than the second, but not equal to the first. It closed on October 4th without serious deficiency in its finances, but without results sufficiently encouraging to warrant its continuance in succeeding years. Therefore the exhibit of 1884 was the last one held in the Exposition building, which was soon afterward sold and torn down. In subsequent years prior to the panic of 1893 several smaller exhibitions by Denver's manufacturers and others were held in the city, but none of them were of great magnitude or of more than local interest.

Upon the whole this series of expositions constituted a rather ambitious undertaking for that time. While as expositions they were not strictly local in character, the burden of their financial support fell upon citizens of this city. They were the first attempts of their kind made west of the Missouri river, and their great work was to direct attention to the resources of Colorado, and to the Rocky Mountain Territories generally, the development of which was then in its infancy. In this they were fairly successful, and there can be no doubt but that their influence had much to do with stimulating the activity that made the ensuing ten years memorable in the history of the city and State.

Considering that the first of these expositions was held only twenty-four years after the beginnings of settlements had been made in this Colorado country, and that some of its managers had come here as pioneers, it was a most remarkable object-lesson of the indomitable energy, the tireless activity, and of the consummate ability of the American to subdue the wilderness and subordinate its resources to his own advantage and well-being.

The first great assemblage, of National importance and representing a National extent, to meet in Denver, was the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic held here in July, 1883. The railways made exceptionally favorable rates which were open to the public, and which resulted in bringing an unusually large number of visitors to Denver and Colorado at that time; though the attendance of Grand Army men at that Encampment was not, owing to the distance to be travelled and the consequent expense, so large as at others in that period held nearer the center of population. For the occasion and in honor of her guests the city put on her holiday attire, threw open her doors, and acquitted herself so well as a hostess that that Encampment is still most pleasantly remembered by the surviving veterans who were her guests at that time. The great parade was made on July 24th with about 5,000 Grand Army men in line, and it was the most impressive if not the largest, demonstration that has ever been witnessed in Denver. The Grand Army at its Encampment of 1900, held in Chicago, voted to again come to Denver for the Encampment of 1901; but later the organization's Executive Committee substituted Cleveland for Denver.

The development of Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets as great business thoroughfares began in this era in Denver's affairs. In the first half of the decade under consideration at this juncture, the Tabor Opera House, the Court House, and many business structures had been erected on Sixteenth, and work on the Federal building had been started. Previous to 1880 the people had not been reconciled to the site purchased on which to build a Court House, and the erection of the building at so remote a place had been earnestly opposed. The late H. A. W. Tabor was chiefly instrumental in changing the course of commercial improvements and the trend of retail business. Until he began his building operations, Sixteenth was still a mere side street, and Larimer and several of its parallels, with lower Fifteenth street, monopolized the business of the city. Tabor's improvements, and the selection of the site of the Federal building, gave Sixteenth street its first great forward impulse. This was quickened by the long-delayed beginning of work on the State Capitol, on the land given the Territory many years before by Henry C. Brown. In one and a rather large sense the Sixteenth street of our times may be regarded as the outgrowth of the foresight and enterprise of H. A. W. Tabor and Henry C. Brown. The location and construction of the Union Passenger Station, and the building of the Albany Hotel, both of which improvements date prior to 1885, gave Seventeenth street its first great forward movement out of the condition of being another mere side street.

Exposition Building.

In the first twenty-five years of Denver's career there were, as we have seen, several towns and "cities" in this region that imagined themselves to be her rivals, and it would be about as hard to tell why they failed to win supremacy as it would be to give explicit reasons for her success in outstripping all of them. There were really no greater and better causes for the growth of a city here around the mouth of Cherry creek than could have been pointed out to the advantage of any one of a half-dozen other pioneer settlements in the Pike's Peak country.

Passing by "Montana," which never had much vitality, Colonel Curtis' "Arapahoe," dating from about Christmas time in 1858, was Denver's first rival. It was finely located on Clear Creek where that stream escapes from the foot-hills, and within sight of the Golden City of the subsequent spring. It became quite a settlement in the first six months of its existence, but was soon thereafter wholly abandoned and left to become a historical memory.

Both Golden City and Boulder City were ambitious rivals of Denver in the early days, and possessed some decided advantages from the standpoint of those times. Boulder's beautiful location, and the immediate proximity of rich "gold diggings," promised to make her the foremost of the pioneer towns, in the judgment of her founders. Golden was planned and "boomed" by some of the shrewdest and most energetic of Colorado's pioneers, and its situation at the gateway to the richest and best-known of all the "diggings" in 1859 would seem to have given the town advantages superior to Denver's.

Windsor Hotel in 1882.

But from the beginning Denver managed to keep herself the metropolis of the region; so distinctly the metropolis that she had no difficulty in anchoring here the western terminus of the first stage line into the new gold country—the Leavenworth & Pike's Peak Express. Colonel Curtis regards that as having been the conclusive factor in making Denver the Pike's Peak metropolis in 1859.

In November, 1859, after the rich gold-placers were discovered in the South Park, "Colorado City" was planned and platted on metropolitan dimensions and proclaimed as the future great city of the region. Notwithstanding that it afterward became, like Golden, the nominal political capital of Colorado for a short time, prairie dogs were occupants of the vast majority of its town lots for a long while after the "city" was laid out.

These early rivals included "City" as a part of their names, a practice that might appear to have been beset by some fatality. Denver also attached the boastful word to her title, but dropped it before she really became a city; an example later followed by Golden and Boulder.

In 1860 when California Gulch had fully revealed its riches of placer gold, and after the South Park placer mines had become well developed, Canon City was founded as the Colorado metropolis of the future, but failed in the least to disturb Denver's supremacy. In that year Pueblo was laid out at the mouth of the Fontaine-qui-Bouille, primarily as a rival to Fontaine City, also at the mouth of the same stream, but on the opposite bank. In later years Pueblo set up as the Colorado metropolis, and for a while claimed to be menacing Denver's position. In common with several other Colorado towns, Pueblo aspired to become the State capital, and when that question was settled in 1881 managed to poll 6,047 favorable votes. Colorado Springs, though non-existent prior to 1871, soon took on airs of importance and asserted metropolitan claims. In the contest for the capital location it was a candidate, and with 4,790 favorable votes stood third in the list of aspirants. Then came Leadville in the late "Seventies," but without undue boasting. Within five or six years her people, including the great horde of transient fortune-hunters that swarmed in and around the town equalled, if it did not out-number, the contemporary population of Denver. But at no time was there serious impairment of this city's position by the ambitions of any of these aspiring rivals, nor was there any grave danger of Denver ceasing to be the metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country and of the central west.

The people of the eastern parts of the United States had been slow to learn that Denver had become a growing young city of orderly life and advanced ideals. The old-time "wildness" and "wooliness" and "general cussedness" attributed to everything west of the Missouri river persistently clung to their conceptions of Denver and of all her affairs. As late as 1880 some of these notions still lingered. To many visitors the absence of careering Indians on the plains and sullen "loafing" ones in the town; the needlessness of carrying arms for protection against "bad men;" the extreme scarcity of ruffianly affrays on the streets; the orderly, matter-of-fact but very busy progress of daily business and social life; the thoroughly organized and efficient city government; the courtesy and attentions of the citizens; the numerous churches and schools; the well-provided facilities and conveniences of the young city; the character of its buildings and mercantile establishments which then were modest enough in comparison with their present successors; all these things combined to produce surprise, which in frequent instances had a coloring of disappointment.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Great Speculative Era—Conditions Preceding It—Awakening in 1880—Census of 1880—Phenomenal Ratio of Population Increase—Slight Reaction 1884-85—Beginning of the Great "Boom"—Rapid Rise in Property Values—Period of Amazing Activity—Enormous Aggregates of Real Estate Transactions—Sky Rocket Land Prices—Vast Operations in Building—Speculative Fever a Mania—Square Miles of Town Lots—Collapse in 1893—Disastrous Consequences.

The reader will have observed that transactions in real estate had a charm for white men on Denver ground, from the beginning; the first, but impotent, town organization, that of "St. Charles," having been a real estate enterprise of speculative tendencies. Enough has been said in preceding chapters of the hopes and fears of town-lot owners in the early times, and of the fluctuations in values; never reaching lofty altitudes, but sometimes going down, as it seemed, below the bottom. No definite, substantial standard was reached until after the coming of the railroads in 1870, and then only for property in the older and built-up parts of the town. There was so much land around it everywhere that outskirt lots and out-lying tracts could not be made to appear of much value. Unless he had determined to buy, the man who was "just looking around," hesitated to make an offer lest the owner would instantly accept. As late as 1870 lots between California street and Capitol Hill could have been bought for $150 or $200 each, because that district was expected to remain on the outskirts, and it was not expected that the town would encroach upon Capitol Hill within the lifetime of any one then here, if it ever did. It would require less exercise of the "foresight" faculty for a present citizen to anticipate and prepare for the foothills around Golden being covered with Denver residences in 1925, with all the intervening country solidly built up, than it did even in 1870 to see with the eyes of faith and prophecy that the Capitol Hill area would be "in the city," and very much in, before twenty years had passed.

In 1871, the year after the advent of the railroads, Denver had made most encouraging progress, city property values advancing very materially, but without any flagrant symptoms of a "boom." The place was still a relatively small town which the census of the previous year had given an established population of only 4,759. The reader may have concluded that we are unduly dwelling upon the slow development of the city in the first ten or twelve years of its history, but we are endeavoring to faithfully present the facts. It is almost impossible for the observer of the present day, unless he be a pioneer, to realize all that has been done here within the last twenty years, and to gain a full comprehension of the condition of the city thirty years ago. For, in the ten years between 1860 and 1870, the ups and downs of this region had been such that Denver gained but ten in her assumably permanent population; and the vast area constituting the Territory of Colorado but 5,587; it having had, according to the census of 1870, 39,864 inhabitants.

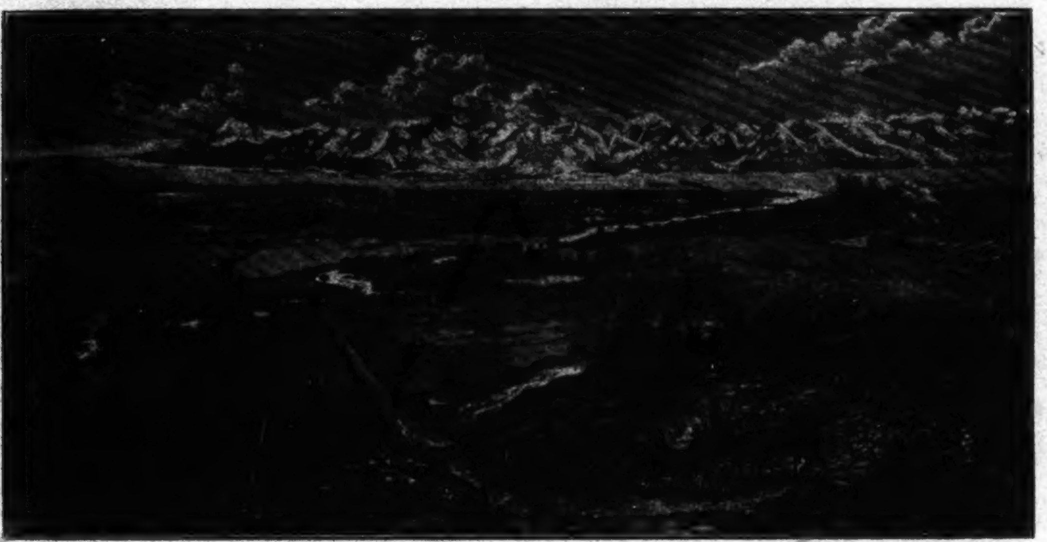
At that time the old Auraria City section of Denver, westward of Cherry creek, was still small, and had not been developing much for several years, as it had not recovered from the moral effect of the flood of 1864. It really did not start toward becoming what it is now until the next decade. "North Denver" was a sparsely settled district with unlimited room for expansion. "East Denver" considered itself the city, and in common thought was generally regarded so. But, it was not much of a town, nor did all three divisions combined make much of a town. Cherry creek, and Curtis, Eighteenth, and Wazee streets bounded pretty much all there was of "East Denver" even at that time; so, it had no call to put on many airs. Most of the pioneer banking establishments had passed out, and Warren Hussey & Co.'s private bank, the First National, and the Colorado National, had the field practically to themselves.

By midsummer of 1871 the entire city contained but 1,128 buildings of all kinds, one-half of them less than two stories high, and but few of them three. Generally, those more recently built were of brick, but a large proportion of the dwellings were frame, and there were still many log structures surviving from the pioneer era. The town as a whole consisted of buildings of a very inferior character if measured by present standards.

But the general character of the many improvements made in the last half of 1871 was far above that of previous buildings.

In 1872 there were four railroads operating to and from Denver; the Denver Pacific to a connection with the Union Pacific at Cheyenne; the Kansas Pacific; the Boulder Valley, now incorporated in the Colorado & Southern system, out to the coal mines at Erie; and the Denver & Rio Grande to Colorado Springs. All of them charged ten cents a mile local passenger fare, and but little less for through passengers. The fare to St. Louis was $55, to Kansas City $44, to Cheyenne $10, and to Colorado Springs $7. The only sources of coal supply were the mines at Erie and Golden, all of them mining lignite which sold here through 1871 at $5.75 per ton, and gave the railroads about 20,000 tons of freight hauling. The total amount of other freight receipts at and for Denver by rail in that year was less than 20,000 tons, or, about four old-fashioned car-loads per day; but it was fast increasing. There was no outgoing freight of much consequence and the railroads had to haul their freight cars back empty. It was in that year that Denver first felt the full effects of railroad advantages; as near two and one-half million dollars were spent for improvements in the city, the appearance of which was conspicuously changed for the better, by them. About eight hundred new structures, averaging much better than any that preceded, were built that year; which, including the large number erected in the last half of 1871, brought the total in the city up to 2,752, indicating, presumably, a doubling of the census population of 1870.

There had been a steady and healthy increase of business, and a general advance to good values in real estate, that really made an era of active prosperity which continued until the close of 1873. The panic of that year throughout the east did not directly make its effect seriously felt in Denver, but indirectly it did to some extent. Several large railroad and other enterprises depending upon capital from the east were arrested, and in that way, as already told, the panic entailed a period of relative dullness here that continued two or three years. Therefore, in 1875 Denver's population probably did not exceed 16,000. Later in that decade affairs changed much for the better, but it can not be said that there was any definite speculative era in Denver real estate prior to 1880. What was commonly called "the Leadville excitement" caused considerable activity in real estate transactions here, but it did not develop into anything like a speculative craze. People trooped through Denver by thousands on their way to Leadville, and business of every kind here was tremendously quickened. But no one comprehended what it all meant, nor what its full consequences here soon would be. Who could have done so? As late as the summer of 1879 some lots at the corner of Lincoln and Seventeenth Avenues were sold at fifty dollars apiece to a man who built a dwelling on them; and some around the intersection of Broadway and Nineteenth street sold for one hundred dollars.


View of Denver from beyond Argo. From a picture made in 1879.

The more potent awakening did not come until a year or two after Horace A. W. Tabor came from Leadville with a vast fortune in his pockets, part of which he invested in down-town business ground and in the construction of his first large, modern building. The year 1880 found Denver firmly established as the metropolis of the Rocky Mountain region, notwithstanding that for a short season in that general period Leadville claimed to surpass her in population. The census of 1880 gave Denver a record of 35,629 fairly permanent inhabitants. This advance over the enumeration of 1870 indicated a phenomenal growth; but it was destined to be later exceeded, if not in ratio, in the relative progress made in building a great city. While the mining developments on the headwaters of the Arkansas had created Leadville, within a few years they were doing quite as much for Denver. Previous to their beginning Denver still had much more of the frontier town characteristics than those of a city. Beginning with 1880 values advanced substantially, if not swiftly, for a couple of years during which much property changed hands more than once in every part of the city at increasing prices; and a great deal of building was done, both for business and residence purposes. The completion of the Burlington railroad in 1882 gave great acceleration to the forward movement. But there was still nothing like a wild, speculative "boom" about it. With the close of 1883 there was a sensible, distinct reaction which everybody felt but for which nobody could give a satisfactory reason. Many men engaged in the building trades and many laborers who were helping them found a greatly reduced demand for their services, and began leaving the city; and the former activity in real estate very materially subsided. These conditions prevailed until the summer of 1885. They did not bring a cessation of development, by any means, but rather a consciousness that circumstances did not just then warrant further investments in either land or buildings to any great extent.

View from site of Broadway Theater, in 1879. Arapahoe School building appears in middle distance. From a photograph.

The real estate traders and agents were the worst sufferers, and in casting about for a reason for the depression, found none so much to their liking and that seemed to so well fit the circumstances of the situation as the extortions of the prairie railroads which, it may be taken for granted, were vigorously and perhaps appropriately denounced with true western emphasis. But those were years of general stagnation throughout the country, and no city was doing very well. Indeed, Denver was really prosperous and growing fast, but her people forgot that conditions which to them appeared as seriously reactionary and discouraging would, in any other city of the same size, have been satisfactory if not congratulatory; and probably would have been considered as constituting a "boom." The population had increased nearly sixty per cent. in five years, notwithstanding that there had been a relative slackening of the pace for a while. The census made by the State in 1885 gave Denver a population of 54,308, and Colorado one of 199,327; so, the city, in numbers, was more than one-fourth of the State.

It was between 1880 and 1885 that the building of the modern city was fairly inaugurated, and vastly improved architecture introduced, though the structures of that period suffered by comparison with those of later years. The Tabor Building, the Tabor Opera House, County Court House, Union Passenger Station, the Windsor and Albany hotels, the Colorado National Bank Building and many handsome and substantial mercantile buildings appeared in that period. Beside these there were scores of fine residences, several costly churches, and as many modern school buildings to mark the great difference between the old and the new, and to emphasize the fact that Denver had become a substantial and prosperous city on broad foundations. The old wooden bridges that made Cherry creek still more unsightly had been replaced by iron ones; the sewerage system was serving a large portion of the city; there was an abundance of pure water; and a large area was lighted by electricity. So, despite the slackening began in 1884, a great, a remarkable, advance had been made in those five years.

In the autumn of 1885 a marked revival set in, not exactly with a bound, not in consequence of any one conspicuous cause, but as a general forward movement carrying with it many important enterprises. The mines were doing well, the State was prosperously developing, and conditions all over the country were improved. It is difficult to assign reasons for general economic alternations of exaltation and depression, but at that time in Denver the construction of new and far extended systems of improved street-railways had practically been decided on. Active construction work on the long delayed Capitol, and on the Federal building was to begin in earnest, and plans for many new private buildings were under consideration.

The movement did not fairly attain momentum until 1886. Through that year there was great activity in unimproved real estate around on the borders of the city, and but little less in central property on which to rebuild. It was rather a year of preparation for a great campaign, and the transfers of real estate involved considerations aggregating $11,000,000.

Then came the great era of wonderful activity in Denver real estate; great in the magnitude of transactions and in the multiplication of values; and covering the period between the spring of 1887 and that of 1893; a time of much wild speculation and of quick accumulations of real estate fortunes. In the previous years the advances in values and extent of transactions had been large, and in almost any other city of the same size would have been considered remarkable; but in the period we have just mentioned they were unexampled by events in any other city in the United States. It can not truly be said that these conditions in Denver were wholly speculative, for they were to a very great extent warranted by the astonishing development of Colorado then going forward at such a rapid pace; by the city's growth in business and population; and by the existing prospects for an indefinite continuance of the exceedingly favorable circumstances. The construction of the Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island to Colorado, and the Santa Fe extension to Denver, in that general period had a tremendous influence; and rail connection with tidewater by way of the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth road, completed in 1888, was regarded as of towering importance. The Colorado Midland and the Denver & Rio Grande were pushing into and across the mountains, and the country along all the prairie lines was rapidly being occupied by hosts of new people, in Colorado as well as farther east. The whole country was then on a tidal wave of prosperity, with Denver on the highest crest. Silver mining was in the height of its success; agriculture was expanding, the government had located a great military post near Denver, and money by millions was pouring into the city from all directions for investment. In the summer of 1887 the city was thought to have had about 95,000 population, and the value of buildings erected in that year exceeded $4,000,000.

The greater activity was in suburban real estate, which was stimulated to an amazing degree by the construction of the new system of street railways—a great, conspicuous public improvement of those times. Clear around the city the work of building went on as if by miracle, and hundreds, thousands of acres of weed-grown land, were covered with buildings having high average both in cost and architectural character. Additions by the score were platted, and lots sold at fabulous prices; nearly everybody had the real estate fever, and was loaded up to his limit of resources. In the central part of the city building operations were no less active during that eventful period. Building-trades workmen and their laborer assistants literally swarmed everywhere. In 1890 the population had risen to 106,713, not counting the suburbs; and all channels of circulation had been surfeited with money. Denver was the Mecca of thousands of bright, energetic young men from all over the country, and life here presented most extraordinary aspects from every point of view.

True, a large proportion of this prosperity could be directly traced to the mouths of the opulent silver mines from which was pouring a vast stream of white metal; but no one in those years could have foreknown the disasters that were to befall silver, nor could have foreseen the calamities those disasters entailed upon Colorado, and laid so heavy a hand on Denver.

In that era real estate appeared to have an enduring and certainly increasing value even at the high prices then prevailing, which were held and believed to be in every way warranted by events; it seemed to be the best possible representative of invested capital, and money by millions from sources east of the Mississippi river, and in vast sums from nearly every other direction, had continued to flow into Denver for investment in land and buildings. While statistics of real estate transactions in any year are, to some extent, misleading, because a single piece of property may, in an active year, change hands several times and the consideration at each sale be used to swell the total for the year, some of these totals, even with their possible instances of duplication of transactions, are of historic interest now. The first great impulse, as we have said, came in 1887, when sales of real estate aggregated $29,200,000; in 1888 they were $41,240,000; in 1889, $60,400,000; in 1890, the year of high-water mark, $65,830,000; in 1891, $47,500,000; in 1892, $40,300,000; a grand total for the period 1887-1892, inclusive, of $284,470,000. It is true that these figures cover the whole of Arapahoe county, but 95 per cent of the transactions were in Denver. Some of the property was improved, but in the majority of instances it was not. While these statistics of real estate transactions afford no definite clue to the amount of money that went into new buildings in that era, the sum so invested in structures of all kinds in 1890 exceeded $16,500,000; and to this could be added the large amounts expended in street railway construction, street improvements and so forth.

View from site of Broadway Theater, in 1880. The triangular tract in left foreground is the site of the Brown Palace Hotel. From a photograph.

Prior to 1887 transactions were on what was regarded as a fair basis, but their aggregates were small as compared with those of these later dealings. In 1880 the total was $5,600,000, and the increase therefrom was not very rapid. In the thirteen years, 1880 to 1892, inclusive, the total of considerations in real estate transfers in Arapahoe county was $334,334,000, of which, as we have seen, $284,470,000 were for transactions in the six years, 1887-1892, inclusive. 1893 brought, of course, a sudden halt, and 1894 what it is no exaggeration to term a collapse.

The real estate mortgages of the general period under consideration aggregated a vast sum. In the six years—1887-1892, inclusive—they amounted to about $165,000,000. This, of course, represents many duplications by successive mortgages on the same property, and is, also, to a very great extent a duplication of sums involved in the aggregate investments in real estate that we have already mentioned. In frequent instances these loans represented part of the purchase price of real estate, though in far more frequent cases they were for improvements on theretofore unincumbered property. It is to be remembered that many real estate sales at that time were on a basis of a comparatively small cash payment, the balance being secured by mortgage on the property. Ordinarily the rate of interest was eight per cent.; sometimes and in favorable cases a little less; but in 1892 it was not uncommon for twelve per cent. to be bargained for, and paid as long as the borrower kept his head above water.

As for the warrant for these extraordinary transactions—extraordinary in detail and in aggregate—it may be well to introduce and put on record a few instances of progressive and cumulative values paid in money for ten different pieces of real estate during the twenty years ended with the close of 1892. Each piece consisted of two lots, or 50 by 125 feet in area, and their advance in price is indicated by the figures in the subjoined three columns, showing the cash price for which they were successively sold in 1872, 1889 and 1892:

1872.	1889.	1892.
$ 3,000	$25,000	$30,000
12,000	65,000	75,000
8,000	75,000	90,000
1,000	16,000	30,000
3,600	80,000	85,000
600	14,000	32,000
1,800	30,000	40,000
2,000	60,000	75,000
1,600	90,000	95,000
800	35,000	45,000

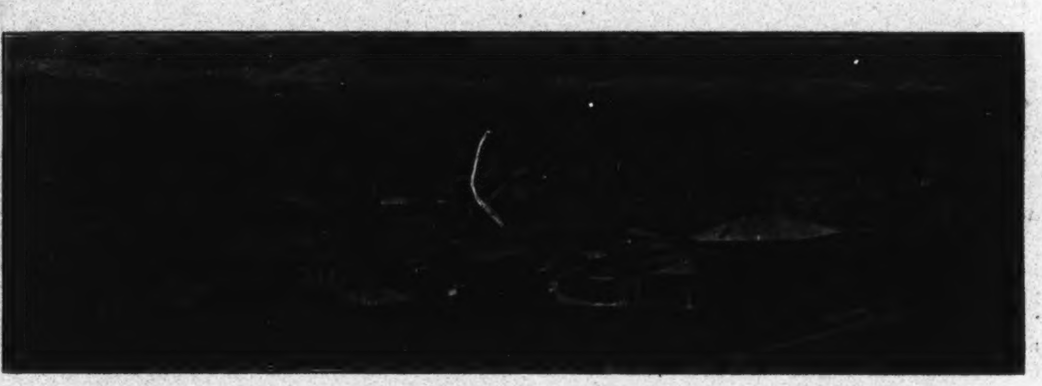
These were not especially exceptional cases, but they were, probably, somewhat above the average. In 1864 a tract of forty acres in what is now the heart of the Capitol Hill residence district, was pre-empted at a merely nominal cost; in 1872 some lots were sold from it for $75 each, and the seller thought he was doing uncommonly well; in 1892 that forty acres without improvements were valued at one and one-half million dollars. In 1871 an "outside" tract sufficient for 700 lots was bought for $9,100; in 1892 its market value was $385,000. In 1886 a large and farther "outside" body of land containing 100 acres was bought for $32,000; in 1892, its market value was $500,000. Examples similar in a general way to these might be continued over several of these pages if it were necessary or desirable to do so; but the foregoing will be sufficient to convey an intelligent understanding of the conditions existing in Denver during those years.

It was in that remarkable era of six years that nearly all of the great commercial structures that adorn the city were undertaken and, with a few exceptions, completed. It is to be remembered that that era was one of high prices in Denver for all other things as well as for real estate, and the cost of building shared in the prevailing elevation. The magnificent Brown Palace Hotel came into existence then at a cost of $1,500,000; and the great and stately Equitable Building required about $1,500,000 to put it there. Other prominent structures that had either been completed prior to 1893 or were in progress in that year, and the stated total cost of each, were as follows:

Ernest & Cranmer Building	$400,000
Masonic Temple Building	250,000
Kittredge Building	300,000
California Building	150,000
People's Bank Building	265,000
Mining Exchange Building	200,000
Cooper Building	225,000
Boston Building	300,000
Post Office Building	570,000

In addition to these, work on the Capitol building, that has cost about $3,000,000, had then been put under way. It will be remembered that the foregoing figures represent the cost of the buildings, only; and do not include the value of their sites. Money was poured out like water on these structures. Everything in them is of the best—granite, terra-cotta, pressed brick, marble, onyx, bronze, black-iron work, silver, nickel, and all the other materials modern architects, when granted a free hand, introduce to give solidity, durability, elegance, and charm of detail ornamentation, to their elaborate creations. There were many others, but of lower cost, in progress at the same time—fine business blocks, churches, schools, warehouses, factories and the like; not to mention hundreds, thousands, of dwellings ranging all the way from the modest cottages to the most palatial of homes. There were literally miles of these dwellings erected during that extraordinary period.

In the presence of all this activity, of all this investment of millions in placing buildings on the ground, why should there not have been almost unbounded faith and belief in the permanent value of real estate on a basis relative to the value of the structures and proportioned to the then unclouded prospects of the city for an uninterrupted career of the prosperity she was then enjoying? The human mind is not equipped with any faculty that would have enabled any man to have foreseen the misfortunes that came upon so many of these builders, and land-owners, in 1893 and 1894.



View from site of Trinity M. E. Church, in 1880. Windsor Hotel appears in middle distance on the left. From a photograph.

General Frank Hall, writing in 1894, said: "Before the crash came in 1893, Denver boasted the largest army of landed millionaires to be found west of the Missouri river. At this writing it has been reduced to a mere corporal's guard."

The fate of many of them was most pitiable. Their fortunes, though proved fictitious by the stern logic of events, had seemed very real up to the verge of the collapse; and many of those landed millionaires walked off the precipice before they knew they were on dangerous ground. While in practical consequences a fall to the earth from an elevation of a hundred feet or so is as calamitous to the individual as it could have been had he fallen farther, most of us have a habit of thinking that he who tumbles from much loftier heights certainly must experience greater suffering. However that may be, there were hundreds who were

View southwest from electric light tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues in autumn of 1882. Unfinished Court House in middle distance on the right.

not landed millionaires but whose fate was equally pitiable. The man "of moderate means," the man "in easy circumstances," and many who had just made a beginning, figured numerously in the host of speculators in real estate, and went to the bottom with their more conspicuous associates.

By 1890 the speculative fever had become a mania. The open prairie for miles had been platted in city lots and thrown upon the market. There were square miles of them, and much of them now remain great areas that are still open prairie. The city-lot plattings in that period, added to still unoccupied ground in earlier additions to the city, afford room for doubling, even trebling, the present population of Denver. Thousands wanted to acquire title to more or less real estate, and the small holders were as sanguine and extravagant, proportionately, if not more so, in their expectations as were those who had more. The statistics of real estate transactions that we have quoted show a shrinkage in transfers of property in 1891 and 1892 that should have been regarded as ominous by those whose fortunes, or prospective fortunes, were represented by landed possessions; but outside a very small circle they were not so regarded. Things were soon going to swing the other way again, and swing far higher!

In a chapter toward the end of this volume some consideration is given to details of conditions that were so suddenly precipitated in the summer of 1893, and that not only ruined and dispersed our army of speculators in real estate, but brought disasters to thousands who stood in other ranks.

These disasters are now of the past—they belong to the city's history and, practically, have passed out of the present life of Denver. Here and there some evidences of the wreck are still visible; just as in a burned-over district of extended area in a city, a few marks of the fire may be seen long after rebuilding has been regarded as finished. The re-adjustment of these affairs is also now of the past, save for the occasional vestiges that drift into public notice, and is another part of the city's history. In her activities here in the dawn of the new century all these misfortunes have been put far behind her and no longer have any bearing or influence on the calculations, enterprises and progress of her citizens. She has recovered nearly all she lost, and otherwise has moved distinctively and definitely beyond her position in 1893-94. While former values have not been restored in every direction, they have been in many quarters; but the more important part of the forward movement is that which has brought a greater degree of proper conservatism, a stronger inclination to stand longer on solid ground, rather than to be led away by any element of chance, or by the illusions with which hope and ambition for sudden wealth so often betray their half-blind followers.

There is evidence of restoration of real estate values, in the business section at least, in several recent transactions. In November, 1899, the property at the northwest corner of Seventeenth and

Stout streets, 100 by 175 feet in area, was sold for $265,000, cash. About the same time the property at the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Welton streets, 125 by 125 feet in area, was sold to the same investor for $165,000, cash. The buildings on these properties are comparatively inferior, add little to the value of the ground and, in the plans of the new owner are doomed to early removal to make way for edifices more in harmony, from the standpoint of sightliness and financial returns, with the value of the land they occupy. Other recent sales of business property were for values proportionate with these; but residence, and outlying unimproved property, have not to the same extent recovered former values.

But the memory of the times of 1893-94, of that season of ruin and misery to hundreds and thousands, will long linger in the minds of Denver men; persistently in the minds of those who passed through the ordeal yet saved more or less of their possessions—for few were unscathed; and as long as life lasts, in the thoughts and reflections of those who were suddenly stripped of everything they owned. Men who had every reason to believe, as they did believe, that their equities in property encumbered by loans representing the cost of buildings on it, or less, were abundantly sufficient for a competence, saw them vanish without, in many instances, satisfying the just demands of creditors. Others, owners of unincumbered property, but with obligations created on the basis of preceding conditions, submitted to crushing sacrifices; yet others, owners of ground of intrinsic value, but for which there was no sale at any price, were brought to a literal realization of what it means to be "land-poor" in the presence of daily physical needs and of the tax-gatherer.

The storm-center of that almost world-wide "silver panic" was in Colorado and, as we have indicated, made Denver the scene of its extremely violent manifestations of destructive power. While its consequences at the time appeared to be ruinous to State and city, the experience and results of succeeding years prove its effects to have been not wholly evil. It was followed by a conviction of the need for more fully developing the other resources of the State and by a well-impressed realization of the dangers hanging over any people who make one single line of production their nearly sole dependence. Before the storm swept through, the thoughts and efforts of Colorado men were huddled around the silver mines. So far as they did not directly or indirectly contribute to silver production, other avenues of actually productive activity were subordinated or entirely neglected. Not the least of the undesirable influences of those conditions was the narrowing of public opinion, the undue exaltation of self-interest, and the contraction of the economic and political horizons.

Under those conditions agriculture, horticulture, manufacturing, commercial enterprises, the development of the great resources of iron and coal, and all the other general industrial interests received relatively scant attention, except in so far as they were necessarily connected with the one object of general attention. Even gold-mining, the original industry of the region, had fallen into comparative decadence.

After the rude awakening a remarkable change set in, and there was soon visible a definite reflection of the uses of adversity, the sweetness of which is always questionable when given a personal application, but of the sometimes general benefits there may be less doubt. At any rate, if the awakening of a new and broader spirit; the determination to have diversity instead of unity of occupation for the people; the realization that Colorado need not and should not depend solely on the mines in her pursuit of wealth and happiness, be desirable changes, they certainly to a great degree grew out of what once seemed overwhelming misfortune. While mining is and probably will be for many years a conspicuous industry in Colorado, the awakening of the new spirit that is leading our people to consider with equal zeal and earnestness the opportunities for rewarding activity in other directions, was one of the most fortuitous happenings in the history of the city and State.

As we have heretofore mentioned, the plan of our History of Denver, provides for presenting separate accounts in more or less detail of important political, economic, educational, religious, social and other elements identified with the upbuilding of the city and state, and of various matters collateral or subordinate to them. In preceding chapters passing allusions to most of these have been made in the approach to chronological order in which our accounts have thus far been presented. To have strictly followed their chronology in incorporating these various subjects in preceding chapters, would have rather widely scattered through the volume the many interesting historical facts with which they are associated. Therefore it seemed desirable, and more convenient to the reader, to consider them separately and in continuity of narrative relating to each that is continued with respect to each to the close of the year 1900; notwithstanding some unavoidable repetition of statements this method involves.

Therefore, at this juncture in our Story of Denver, we will depart from the approximate chronological order of chapter arrangement heretofore followed, and turn to consideration of the various elements we have above mentioned, following them in turn to the close of 1900, and leaving return to approximate chronological order to apply, so far as may be, to the last few chapters of the volume. Much of the more important part of Denver's history is included in these various separate-subject chapters that follow here.

CHAPTER XLIX.

TERRITORY OF COLORADO—VARIOUS PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS PRIOR TO FINAL PASSAGE OF ORGANIC ACT—STATE AND TERRITORIAL HOME CONVENTIONS IN 1860—PASSAGE OF THE COLORADO BILL IN FEBRUARY, 1861—NAMES PROPOSED FOR THE TERRITORY—APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS—INSTITUTION OF LAWFUL CIVIL GOVERNMENT—TERRITORIAL EXECUTIVE OFFICERS AND DELEGATES IN CONGRESS—TERRITORIAL CAPITALS AND ADMINISTRATIONS—SEVERAL MOVEMENTS FOR STATEHOOD AND THEIR FAILURE—NEGRO SUFFRAGE—PASSAGE OF FINAL ENABLING ACT—CONSTITUTION FRAMED AND ADOPTED—COLORADO ADMITTED TO THE UNION—ORGANIZATION OF STATE GOVERNMENT—SOME CAUSES OF STATEHOOD'S DELAY.

When the Thirty-sixth Congress met for its short, and last, session, in December, 1860, our home-made "Territory of Jefferson" was still tottering around, but politically and vitally on the verge of total collapse. The potency of its "laws" and the vigor of "Governor" Steele's authority had with extreme difficulty and very feebly survived the previous summer, and through the autumn had become still more emaciated. Beverly D. Williams was again at Washington in the capacity of "Delegate from Jefferson," or as much so as they would let him be, and it had been decided that a supreme effort should be made that winter to have Congress create a new and properly constituted Territory here in the west; for the Kansas jurisdiction was then still far more a theory than an actual, effective fact.

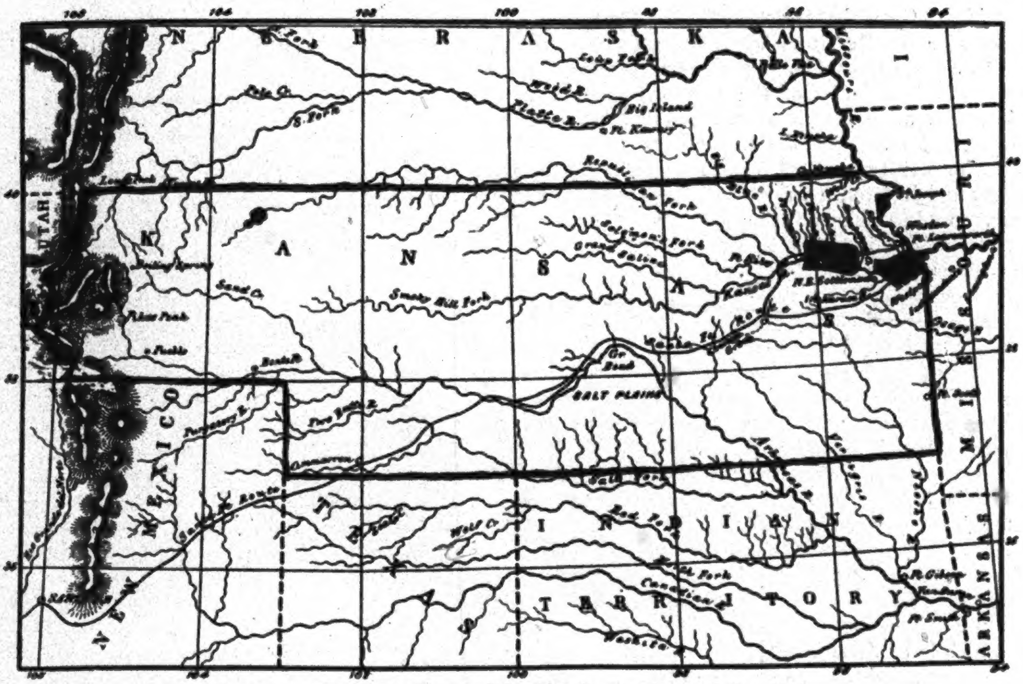
In January, 1860, through the previous efforts of "Delegate" Williams, a movement had been inaugurated in Congress to create a new Territory here; and separate bills for that purpose were introduced in each house. The Senate bill named the proposed new Territory "Idaho;" the House bill carried the name "Tahosa." In preparation for the proposed new sub-division a resolution was adopted by the Senate providing for a treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians for a cession of their lands in the Pike's Peak country. The purpose of this resolution was, as already related, carried into effect at Bent's Fort in the autumn of 1860. Another preliminary proposition was a bill reported to the House providing for overland transportation of mails to the Pacific coast by way of the central route, with a weekly mail to Denver; but this failed to receive favorable consideration. Williams was much hampered by the peculiarities of his position, as he was merely recognized as the agent of the people in the Pike's Peak country, and not recognized as a Delegate entitled to a seat on the floor of the House and to be heard there.

In the course of events at that session of Congress these two Territorial bills were amended by adding the old temporizing clause concerning slavery—

> "Whereas, Slavery has no legal existence in said Territory, nothing herein shall be construed to authorize or prohibit its existence therein."

At that time Territorial bills for Arizona, Dakota, Idaho and Nevada had also been introduced and were either under consideration or awaiting attention. The controversy over the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as States was at its height, and in its turmoil, in May, 1860, all the Territorial bills, ours among the rest, were tabled in consequence of a violent outbreak between the northern and southern representatives in Congress; and that ended all hope of further action upon them at that session. The southern members had vigorously fought all of them, in the belief that they nearly or remotely threatened the institution of slavery, and finally had succeeded in laying them away in the Congressional limbo where they were destined to remain until the next winter; as Congress soon afterward adjourned without having given any further attention to them.

On July 30, 1860, a convention was held at Mountain City (Central City), and which was attended by delegates from all the mining districts, for the purpose of taking some kind of action looking to the establishment of some stable form of government. Resolutions in the clear-cut language of the mining camps were adopted, vigorously denouncing Congress for its indifference to and neglect of the people in this part of the country, and for its failure to pass a Territorial bill. The mining districts theretofore had rather generally refused to recognize the authority of "Jefferson Terri-



Map showing Kansas Territory as defined by the organic act of May, 1854.

tory;" but that Mountain City convention before it adjourned decided to recognize and support the "Jefferson" government as being better than no government, and until a State or Territory could be legally established.

While preparations for the Mountain City Convention were in progress a counter-movement was inaugurated at Golden City which resulted in a convention being held there on August 7, 1860, to institute proceedings for the immediate organization of a State. The Golden convention was not a very large one, but what it lacked in numbers was compensated for in vigor, for it proposed to go ahead and organize a State government independent of Congressional action, and to thenceforth wholly ignore the "Jefferson" government. Resolutions to that effect, and others reciting the woes and troubles of the people here, were adopted.

The result of these outbreaks in the mountains and foothills was a call for a general convention to meet in Denver on September 22nd, to frame a State constitution and have everything ready for another appeal to Congress when it met in the following December. The call declared that efforts should not cease until the people here were admitted to Statehood. The convention met in Denver at the old Apollo Hall on the appointed day and drafted a constitution; but that was about all that was done. Before Congress met the bottom had almost fallen out of the undertaking and it was deemed inexpedient to press it at Washington. So, this movement, or series of movements, for a new government had ended in naught, except that "Jefferson Territory" was left weaker than ever.

On September 18th "Governor" Steele had issued, as we have told, a proclamation for an election for general officers, and members of the "Legislature," for "Jefferson Territory," to be held on October 22nd. The election was held, and the "Governor" and some of his associate executive officers were re-elected, and a "Legislature" chosen. But the vote was light and the people indifferent, as by that time they had had enough of "Jefferson" and wanted something more substantial. A large majority of the people of Denver who, in the beginning, had been "Jefferson's" chief supporters, had then become opposed to any further continuation of it; so, the election was mere form almost without life.

Before the coming of the winter the people of "Jefferson" had concluded to cease striving for Statehood and to concentrate all efforts to securing the passage of one of the two tabled Territorial bills that had been introduced in Congress nearly a year before. The plan was to move quietly and let the bill take its course rather than to make any conspicuous attempt to press its passage. But, by that time the secession movement was over-shadowing everything else, and such minor matters as creating new free-soil Territories attracted less attention than in the previous session of Congress.

"Delegate" Williams and several citizens of Denver were promptly in Washington when Congress assembled. On February 2, 1861, the Senate bill to organize the Territory of "Idaho" (ours) was called up from the table. On the 4th some slight changes in boundaries of the proposed Territory, and several unimportant amendments to the bill, were agreed to. Then Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts (afterward Vice President) at the request and insistence of "Delegate" B. D. Williams, moved to strike out the word "Idaho" and insert "Colorado" instead. This was agreed to and the bill then passed the Senate. On the next day an attempt was made to reconsider it, during the debate on which Senator Douglass brought up the slavery question, and some general objections, as the bill was silent as to the recognition or rejection of slavery, aside from the meaningless clause we have quoted. After a long debate of the character common in that period, the motion to reconsider was lost. On February 9th the House passed the Senate bill with an amendment relative to the judiciary and its proceedings with regard to slave property belonging to citizens of the States. This was a concession to the southern members still on duty in Congress. The amendment precipitated another long debate in the Senate, which is of little interest now, and the Senate finally concurred on February 26th. President Buchanan signed the bill on February 28, 1861, and the organic act creating Colorado Territory became a law, silent on the direct question as to whether slavery should or should not exist here in the Rocky Mountain country.

The boundaries of the Territory as defined by the organic act were the same as those of the present State, Congress having reduced the area of New Mexico by making the thirty-seventh parallel its northern boundary, instead of the thirty-eighth as in the times of Kansas Territory. The language of the act is as follows:

"Commencing on the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude, where the twenty-fifth meridian of longitude west from Washington [102nd west from Greenwich] crosses the same; thence north on said meridian to the forty-first parallel of north latitude; thence along said parallel west to the thirty-second meridian of longitude west from Washington [109th west from Greenwich]; thence south on said meridian to the northern line of New Mexico; thence along the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude to the place of beginning."

To anyone who has witnessed Congressional scenes in the closing days of an ordinary session the wonder is that any measure not of absolutely commanding importance can receive attention; and the fact that this bill to create a government for a new and not very large aggregation of people so remotely far off in the western country, became a law in the closing days of that stormy session, proves the sincerity, earnestness, skill and alertness of its sponsors; chief among whom was Beverly D. Williams. Therefore it was with feelings of relief and rejoicing that the people of Denver and those elsewhere in the domain of the Territory received on March 4th, news that was six days in transmission to this city, of this action of Congress and the President.

In the political era then at its close every proposition to create a new Territory or State had been violently opposed; by the anti-slavery men if the division were likely to become slave-holding,

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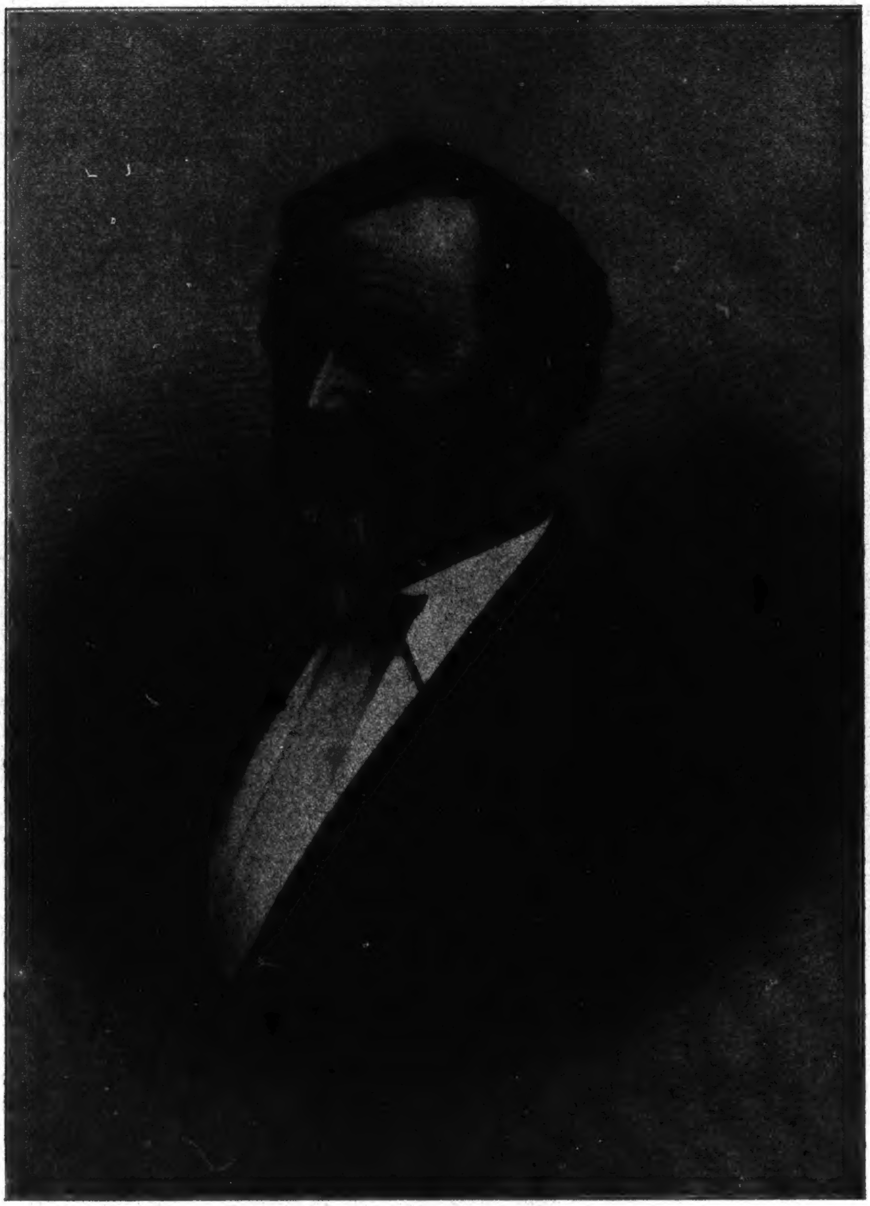
William Gilpin was born October 4, 1813, on the Brandywine battlefield in southeastern Pennsylvania. When he was ten years of age he was placed in a private school in England where he remained about two years. Returning to the United States he entered the University of Pennsylvania, and after his graduation there was appointed a Cadet at West Point where he was graduated in 1836.

Assigned to the Second Regiment United States Dragoons, as a Lieutenant, he served in the Seminole war. At the close of that war he resigned from the army and located at St. Louis, but in 1841 removed to Independence, Mo., and became Secretary of the lower branch of the State Legislature. His studies at West Point having included a law course, he prepared to engage in law practice at Independence, but in 1843 joined Fremont's expedition to the Oregon country, as elsewhere mentioned. He went to the mouth of the Columbia river with Fremont and there participated in an attempt to organize a new Territory in that region; having drafted the memorial to Congress, which he submitted to and advocated before that body after his return in 1844. He claimed to have been the founder of Portland, Ore.

Returning to Independence, he resided there until the outbreak of the Mexican war when he was commissioned a Major of the First Missouri (Doniphan's) Cavalry, and served with distinction in the southwest in operations against Mexico, and later against hostile Indians. With a force of 1,200 men sent to pacify certain western tribes and of which he was in command as Colonel, he wintered near Pike's Peak in 1847-48. At the termination of this service later in 1848 he returned to Independence where he resided until his appointment as Governor of Colorado Territory in 1861. The later events in his public career are outlined in the course of this history.

After retiring from the office of Chief Executive of the Territory, Governor Gilpin remained an honored and beloved citizen of Denver until his death, which occurred during the night of January 19, 1894, at his residence 321 South Fourteenth street. Up to that time his health had been fair for a man of his years, and there had been no warning that his end was so near. He was found dead in his bed in the morning of January 20th. He was a man of no ordinary type, brave, generous, enthusiastic, impracticable in some things, and of winning ways in his intercourse with his fellow-men. The deaths of few men have caused deeper, more sincere regret than that of Governor Gilpin brought to the people of Denver and of Colorado.—J. C. S.



William Gilpin.

and by the slavery men if the contrary condition promised to ensue. But, in that tragic winter the matter of organizing a new Territory far out in the Indian country had become a very unimportant thing to the southern people who were precipitating and consummating tremendous events. Any number of new Territories might have been organized for all they at that time especially cared, or for all the difference they then believed it would make to them. By the time the winter was two-thirds gone several southern States had seceded, and many of the southern members had left their seats in Congress to actively participate at home in the preparations for organizing a new nation.

A variety of names, including most of those that had been proposed here for "Jefferson Territory" in 1859, had been suggested for the new Territorial organization, but it would seem that through happy circumstances the more appropriate of all of them was the one bestowed by the organic law. The Spanish word, in its dignity, beauty, and meaning is peculiarly applicable to our Commonwealth. "Jefferson" was objected to at Washington because it was the name of a man, and it was held that, aside from that of the first President, the name of no man should be given to any sub-division of the Nation; and, furthermore, it was pointed out that if a beginning of that kind were made it would lead to dissatisfaction, as there would not be anywhere near enough new Territories to go around and honor all the equally deserving great men. Among the other names proposed for our Territory were "Arapahoe," "Idaho," "Lula," "Montana," "Nemara," "San Juan," "Tampa," "Wapola," "Tahosa," "Lafayette," "Colona," "Columbus," and "Franklin." As we have seen, the Senate bill that finally became a law, originally carried the name "Idaho," while the contemporary and later abandoned House bill had "Tahosa;" though the framers of both bills had considered most of the other names we have above mentioned. Governor Gilpin had been one of those who insisted upon "Colorado." But, notwithstanding the inherent weakness and recognized impotency of "Jefferson Territory," its name had taken a deep hold on the people here, was in common use, and was preferred by nearly every one. However, as they were at last to have a duly constituted lawful government, the people were not disposed to quibble over the name given it.

Notwithstanding that the Territory was created during the closing days of Buchanan's administration, and that he might have appointed the first officers for the new organization, he did not do so. On March 22, 1861, President Lincoln nominated them to the Senate which immediately confirmed his selections, which were—For Governor, William Gilpin, of Missouri; for Secretary, Lewis L. Weld, of Colorado; for Attorney-General, William L. Stoughton, of Illinois; for Surveyor-General, Francis M. Case, of Ohio; for Marshal, Copeland Townsend, of Colorado; for Judges of the Supreme court, B. F. Hall, of New York; S. N. Pettis, of Pennsylvania; and Charles L. Armour, of Ohio. Subsequently (November 7, 1861,) Governor Gilpin completed the executive machinery by appointing James P. Benson, Treasurer; William W. DeLano, Auditor; and William J. Curtice, Superintendent of Schools.

It will be observed that but two of the President's appointees were citizens of Colorado—a number equalled by the Ohio men in the list. There was a strong local sentiment, which was reinforced by several men prominent at Washington, in favor of having the Denver City pioneer, General William Larimer, Jr., appointed Governor; but it was unable to overcome the influences that favored the appointment of Gilpin.

Although Colorado Territory nominally became a political sub-division of the Nation by the proceedings at Washington in February and March, 1861, its government did not become an actuality here until early in the following summer. Governor Gilpin did not arrive in Denver until May 29th, but he received a warm welcome when he came; and the other non-resident officials reached Denver soon afterward. The Governor made a proclamation to the people and assumed his duties on June 6th; and on that date, actual, legally constituted government in this region may be considered to have begun. The first of Governor Gilpin's more important official acts was to direct that a census of the inhabitants of the new Territory be made, the result of which has heretofore been given.

The frequent changes in the Territorial Executive is an indication of the unsatisfactory character of Territorial government, and also of the political conditions that existed. During the fifteen years of Colorado Territory's somewhat tempestuous career, there were eight different administrations, two of which were Governor McCook's with an interval of fifteen months between them. The list of Governors is as follows:

William Gilpin, March, 1861, to May, 1862.
John Evans, May, 1862, to October, 1865.
Alexander Cummings, October, 1865, to May, 1867.
A. C. Hunt, May, 1867, to June, 1869.
Edward M. McCook, June, 1869, to April, 1873.
Samuel H. Elbert, April, 1873, to July, 1874.
Edward M. McCook, July, 1874, to March, 1875.
John L. Routt, March, 1875, to admission of State.

During the Territorial era there were five Territorial Secretaries, the term of General Frank Hall having covered more than half the period. Their names and terms were—

Lewis L. Weld, July 1, 1861, to April, 1862.
Samuel H. Elbert, April, 1862, to May, 1866.
Frank Hall, May, 1866, to March, 1874.
John W. Jenkins, March, 1874, to March, 1875.
John Taffe, from March, 1875, to November, 1876.

Territories are represented in Congress—in the lower house, only—by Delegates, who are merely the Washington agents of their constituencies and have no vote on legislation. Five men so represented Colorado during the Territorial period. All of them were elected twice, the second election of the last one, Mr. T. M. Patterson, being for the regular term as a member of Congress after the State was admitted. This list is as follows:

Hiram P. Bennet, elected December 2, 1861; re-elected October 7, 1862.
Allen A. Bradford, elected July 11, 1864.
George M. Chilcott, elected November 14, 1865; re-elected August 7, 1866.
Allen A. Bradford, re-elected September 8, 1868.
Jerome B. Chaffee, elected September 13, 1870; re-elected September 10, 1872.
Thomas M. Patterson, elected September 8, 1874.

The first Territorial Legislature, consisting of nine members in the Council or upper house, and thirteen in the lower, was elected at a special election called by Governor Gilpin in July and held on August 19, 1861.

In the earlier years the Territorial Legislature was decidedly migratory in its habits, and for a time the location of the capital was an uncertainty. Golden, and Colorado City, each, aspired to permanently become the seat of government, and at one time Golden's prospects seemed fair and promising. Governor Gilpin called the first Legislature to Denver but, by an act passed November 5, 1861, Colorado City was designated the capital. A single trial lasting four days was enough of Colorado City. On August 4, 1862, the Legislature by law removed the capital to Golden City where it nominally remained until December 9, 1867, when another law moved it to Denver; and here it continued throughout Territorial times as it has during our Statehood period. The provisions of the organic act with respect to the Territorial capital were (Section 12) as follows:

> "The legislative assembly of the Territory of Colorado shall hold its first session at such time and place in said Territory as the governor thereof shall appoint and direct; and at said first session, or as soon thereafter as they shall deem expedient, the governor and legislative assembly shall proceed to locate and establish the seat of government for said Territory at such place as they may deem eligible; which place, however, shall thereafter be subject to be changed by the said governor and legislative assembly."

During the various changes in location of the capital in early Territorial times the executive offices remained in Denver, except for a short period in Governor Cummings' administration. The Legislature did not always stay at the capital as the following summary of its movements shows:

First Legislative Assembly was held at Denver, beginning September 9, 1861. William Gilpin, Governor; H. P. Parker, President of the Council; Charles F. Holly, Speaker of the House.

Second Legislative Assembly convened at Colorado City, July 7, 1862, and adjourned to Denver, July 11, 1862, where it remained in session until adjourned sine die. William Gilpin, Governor.

Third Legislative Assembly convened at Golden City, February 1, 1864, and adjourned to Denver on February 4, 1864, where the remainder of the session was held. John Evans, Governor.

Fourth Legislative Assembly was begun and held at Golden City, commencing January 2, 1865. John Evans, Governor.

Fifth Legislative Assembly began at Golden City, January 1, 1866, adjourned to Denver, January 2, 1866. Alexander Cummings, Governor.

Sixth Legislative Assembly convened at Golden City, on December 3, 1866, and held the session there. Alexander Cummings, Governor.

Seventh Legislative Assembly convened at Golden City, December 2, 1867, adjourned to Denver, December 9, 1867. Frank Hall, Secretary and acting Governor. At this session an act was passed and approved December 9, 1867, locating seat of government at Denver.

Eighth Legislative Assembly convened at Denver, January 3, 1870. Edward M. McCook, Governor.

Ninth Legislative Assembly convened at Denver, January 1, 1872. Edward M. McCook, Governor.

Tenth Legislative Assembly convened at Denver, January 5, 1874. S. H. Elbert, Governor.

The Eleventh and last Territorial Assembly convened at Denver, January 3, 1876. John L. Routt, Governor.

Of the several Territorial administrations little need be said here. Governor Gilpin was an honest, brilliant man, but his tastes, inclinations and life-training unfitted him to deal with the political and other conditions he found here; and the kind of executive ability he possessed was that of a military commander and not that of the successful head of a civil organization. His personal character was far beyond reproach. Governor Evans was a different type of man—one of the great Captains in civil life, a projector, an organizer, a man with the ability to conceive and execute great undertakings among the people. But his administration was subordinated to political ends. His ambitions were divided between two great purposes; one was to quickly develop Colorado resources by railroads, wagon roads, irrigation and other internal improvements; the other was to enter the United States Senate from the new State he had in view when he came here. Therefore, his administration was bent, swayed and influenced by his political aims. In fulfilling his other purpose, the efforts of no other man produced results comparable with those growing out of his energy, far-sightedness and remarkable ability for organizing and carrying forward great enterprises. Of the Cummings administration there are few pleasant memories among the survivors of his time. It was a thorough, if not a beneficial, exposition of "Territorial politics." General Frank Hall, in his History of Colorado, says Cummings left "no good deeds behind him worthy of even a paragraph in the annals of that period." Hunt's administration would have turned out better than it did if all the men attached to it had been as well-meaning as he; but most of them were not, and it was beset by many of the evils of "Territorial politics." His successor, McCook, saw nothing in his position but what might advantage him in "practical politics;" and probably the most conspicuous exemplification of that kind of politics during his first term, grew out of his administration's identification with scandals associated with the matter of Indian supplies. Governor Elbert entered upon his duties with the intention of giving the people a worthy administration and one devoted exclusively to their interests. But he was soon set upon by political harpies, and within fifteen months was thrust aside in consequence of their machinations, to make way for the second term of McCook. This second term was in its methods and consequences no better than the first. That such a man as Elbert was arbitrarily displaced to make way for a renewal of the McCook administration was one of many peculiar acts of the National administration in those times, and is well calculated to give the later generation a clearer conception of the evils of the old-time Territorial government system. No one thing in the political events of those years did more to arouse the people to a determination to free themselves from such a system, than the second appointment of McCook. His successor, Governor Routt, enjoyed the advantage of serving in the transition period, when earnest preparations for Statehood were put under way and in which the consummation was reached. He served well and merited the honor the climax brought to him.

View of Colorado City in 1865. From one of the Matthews drawings.

The terms of a majority of the Territorial Governors were terminated by the will of the President. Gilpin, as already told, was removed; Evans resigned; Cummings, Hunt, McCook in his first term, and Elbert were removed; McCook was allowed to resign his second term, and Routt succeeded himself, as first Governor of the State.

Colorado had a hard and trying time in her efforts to become a State of the Union, and it was not until her fourth attempt that she was successful; and this does not include the "Jefferson" and other pioneer performances. After the Territorial government was instituted by Governor Gilpin, the exigencies of the war time and the rather discouraging conditions here that accompanied them, the matter of Statehood was held in abeyance for a while. But, in the winter of 1863-64 it was taken up with more zeal on the part of the politicians than by the masses of the people. A bill for an enabling act was introduced in Congress and was made a law at that session without attracting much attention and with little or no opposition. Colorado was a loyal Territory and would be a Union State; and in those dark days at Washington the votes of two more Union Senators and one Representative in Congress were desirable in strengthening and upholding the National administration in the great work it had to do. Arrangements were then made here for holding a constitutional convention preparatory to organizing a State government. The convention assembled in Denver on July 11, 1864, and in a session lasting but ten days delivered itself of a constitution for the proposed new commonwealth.

But, much to the surprise of the friends of the movement, the people rejected the constitution by a vote of 5,006 to 4,219, at the election held in October. This was not so much because Statehood itself was undesired, as it was that many of the people at that time believed their population and available resources were not sufficient to bear the burden the change would impose; for, as the total vote of 9,225 indicated, the population was not a large one. But, beyond this there were factional differences that made themselves felt in the contest. So, the people contented themselves with electing Bradford as Delegate in Congress, and continuing under Governor Evans' administration.

In 1865 the second attempt was made. The war had closed and conditions here had somewhat improved. Considering the enabling act of 1864 still in full force and effect, a constitutional convention assembled at Denver on August 8th, and after a session of but four days, adjourned on the 12th, having in that brief time framed a constitution. The work was really only that of making a few changes in and additions to the constitution of the previous year. It was submitted to the people on the first Tuesday of September, 1865, and adopted by a vote of 3,025 to 2,870—a majority of but 155. Of the lightness of the vote—a total of 5,895—no explanation is at hand; for the population of the Territory was certainly larger than in 1864. Negro suffrage was also proposed, but overwhelmingly defeated by a vote of 4,192 to 476.

Lewis Ledyard Wells, first Territorial Secretary of Colorado.

Everybody thought that Colorado was or soon would be, a State, under these proceedings. On November 14, 1865, a Legislature and an equipment of State officers were elected. The latter were former Territorial Governor Gilpin, Republican, Governor; George A. Hinsdale, Democrat, Lieutenant Governor; J. H. Gest, Republican, Secretary of State; and W. R. Gorsline, Allen A. Bradford, and J. Bright Smith, Justices of the Supreme court. To make the work complete, George M. Chilcott, Republican, was elected Representative in Congress, and the two men for the Senate only awaited the assembling of the "Legislature" for the formality of their election to be observed. The "Legislature" lost no time in getting together. Under the programme for 1864, it was understood that Governor Evans and Henry M. Teller should be the Senators. But the "Legislature" of 1865 elected Evans and Jerome B. Chaffee; the Governor, in anticipation of his election to the Senate, having resigned, and having been succeeded by Alexander Cummings. The two Senators and the Representative went to Washington with their credentials, while the new State government anxiously and nervously awaited the delayed proclamation of the President heralding the advent of a new star in the American political firmament.

It never came. Congress refused to recognize any product of the proceedings. It held the enabling act of 1864 to have been inapplicable to what was done in 1865, and declined to admit the Colorado Senators and Representative, although they lingered there through the winter of 1865-66 recounting the justness of their titles to seats, and the regularity and care with which everything here had been done in the organization of the State. Thus ended Colorado's second effort at Statehood.

When Congress met in December, 1866, the third attempt was made, and this time it was deemed best to be sure about the enabling act. A bill for such an act was introduced early in the session. That Congress was then engaged in the historic conflict with President Johnson and was in a predicament in which it would welcome votes that would be cast against the willful and stubborn Chief Executive. On January 10, 1867, the bill passed the Senate with a proviso for negro suffrage expressed in terms that might be ambiguously construed. A bill to admit Nebraska on the same terms was passed by the Senate at the same time. Opposition to both bills arose in the House because it was held by some members that the suffrage clause was not sufficiently definite. On January 11, 1867, a general act was passed amending the organic acts of all Territories, and providing that suffrage in any and all of them should not be denied or abridged on account of race, color and so forth. This appeared to have definitely indicated the views of Congress on the suffrage question in the Territories. On February 18, 1867, the Colorado and Nebraska bills passed the House, both amended as to require the Legislatures of the contemplated new States, within thirty days after the first meeting of each, to enact a confirmation of the fundamental suffrage provision, which enactment should then become a part of the organic act of each State. This done, the admission of the new States to the Union was to be considered as accomplished.

The Senate concurred in the amendment to the two bills, and they went to President Johnson for approval. He promptly vetoed both of them. The Nebraska bill was then passed over his veto, but that of Colorado failed to become a law by that process, and the hopes of our people were again cast down. The Colorado constitutions of 1864 and 1865 had limited the suffrage to white persons; the suffrage clause in the constitution of 1865 having been specifically voted on, and suffrage denied negroes by the almost unanimous vote of 4,192 to 476. President Johnson's alleged chief objection to the Colorado and Nebraska bills was that they did not unqualifiedly provide for negro suffrage, but left its confirmation, in some degree, to the Legislatures of the proposed new States. Colorado's vote in 1865 indicated lack of sympathy with negro suffrage, but the probable real reason for Johnson's vetoes was that he did not desire to see the forces in Congress that were hostile to him and his "policy" reinforced by probably hostile new members.

Senators-elect Evans and Chaffee, not dismayed by the failure of the Colorado bill, tried it again within a week after the futile attempt to override Johnson's veto. A Senate-bill was introduced by Senator Harlan of Iowa. Its provisions were about the same as those of the defeated bill, but with an additional clause reserving to the United States the right and power to enforce in the proposed new State the general suffrage law enacted by Congress in the previous January, which was then in force in all the Territories; and to enforce the Civil Rights law, by its own processes, in the proposed new State, if it should become necessary to do so. On March 20, 1867, the House Committee on Territories reported, and recommended the passage of, a bill for the admission of Colorado. Before definite action on the proposition could be reached, unfavorable reports which created a very bad impression were received at Washington relative to Governor Cummings' management of affairs in Colorado, and these to a great extent, were responsible for the failure of Congress to take any further action that session on Colorado's admission.

But the Colorado men did not abandon hope. When Congress met in the following December their efforts to attain Statehood were renewed. On February 12, 1868, a Senate bill for the admission of Colorado was introduced by Senator Yates, of Illinois. It provided for suffrage as established by the results of the civil war. This bill was not pressed, or for some reason it made no substantial progress beyond its introductory stage.

In June of that year still another effort was made by a new bill which provided for a new submission of the whole State question to the people of Colorado within ninety days after its passage, and for the election of a Legislature which must as a condition precedent ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Senators-elect Evans and Chaffee, chosen in the proceedings of 1865, approving this bill, proposed that all officers elected in that year —and all of them were nominally still holding their positions—should resign so as to prepare the way for an entirely new expression of the will of the Colorado people. The bill received no conclusive action at that session of Congress, and laid over; but, on September 25, 1868, Evans and Chaffee resigned as Senators in order to remove all personal elements from a united support of the bill

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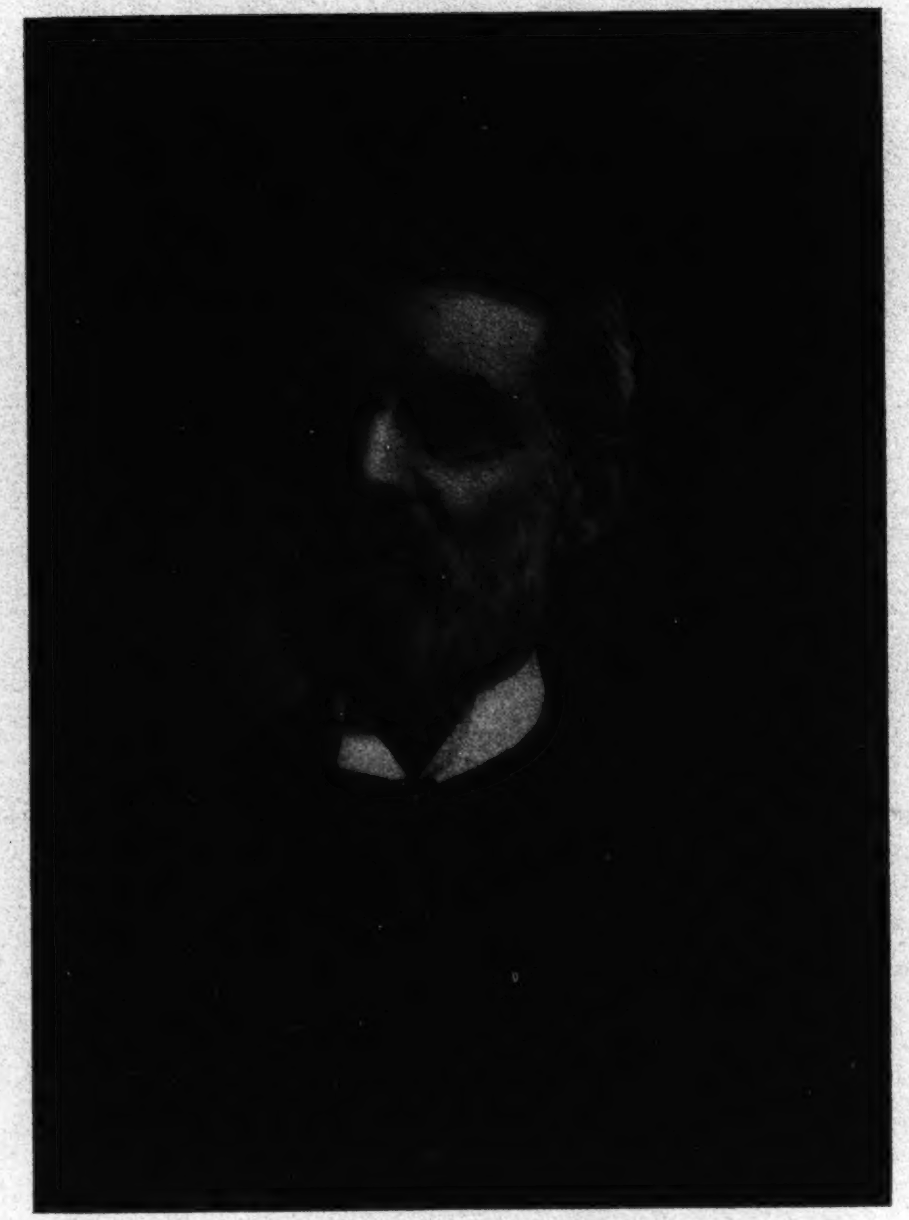
Hiram P. Bennet was born in Carthage, Maine, September 2, 1826. His parents removed to Richland county, Ohio, in 1831, and to northwestern Missouri in 1839. In 1844 he returned to Ohio and attended private schools and the Ohio Wesleyan University until 1850. Having thus qualified himself to do so, young Bennet immediately became a country school teacher in northwestern Missouri, and at the same time a determined student of law. Admitted to the Bar in 1851, he practiced in western Iowa until 1854, when he located at Glenwood, Iowa, and in 1856 at Nebraska City, Nebraska, where he was elected in that year to the upper branch of the Nebraska Territorial Legislature, presided at the organization of that body, and served in one of the stormy periods of that Territory's struggle against slavery. In 1855 he was the "Free Soil" candidate for Delegate in Congress from Nebraska, was elected by a small majority, but the seat was given his Democratic opponent after a contest in the House of Representatives. In 1858 he was again elected to the Nebraska Legislature and became Speaker of the House for two sessions.

Mr. Bennet came to Colorado in the autumn of 1859, located in Denver, and began practicing law; forming in 1860 a partnership with Moses Hallett. In July, 1861, he was nominated by the Republicans as their candidate for Delegate in Congress from the new Territory of Colorado, and was elected that year; defeating Beverly D. Williams who had been "Delegate" from "Jefferson Territory," by a vote of 6,703 to 2,892. He was reelected for a second term, his competitors having been former Governor Gilpin and J. M. Francisco. Upon the expiration of his Congressional service he resumed law practice in Denver. In 1869 he was appointed Postmaster here and held that position five years. In 1876 he was elected a Senator, from Arapahoe county, in the First General Assembly of the State of Colorado. After his term in the Senate he resumed his practice which he continued until a few years ago when he retired for a season from active professional work, on account of poor health, but is now again engaged in the practice of law.

The foregoing is the merest outline of Mr. Bennet's career as a citizen of Denver. In other parts of this volume more is told of it. There is nothing in the present life of this quiet, pleasant, gentle-mannered man to suggest the part he bore in the turbulent pioneer times when this region was practically without government. Upon him fell the dangerous duty in most instances to be the prosecutor of desperadoes, murderers and thieves in their trials by "People's Courts." As an open, outspoken, relentless opponent of those foes of the community, he was a leader in the movements for their destruction; and his undauntable moral and physical courage in everything he undertook to do made him conspicuous among brave men. He was also a participant and a leader in all the more or less successful attempts to organize and maintain provisional or emergency governments here in 1859-60-61. Though a Territorial Delegate has no vote in Congress, Mr. Bennet while serving there was not a figurehead, but procured Executive orders and the enactment of laws of great importance to his constituents in the then new and undeveloped west. As a member of our first State Senate, his experience and ability were of great value in shaping the beginnings of legislation under State organization. In the history of our city and State, especially in that part of it covering the pioneer era, the student will encounter few more interesting figures, few personalities of greater influence and usefulness in the community or that filled a larger place in the affairs and esteem of the people, than that of Hiram P. Bennet.—J. C. S.



Hiram P. Bennet.

at the next December session, pledging themselves to heartily support that or any other measure for Colorado Statehood. But, to curtail a rather long story of failure, that movement, and the bill too, came to naught. It is to be said, furthermore, that each of the failures was accelerated to some extent and welcomed to some greater extent by home politicians eager to pull down any political structure that did not afford themselves a comfortable, sheltering refuge.

While the apparent temporizing with the suffrage question in these proceedings for Colorado Statehood would seem to indicate that as late as 1868 the people here were out of harmony with the results of the civil war with respect to manhood suffrage, the facts show that a liberal change in public sentiment had come. Notwithstanding that in 1865 the sentiment of Colorado voters was overwhelmingly against negro suffrage, men of that race voted at the Denver city election held April 1, 1867—the first time they exercised the right in the Territory. This came about quietly, and without Territorial legislation or any other specific local arrangements having been made for it. At that election negroes offered their ballots and they were received. Nobody objected, or tried to prevent them voting, or in any way interfered with them. The negroes were circumspect, went to the polls and voted, and then quietly went away. There was some prejudice against the innovation, but it was kept in reserve, and no unusual election incidents occurred. The negroes were much pleased by their treatment, and on the next day held a meeting at which two sons of Frederick Douglass made congratulatory speeches which included much good advice and prudent counsel. Resolutions expressing grateful appreciation of the admission of colored men to full citizenship, and thanking the community for the consideration shown colored voters, were passed. That Denver city election at once wiped away the color line from in front of all Colorado ballot-boxes. Unlike the practices of their race in nearly every other State, the colored voters in Colorado are divided in their party affiliations, to their distinct and increasing advantage.

After the failure of 1868 to gain admission for Colorado, it was several years before another effort was made to secure Statehood, but in the meantime and with the construction of railroads the Territory was moving rapidly forward in its development; and escape from the thralldom of a Territorial government had become an absolute necessity. In the Forty-third Congress (1873-75), Jerome B. Chaffee, then Delegate from Colorado, again pressed for Colorado's recognition. He procured the introduction of a bill "to Enable the People of Colorado to Form a Constitution and State Government, and for the Admission of the Said State into the Union on an Equal Footing with the Original States." It encountered some opposition but was finally passed on February 25th, and approved March 3, 1875. The boundaries of the new State were specified to be the same as those of the Territory of Colorado; that is to say, east and west between the 102nd and 109th meridians, and north and south between the thirty-seventh and forty-first parallels.

Pursuant to this enabling act thirty-seven members of a constitutional convention were chosen at a special election held October 25, 1875. They were:

H. P. H. Bromwell,
Casimiro Barela,
Wm. E. Beck,
George Boyles,
Byron L. Carr,
Wm. H. Cushman,
William M. Clark,
A. D. Cooper,
Henry R. Crosby,
Robert Douglas,
Frederick J. Ebert,
Lewis C. Ellsworth,
Clarence P. Elder,
Williard B. Felton,
Jesus Ma. Garcia,
Daniel Hurd,
Lafayette Head,
Wm. H. James,
William R. Kennedy,
William Lee,
Alvin Marsh,
S. J. Plumb,
Geo. E. Pease,
Robert A. Quillian,
Lewis C. Rockwell,
Wilbur F. Stone,
William C. Stover,
Henry C. Thatcher,
Agapito Vigil,
W. W. Webster,
George G. White,
Ebenezer T. Wells,
P. P. Wilcox,
J. C. Wilson,
John S. Wheeler,
J. W. Widderfield,
Abram Knox Yount.

The convention met in Denver, December 20, 1875, elected Joseph C. Wilson, President, and after first adopting the constitution of the United States, proceeded to its task. It remained in session all that winter, and on March 14, 1876, completed and certified to its well-done work; its sessions having been held in the building still standing on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets.

The constitution provided for its submission to approval or rejection by the people at a special election to be held on July 1, 1876. On that day it was adopted by a vote of 15,430 for, to 4,053 against it, a total of 19,483. Arapahoe county cast 5,591 votes, of which all but thirty-seven were affirmative.

All the proceedings having been in compliance with the enabling act, President Grant, on August 1st, issued his proclamation announcing the admission of Colorado as a State of the Union. That year having brought the 100th anniversary of the founding of the National government, Colorado received her familiar nickname, "Centennial State;" it having been first suggested by General R. W. Woodbury in an editorial article in the Denver Times, February 27, 1875.

The constitution provided that in the interval between the State's admission and the inauguration of duly elected State officers, the Territorial officers should continue in their respective positions and in discharge of the duties thereof. The first election for State officers and members of the Legislature was held as designated by the constitution, on October 3, 1876. Two tickets, Republican and Democratic, had been nominated, and the contest was a spirited one; Governor John L. Routt leading the Republicans, and General Bela M. Hughes the Democrats. Routt's majority was 837 in a vote of 27,471; his associates on the ticket having slightly larger majorities. At noon on Wednesday, November 1, 1876, the first State Legislature convened in the Whitsitt building on the north side of Blake street (present numbers 1641-47) between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, and the House elected Webster D. Anthony, Speaker; all subsequent regular sessions beginning, under the constitution, in January. The State executive officers elected were inaugurated November 3rd. On November 7th Herman Beckurts, Otto Mears, and William L. Hadley were chosen Presidential Electors, and the vote cast by Colorado in the Electoral College determined the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as President, in 1876. On November 9th Jerome B. Chaffee and Henry M. Teller were elected United States Senators, and on January 9, 1877, Moses Hallett was appointed United States District Judge, and Westbrook S. Decker United States District Attorney, by President Grant. So, after all the trials and tribulations, the years of waiting and hoping, Colorado had entered upon her brilliant career as one of the States of the Union.

The change was a welcome one to the people. They had grown weary enough of the Territorial vassalage, of being governed by men in whose selection they had no voice, and whom, if need be, they could not call to account. Prior to the constitutional convention's adjournment a committee of ten of its members was appointed to prepare an address to the people, reviewing the convention's work, and pointing out the advantages of Statehood. The following is from the closing appeal of that address:

> Who is there among you that would not rather be a citizen of an independent sovereign State than a mere settler upon the public lands of the Territory, governed by satraps appointed and removed at pleasure, as best serves the whims and purposes of political rings and cliques; beggars, asking pittance at the gate of the nation; poor wards dependent upon the charity of Congress, living in a sort of penal colony, the Botany Bay of political servitude? Now that the golden opportunity is afforded, shall this state of things longer exist?

While a variety of causes, some of them of an economic character, were, as we have stated, more or less influential in delaying Colorado's admission as a State, the most unworthy obstructions among all of them arose from the jealousies and contentions of her politicians. She was for years made the football for rival cliques of selfish, and in some instances corrupt, men who did not hesitate to sacrifice her interests to forward their own or to defeat the plans of their opponents. She was repeatedly wounded by those who pretended to be her friends.

Bad as the Territorial governments usually were in the west, it would seem that the ceaseless machinations of many of our politicians of a generation ago at times made Colorado one of the greatest sufferers under the Territorial system. Her patient people were repeatedly played upon and bedeviled by ambitious tricksters, her future rendered uncertain, her policy unsettled; with doubt, disappointment, and humiliation as the chief results of the acrimonious warfare long waged by the brawling factions.

A complete history of the discordant political affairs of Colorado during the ten years preceding her admission as a State would cover the pages of several such volumes as this, and be of little important use to any one, either in this life or the one to come. It is a subject to which it would not now be worth while to give consideration, even if it were fitting that a work of this character should attempt to deal with political history of that kind.

CHAPTER L.

COLORADO BILL OF RIGHTS—GOVERNORS—ELECTION STATISTICS—UNITED STATES SENATORS—CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS AND REPRESENTATIVES—LEGISLATURE—JUDICIARY—EXECUTIVES—SALARIES—SUFFRAGE—DELAY IN PROVIDING A CAPITOL—HENRY C. BROWN'S GIFT—FUTILE EFFORTS TO UTILIZE IT—LITIGATION OVER THE DONATED SITE—DENVER CHOSEN THE STATE CAPITAL—CAPITOL BUILDING AUTHORIZED—HISTORY OF ITS CONSTRUCTION—TOTAL COST—NOBLE EDIFICE—CHARACTER OF OUR LEGISLATURES.

The Constitution of Colorado is, in its general provisions, similar to the organic laws of the other States admitted to the Union since the civil war, but in some directions it is grounded in more liberal views and quickened by a more catholic spirit. Several amendments have been made to it, but they were rather in the line of making more specific certain details than in important changes. The preamble to the constitution reads:

"We, the people of Colorado, with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in order to form a more independent and perfect government; establish justice; insure tranquillity; provide for the common defense; promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the 'State of Colorado.'"

The Bill of Rights is a broad, comprehensive, noble declaration of the principles of justice and liberty, and of the natural rights of man:

BILL OF RIGHTS.

In order to assert our rights, acknowledge our duties, and proclaim the principles upon which our government is founded, we declare:

Section 1. That all political power is vested in and derived from the people; that all government, of right, originates from the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole.

Sec. 2. That the people of the State have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign and independent State; and to alter and abolish their Constitution and form of government whenever they may deem it necessary to their safety and happiness, provided such change be not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States.

Sec. 3. That all persons have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property; and of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

Sec. 4. That the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever hereafter be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity, on account of his opinions concerning religion; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the good order, peace, or safety of the State. No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship, religious sect, or denomination against his consent. Nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship.

Sec. 5. That all elections shall be free and open; and no power, civil or military, shall at any time interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage.

Sec. 6. That courts of justice shall be open to every person, and a speedy remedy afforded for every injury to person, property, or character; and that right and justice should be administered without sale, denial, or delay.

Sec. 7. That the people shall be secure in their persons, papers, homes and effects from unreasonable searches and seizures; and no warrant to search any place or seize any person or thing shall issue without describing the place to be searched, or the person or thing to be seized, as near as may be, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, reduced to writing.

Sec. 8. That, until otherwise provided by law, no person shall, for a felony, be proceeded against criminally, otherwise than by indictment, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger. In all other cases offenses shall be prosecuted criminally by indictment or information.

Sec. 9. That treason against the State can consist only in levying war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; that no person can be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on his confession in open court; that no person can be attainted of treason or felony by the General Assembly; that no conviction can work corruption of blood or forfeiture of estate; that the estates of such persons as may destroy their own lives shall descend or vest as in cases of natural death.

Sec. 10. That no law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech; that every person shall be free to speak, write or publish whatever he will on any subject, being responsible for all abuse of that liberty; and that in all suits and prosecutions for libel, the truth thereof may be given in evidence, and the jury, under the direction of the court, shall determine the law and the fact.

Sec. 11. That no ex post facto law, nor law impairing the obligation of contracts, or retrospective in its operation, or making any irrevocable grant of special privileges, franchises or immunities, shall be passed by the General Assembly.

Sec. 12. That no person shall be imprisoned for debt, unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, or in cases of tort or where there is a strong presumption of fraud.

Sec. 13. That the right of no person to keep and bear arms in defense of his home, person and property, or in aid of the civil power when thereto legally summoned, shall be called in question; but nothing herein contained shall be construed to justify the practice of carrying concealed weapons.

Sec. 14. That private property shall not be taken for private use unless by consent of the owner, except for private ways of necessity, and except for reservoirs, drains, flumes or ditches on or across the lands of others, for agricultural, mining, milling, domestic or sanitary purposes.

Sec. 15. That private property shall not be taken or damaged, for public or private use, without just compensation. Such compensation shall be ascertained by a board of commissioners, of not less than three freeholders, or by a jury, when required by the owner of the property, in such manner as may be prescribed by law, and until the same shall be paid to the owner, or into court for the owner, the property shall not be needlessly disturbed, or the proprietary rights of the owner therein divested; and whenever an attempt is made to take private property for a use alleged to be public, the question whether the contemplated use be really public, shall be a judicial question, and determined as such without regard to any legislative assertion that the use is public.

Sec. 16. That in criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to appear and defend in person and by counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation; to meet the witnesses against him face to face; to have process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf, and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offense is alleged to have been committed.

Sec. 17. That no person shall be imprisoned for the purpose of securing his testimony in any case longer than may be necessary in order to take his deposition. If he can give security he shall be discharged; if he can not give security, his deposition shall be taken by some Judge of the Supreme, District, or County Court, at the earliest time he can attend, at some convenient place by him appointed for that purpose, of which time and place the accused and the attorney prosecuting for the people, shall have reasonable notice. The accused shall have the right to appear in person and by counsel. If he have no counsel, the Judge shall assign him one in that behalf only. On the completion of such examination the witness shall be discharged on his own recognizance, entered into before said Judge, but such deposition shall not be used if, in the opinion of the Court, the personal attendance of the witness might be procured by the prosecution, or is procured by the accused. No exception shall be taken to such deposition as to matters of form.

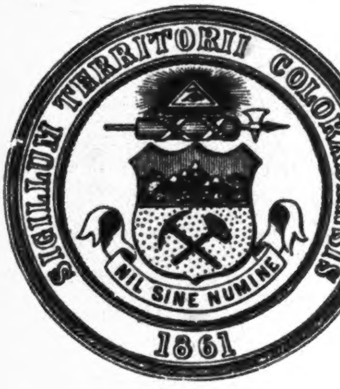
Sec. 18. That no person shall be compelled to testify against himself in a criminal case, nor shall any person be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense. If the jury disagree, or if the judgment be arrested after verdict, or if the judgment be reversed for error in law, the accused shall not be deemed to have been in jeopardy.

Sec. 19. That all persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses, when the proof is evident or the presumption great.

Sec. 20. That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Sec. 21. That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended, unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

Sec. 22. That the military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power; that no soldier shall in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war except in the manner prescribed by law.



Colorado Seal.
The State retained the Territorial seal, increasing its diameter to two and one-half inches, and substituting "State of Colorado, 1876," for the Territorial legend.

Sec. 23. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate in criminal cases; but a jury in civil cases in all courts, or in criminal cases in courts not of record, may consist of less than twelve men, as may be prescribed by law. Hereafter a grand jury shall consist of twelve men, any nine of whom concurring may find an indictment; Provided, The General Assembly may change, regulate, or abolish the grand jury system.

Sec. 24. That the people have the right peaceably to assemble for the common good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, by petition or remonstrance.

Sec. 25. That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

Sec. 26. That there shall never be in this State either slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

Sec. 27. Aliens, who are or who may hereafter become bona fide residents of this State, may acquire, inherit, possess, enjoy and dispose of property, real and personal, as native born citizens.

Sec. 28. The enumeration in this Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny, impair, or disparage others retained by the people.

Governor Thomas, whose term crossed from the Nineteenth into the Twentieth Century, was the ninth man who served as Colorado's Chief Executive. John L. Routt, the last Territorial Governor, was chosen as the first State Governor. The terms of service of all are stated in the following:

John L. Routt, November, 1876, to January, 1879.
Fred. W. Pitkin, January, 1879, to January, 1883.
James B. Grant, January, 1883, to January, 1885.
Benj. H. Eaton, January, 1885, to January, 1887.
Alva Adams, January, 1887, to January, 1889.
Job A. Cooper, January, 1889, to January, 1891.
John L. Routt, January, 1891, to January, 1893.
Davis H. Waite, January, 1893, to January, 1895.
Albert W. McIntire, January, 1895, to January, 1897.
Alva Adams, January, 1897, to January, 1899.
Charles S. Thomas, January, 1899, to January, 1901.
James B. Orman, January, 1901, —

The total vote for Governor at the several elections was as follows:

1876	27,471	1890	86,443
1878	28,626	1892	93,756
1880	53,492	1894	180,983
1882	61,195	1896	187,180
1884	66,622	1898	149,430
1886	58,160	1900	218,634
1888	91,870		

To some extent the vote indicates the increase of population, which was abnormal in some periods. Between 1878 and 1880 the vote almost doubled, for which Leadville was in a measure responsible. Between 1892 and 1894, notwithstanding that thousands of people left the State in those years, the vote was again almost doubled. This was due to woman suffrage which first had effect in the State in 1894, and which swells the totals of subsequent years. Of the woman suffrage movement some account appears elsewhere. Usually the vote is much larger at Presidential than at State elections, a fact that accounts for the decrease of nearly 40,000 votes from 1896 to 1898, and partly accounts for the great vote in 1900.

Seven men have represented the State in the United States Senate; one of them, Henry M. Teller, having been in service from the beginning, except the interval following his resignation to become a member of President Arthur's cabinet. The terms of each Senator are stated here:

Jerome B. Chaffee, elected November 14, 1876, for the term expiring in March, 1879.

Henry M. Teller, elected November 14, 1876, for the term expiring in March, 1877; re-elected December 9, 1876, for the full term of six years (succeeding himself); resigned in April, 1882, to become Secretary of the Interior; re-elected January 21, 1889, for full term; to succeed Hill; re-elected January 21, 1891, for full term; re-elected January 20, 1897, for full term.

Nathaniel P. Hill, elected January 9, 1879, for full term of six years, to succeed Chaffee.

George M. Chilcott, appointed by Governor Pitkin, April 11, 1882, for unexpired term of Secretary of the Interior Teller, (until meeting of the Legislature).

Horace A. W. Tabor, elected January 26, 1883, for the then unexpired part of Secretary Teller's term, (consisting of thirty-seven days), to succeed Chilcott.

Thomas M. Bowen, elected January 26, 1883, for full term, to succeed the Teller-Chilcott-Tabor term.

Edward O. Wolcott, elected January 16, 1889, for full term, to succeed Bowen; re-elected January 16, 1895, for full term.

The Thirteenth General Assembly, in January, 1901, elected Thomas M. Patterson, of Denver, to succeed Edward O. Wolcott for the term of six years beginning March 4, 1901.

When Colorado was admitted the population entitled the State to but one Representative in the lower house of Congress, a condition that continued until after the census of 1890; the Congressional district being, of course, co-extensive with the State. The census of 1890 enumerated a Colorado population, excluding Indians, of 412,198, whereupon the State was divided into two Congressional districts, as at present.

The First District was comprised of the counties of Arapahoe, Boulder, Jefferson, Lake, Larimer, Logan, Morgan, Park, Phillips, Sedgwick, Washington, Weld, and Yuma counties, thirteen in all, having an aggregate population of 204,659.

The Second District was comprised of the counties of Archuleta, Baca, Bent, Chaffee, Cheyenne, Clear Creek, Conejos, Costillo, Custer, Delta, Dolores, Douglas, Eagle, Elbert, El Paso, Fremont, Garfield, Gilpin, Grand, Gunnison, Hinsdale, Huerfano, Kiowa, Kit Carson, La Plata, Las Animas, Lincoln, Mesa, Mineral, Montezuma, Montrose, Otero, Ouray, Pitkin, Prowers, Pueblo, Rio Blanco, Rio Grande, Routt, Saguache, San Juan, San Miguel, and Summit counties, forty-three in all, with an aggregate population of 207,539. The new Teller county, created in 1899, is included in the Second District.

Seven men have represented the State of Colorado in the lower branch of Congress. Belford served four terms; Bell is now in his fourth and is elected for another; Shafroth, representing the Denver district, is in his third and has been re-elected for the fourth. The roll is as follows:

James B. Belford, elected October 3, 1876, for unexpired term of Forty-fourth Congress; re-elected October 1, 1878; re-elected November 2, 1880; re-elected November 7, 1882.

Thomas M. Patterson, former Delegate in Congress, re elected November 7, 1876, as a member of the Forty-fifth Congress.

George C. Symes, elected November 4, 1884; re-elected November 2, 1886.

Hosea Townsend, elected November 6, 1888; re-elected November 4, 1890.

Lafe Pence, First District, elected November 8, 1892.

John C. Bell, Second District, elected November 8, 1892; re-elected November 6, 1894; re-elected November 3, 1896; re-elected November 8, 1898; re-elected November 6, 1900.

John F. Shafroth, First District, elected November 6, 1894; re-elected November 3, 1896; re-elected November 8, 1898; re-elected November 6, 1900.

The legislative branch of the State Government consists of the usual upper and lower houses, with a total membership of one hundred. The Senate has thirty-five members representing twenty-eight districts. The Denver end of the Arapahoe county—the First—District has six senators; but about half the districts include two or more counties, the Twenty-fifth embracing six. Senators are elected for terms of four years; one half the members being chosen every two years. The House of Representatives consists of sixty-five members representing forty-three constituencies. Arapahoe county has thirteen of them—one-fifth; but, as in the case of the Senate, a doubling up of some counties is necessary to the election of a member. In three instances three counties have to be united. The term of a Representative is two years. The constitution prescribes biennial sessions beginning on the first Wednesday in January of each year ending with an uneven figure, and limits the session to ninety days; but special sessions may be called by the Governor. Members of both houses receive pay at the rate of seven dollars a day, including Sundays, and fifteen cents per mile for one round trip from their homes. The Lieutenant Governor is ex-officio President of the Senate, and a President pro tempore is chosen from the members. The House elects one of its members Speaker.

The Judicial system of the State provides for a Supreme Court, Court of Appeals, District Courts, Criminal Courts, County Courts, Courts of Justices of the Peace, and Police Courts as may be established by the General Assembly for such cities and towns in which they are deemed necessary or expedient.

Our Judicial system is considered at greater length in another chapter in which some other matters, concerning our Bench and Bar, are also related.

In addition to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the other elective executive officers of the State—the terms of all being for two years—are a Secretary of State, a Treasurer of State, an Auditor of State, an Attorney General, and a Superintendent of Public Instruction. In addition to these there are a number of appointive officers as indicated by the subjoined statement of annual salaries paid by the State. In the earlier years of Statehood every effort was made to keep down the expenses of the new government, as the cost of the independent organization had been the chief objection advanced by the minority opposed to the change. Therefore, official salaries were, for several years, of extremely modest proportions. The salaries now paid, and which are not extravagant compensations, though fair and reasonable, are as follows:

Governor	$5,000
Governor's Private Secretary	1,500
Lieutenant Governor	1,000
Secretary of State	3,000
Deputy Secretary of State	2,500
Printing Clerk	1,500
Brand Clerk	1,000
Auditor of State	2,500
Bailiff of Supreme Court	1,200
Stenographers Supreme Court (3) each	1,000
Judges of Court of Appeals (3) each	5,000
Clerk of Court of Appeals	3,000
Bailiff of Court of Appeals	1,200
Stenographers Court of Appeals (3) each	1,000
Deputy Auditor	2,500
Insurance Commissioner	3,000
State Treasurer	6,000
Deputy Treasurer	2,500
Superintendent of Public Instruction	3,000
State Librarian	1,000
Attorney General	3,000
Justices of Supreme Court (3) each	5,000
Clerk of Supreme Court	3,500
Deputy Clerk of Supreme Court	1,500
Reporter Supreme Court and Court of Appeals	3,000
State Engineer	3,000
State Engineer's Assistants	2,700
Commissioner of Mines	2,500
Inspector of Mines (2) each	1,500
Inspector of Coal Mines	2,000
Inspector of Coal Mines' Assistant	1,500
State Veterinary Surgeon	1,500
Register State Board of Land Commissioners	2,000
Deputy Register	1,500
Appraiser State Board of Land Commissioners	1,500
Deputy Commissioner of Labor	1,800
Boiler Inspector	2,000
Boiler Inspector's Assistant	1,500

The constitutional provisions specified that a voter must be a male citizen over twenty-one years of age; a citizen of the United States, or if not, must have declared his intention to become one not less than four months previously; and must have resided in the State six months preceding the election at which he offers to vote. From the beginning women could vote for school officers, but in 1893 they were admitted to full suffrage.

The constitution provides that the Legislature may prescribe an educational qualification, but stipulated that no such law should take effect prior to 1890. However, this qualification has never been incorporated in our election laws.

Very soon after Governor Gilpin established his first Territorial government the matter of housing the executive officers and of preparing quarters for the first Territorial Legislature received attention. Denver did not at that time possess many buildings that afforded room for even so modestly proportioned a legislative, executive and judicial establishment as that which constituted Colorado Territory's first government, and the Governor had to distribute his departments around to the best advantage. The executive offices were established in the second-story of the brick building, still standing, at the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets. In preparation for the first meeting of the Territorial Legislature which the Governor called to assemble on September 9, 1861, places of meeting had to be provided. After much difficulty, Territorial Secretary Weld, on whom the burden of these arrangements fell, rented a small frame building that stood on part of the site of the present McClintock Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, for the accommodation of the House of Representatives; and arranged for the use of the first floor of a building on the north side of Larimer street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets and then adjoining the old People's Theater, for the use of the Council (or Senate). In these places the first laws of Colorado Territory were enacted.

Presumably discontented with Denver's accommodations for legislators, although other reasons would seem to have been more potent, the Legislature at that session, by an act approved November 5th, made Colorado City the capital, as we have heretofore mentioned. We have, also, shown to what extent the Territorial capital was kept on wheels for several years thereafter.

By the act of December 9, 1867, removing the capital from Golden back to Denver, it was also provided that the Governor of the Territory should appoint three commissioners to select on behalf of the Territory a site for a capitol building in Denver, within sixty days after their appointment. It was modestly stipulated that the site should be a gift to the Territory and contain at least ten acres of land. The three Commissioners were appointed and made themselves ready to receive offers of ground on which to build the Territorial Capitol.

At that time Henry C. Brown owned a large area of land on what later became known as "Capitol Hill," and he promptly came forward with an offer to donate two entire blocks, those bounded by Colfax, Grant, Fourteenth and Lincoln Avenues, containing ten acres—the best site in the city for the Territorial buildings, and the one now occupied by the State Capitol. Few transactions have been more persistently misrepresented than this donation by Henry C. Brown. To this day it is not uncommon to hear the statement that "Brown gave

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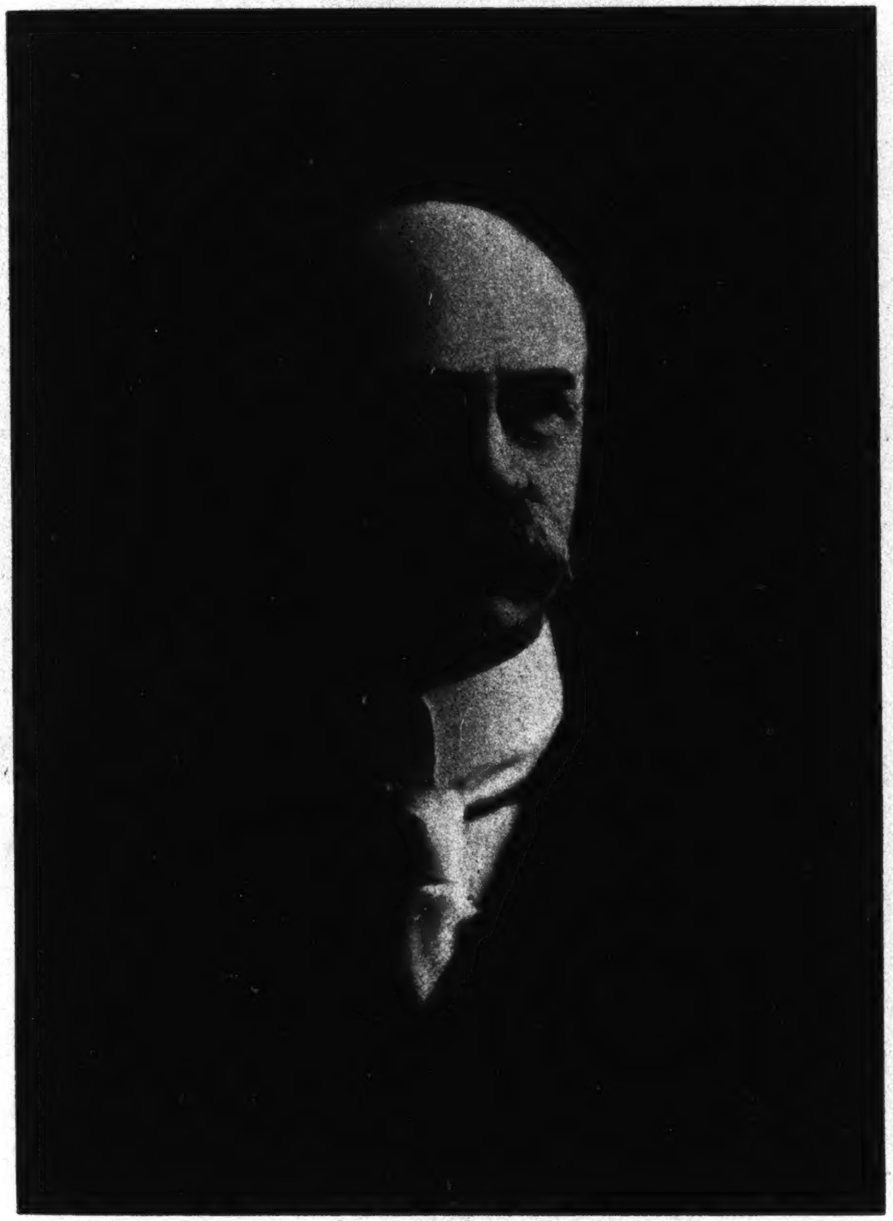
Charles S. Thomas, ninth Governor of the State of Colorado, (in the twelfth term) is a native of Georgia. He was born in Darien, McIntosh county, that State, December 6, 1849; which place remained his home until after the close of the civil war.

In 1869 Governor Thomas entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor where he was graduated in the law course in April, 1871. Having determined upon a career in the west, in the autumn of that year he came to Colorado, located in this city and began the practice of law. In 1873 he and Thomas M. Patterson formed a partnership, and the new firm soon became known as one of the strong legal alliances in the Territory. Mr. Patterson having been elected Territorial Delegate in Congress in 1874, this partnership was terminated in that year; but in 1879 it was resumed, Governor Thomas then being a resident of Leadville, where an important part of the firm's legal business originated from the mining complications in that crowded and busy camp. He remained in Leadville until January, 1885, when he returned and permanently established his home in Denver. Mr. Patterson's association with Governor Thomas continued until 1890, when the partnership was dissolved and the Governor afterward became the senior member of the present law firm of Thomas, Bryant & Lee.

It is hardly necessary to state that Governor Thomas is an earnest, consistent, conservative Democrat in politics, and conspicuously an able leader of his party in the State of Colorado. He has served it long and well; in every political canvass for more than twenty years his time and abilities have been freely and tirelessly devoted to its welfare in both State and National campaigns. No man in Colorado excels him as a speaker of masterful power, and logical, convincing argument expressed in clear-cut, vigorous English.

In 1875 Governor Thomas was elected and in 1876 was re-elected City Attorney of Denver, a position he filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the people. In 1880 he was chosen as one of the delegates from Colorado to the National Democratic convention at Cincinnati which nominated General Winfield S. Hancock for the Presidency. In 1884 he became a member of the Democratic National Committee, and was nominated by the Democratic State convention as a candidate for Congress, Colorado at that time having been entitled to but one Representative. Governor Thomas added strength to his ticket, but shared the common defeat which befell it that year. In 1889 and in 1895 he was the Democratic choice for United States Senator, and in 1896 was offered but declined the Democratic nomination for Governor of Colorado.

In September, 1898, Governor Thomas was nominated for Governor by the State convention of his party in session at Colorado Springs. He had



Charles S. Thomas.

the land and then turned around and tried to get it back again."

Henry C. Brown proposed to donate the land, for purely business reasons; and expected that it would be put to the uses contemplated by the law that invited such gifts, within a reasonable time after its acceptance by the Territorial Commissioners. He did so because he expected that the location of the Capitol there would largely enhance the value of the remaining land he owned around the site, and frankly and publicly said so at the time, and has never said otherwise.

But it was about twenty-five years before the land was actually put to the uses for which it was intended, and about seventeen years before a beginning was made to prepare it for such uses.

At the time Mr. Brown made the donation the Territory's income and resources were so limited that no funds could be had with which to erect buildings on the site. To aid toward that end several citizens gave lands or lots to be sold for the benefit of the building fund. Samuel E. Browne and Mary E. Browne gave an acre in their addition; Governor John Evans and Simeon Whitely gave a half block in Whitely's addition; Caleb B. Clements gave sixteen lots in his addition; Daniel Witter gave ten lots in his addition; Henry M. Porter gave an entire block in the Brown, Smith and Porter addition; and John W. Smith gave another block in the same addition. But, with the gift of the magnificently located site of ten acres, and of all these donations to the building fund, the Territorial Capitol Commissioners did nothing whatever toward erecting buildings, nor did the Legislature do anything; the entire enterprise being left hanging in the air for five or six years.

One reason for this delay was that the location of the capital here was not regarded as a permanent arrangement, and it was hoped and expected by citizens elsewhere that it would be removed from Denver. Neither of the three Commissioners appointed by Governor Hunt was a Denver man. Allen A. Bradford, was from Pueblo; Joseph M. Marshal, from Boulder; and William M. Roworth, from Gilpin county. Pueblo, Boulder and Central City each had hopes at that time that there would be a reconsideration of the Territorial capital question.

But, by an act of the Legislature passed February 13, 1874, the Governor was authorized and directed to appoint a new Board of Commissioners, who were to take up the matter in earnest, perfect titles if need be, receive additional gifts, sell the lots and lands already donated for a building fund and, with the proceeds, together with such appropriations as the Legislature could make, and such as Arapahoe county and the City of Denver might give, erect a Territorial Capitol on Henry C. Brown's donated blocks, and have it finished by January 1, 1876. The Governor appointed M. Benedict, of Denver; J. H. Blume, of Trinidad; and J. H. Pinkerton, of Evans, as this Board of Commissioners.

The Territorial government departments were still scattered over town wherever they could find rented refuges, and not one branch had a suitable place in which to transact its business. A building was sadly needed, but, as matters turned out it is fortunate that circumstances prevented the erection of even a temporary structure; otherwise, in all probability, we should not have had the

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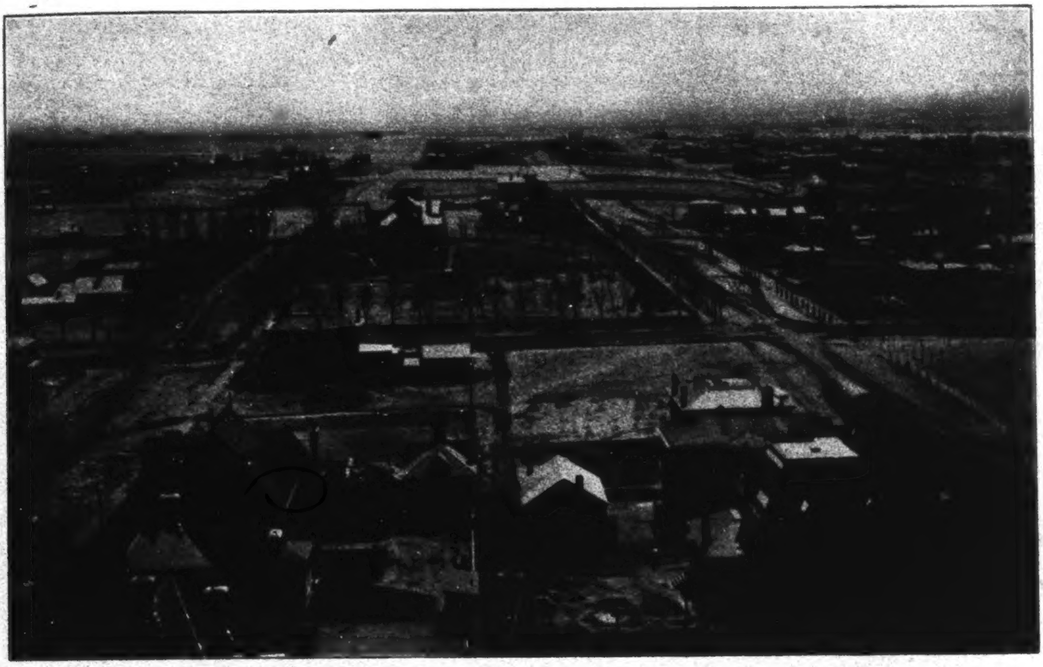
not been a candidate in the sense of having sought the nomination, and the politicial circumstances of that year impelled his party to do its best in selecting a standard-bearer. In his speech to the convention, accepting the nomination, Governor Thomas said:

"Conditions which I had not foreseen compelled me to allow my name to be used, only three days ago, as a candidate. You have seen fit to place in my hands your banner for this campaign. I accept the responsibility and the occasion. I do so, not in spirit of ambition, but in consequence of sense of a duty that should inspire all good citizens to serve in the cause of humanity. I accept the nomination without any pledge to any party or set of men. If I am elected I shall endeavor to serve the people and have an eye single only to their welfare, serving rich and poor alike, with respect only to my conscience and the constitution."

In Colorado Springs at the same time the conventions of the Populists and the Teller Silver Republicans were in session. Each of these indorsed the nomination of Governor Thomas and joined the Democrats in completing the State ticket which the three parties should support. At the November election this so called "fusion" ticket, led by Governor Thomas, was elected, the vote for the head of the ticket having been 94,274 for Thomas, to 50,880 for Henry R. Wolcott, his regular Republican opponent, making the Governor's majority 43,394. He was not a candidate for re-nomination or re-election, but became one for election to the United States Senate; the "fusion" of the same parties that carried the State in 1898 having been again successful in the State election of November, 1900. Though he was the choice of a large number of members of the Legislature, the caucus nomination fell upon his former law partner, Thomas M. Patterson.

Brushing aside the apparently inevitable petty contentions and unworthy fault-finding that beset the paths of our Chief Executives of the State, it will be seen that Governor Thomas faithfully and conscientiously endeavored to give, in his administration, practical effect to the declarations he made in his speech of acceptance to the convention that nominated him. Owing to the State's inadequate and inefficient revenue system, he encountered the many difficulties that follow appropriations made with little regard to the volume of revenues. But he met them with honesty and ability, and with fidelity to the people and to his own high personal character.—J. C. S.



View south from electric light tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues in autumn of 1882. Unimproved site of Capitol in middle distance.

magnificent State edifice now standing on Capitol Hill.

However, the new Commissioners went to work to do something. They tried to get more donations of real estate for the building fund; they circulated a subscription paper for cash subscriptions; they appealed to the city and county to spend a little money in improving the two Brown blocks by grading and fencing them, and planting trees; but in all these efforts little or nothing was accomplished, and the Capitol enterprise again came to a standstill.

Then followed the successful movement to make Colorado Territory a State, pending which and upon the urgent advice of former Governor Evans—and wise advice it was, under all the circumstances—the Commissioners decided to abandon all attempts to provide a building, and to let the prospective new State undertake it untrammelled by any previous arrangements.

But, as there was no assurance that Denver would be the State capital under the provisions of the State constitution, Henry C. Brown, out of patience with the treatment his donation had received through all those years, it not having been put to the uses for which it was specifically given, nor to any other, served notice on the Commissioners that he would revoke his gift unless at least $50,000 were expended in improvements on it within a reasonable time; and that if the State capital should be located elsewhere, one-half of his donation should be transferred to the city, and the other half revert to him. But, the Commissioners had no adequate resources, the State organization was a certainty, and they concluded to let events take their course.

The State government succeeded in 1876, yet nothing was done toward building on the site. Therefore, on May 9, 1879, nearly twelve years after he had conditionally donated the land, Henry C. Brown revoked his gift. The State contested and won in the first Court. Upon a new trial Brown was given judgment. The State then obtained another hearing and the last decision was reversed. Brown then appealed to the State Supreme Court which affirmed the decision of the lower Court. Then the case went to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error where the State again won. Next, the case was brought before Judge Hallett of the United States Circuit Court for the Colorado district, who decided in the State's favor. Again it went back to the Supreme Court at Washington where, on January 4, 1886, a decision was rendered finally confirming the title of the State to the land, and ending the contention. But for several years theretofore, Denver having been made the capital of the State by a vote of the people in November, 1881, and the State having really made the beginnings of provisions for building on the site, Brown had been indifferent to recovery of the land and the litigation had been of a rather perfunctory character.

In the meantime nothing further had been done in the earlier years of the litigation, but after the higher Courts rendered decisions favorable to the State it was deemed proper to make a beginning. The State constitution denied to the Legislature the power to locate or change the seat of government, but required that the law-making body should at its first session after the year 1880 provide by law for submitting to a vote of the people the question of locating the capital, a majority to decide it; and that Denver should in the meantime be the temporary seat of government. The constitution further provided that the Legislature should make no appropriation or expenditure for Capitol buildings or grounds until the seat of government had thus been permanently located by the people. It also stipulates that once located the capital can not be changed or removed without an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the electors.

Therefore, and pursuant to an act passed at the session of 1881, the people voted on the question at the general election held November 8, 1881. Several towns were aspiring candidates, but the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of Denver, as the following figures show: Denver, 30,248; Pueblo, 6,047; Colorado Springs, 4,790; Canon City, 2,788; Salida, 695; the "scattering" vote aggregating 929. So, Denver received almost two-thirds of all the votes.

The General Assembly of 1881 also provided an appropriation of $5,000 for grading, enclosing and otherwise improving the Brown site, but conditioned upon a favorable outcome of the litigation over the ground, and on result of the vote to locate the capital. The act for this purpose was approved on February 11, 1881. On February 18, 1881, another act was approved levying a tax of one-half mill on all the property in the State for a Capitol building fund, and creating such fund as a permanent one. This law is still in operation. With these acts, that Legislature rested from labor on the capital and Capitol question.

The Congressional enabling act had granted the State sixty sections of land for public buildings; fifty for a penitentiary; and seventy-two for general purposes, the proceeds of which were to constitute an internal improvement fund; while those from the public building lands were to constitute a public building fund. By 1883 there was a considerable accumulation of money in the improvement fund from the sale and lease of lands. By an act approved February 11, 1883, provisions were made to go ahead and build something, still further anticipating a favorable result to the State from the litigation with Henry C. Brown. A "Board of Direction and Supervision," of seven members, was created, and of which the Governor was to be, ex officio, a member and Chairman; the others, named in the act, were Allfred Butters, George W. Kassler, E. S. Nettleton, John L. Routt, Dennis Sullivan, and W. W. Webster; and $150,000 were appropriated, ostensibly contemplated as a "loan" from the internal improvement fund, with which to start. The Board was clothed with large discretionary powers and was expected to begin doing something at once. Its first meeting was held on February 24, 1883, at which the organization was completed by electing George T. Clark, who had been one of the pioneer bankers, Secretary.

This act of February 11, 1883, contemplated the construction of nothing more than one wing, to be fire-proof, and built of stone, or of brick and stone; to be completed by December 1, 1884, and "to be so constructed as to form a part of what may finally be a symmetrical Capitol building for the State of Colorado;" limited the cost of the wing to $200,000 and intended that the remainder of the building should be erected at some future time. The act also provided that the Board should at once generally advertise for plans and specifications for the entire building and prepare for work on the wing, which was, in the language of the law, "to be immediately constructed." Another act of that Legislature, also approved on February 11, 1883, provided for an issue of $300,000 worth of fifteen year, six per cent. Capitol building bonds, subject to a vote of the people. The issue was approved at the November election in that year. This act also provided for a levy to meet the bond interest, and for another one to take effect nine years after the bond issue, for a sinking fund, the annual levy for which was to be equal to twenty per cent. of the bonds, and was to continue for five years. Owing to circumstances that will presently be recounted, and as the Board had in hand funds sufficient for preliminary expenses, these bonds were not issued until 1890, when the entire amount was taken by the State Treasurer at par as an investment for school and other public funds in his custody. Therefore, the sinking fund provision did not become effective until the year 1900.

The Board went to work at once, and in March spread broadcast their advertisements for plans, and for specimens of building stone and other materials. Later in the spring the Board visited and inspected the Capitols of several other States, and came home rather discouraged. Nine sets of plans were received, the makers of which concealed their identity behind such assumptions as "Nil Sine Numine," "Common Sense," "Vox," and the like. But none of them were satisfactory; and furthermore, before the summer of that year the Board came to the unanimous conclusion that the "wing" scheme would prove an expensive and probably abortive way to begin the erection of the kind of building Colorado ought to have. Therefore, on June 9th, a resolution was adopted declaring in the judgment of the Board that a "State House for Colorado can not be properly built under the provisions of existing law." It was proposed to call an extra session of the Legislature to at once take appropriate action, but Governor Grant persuaded his associates to leave the whole matter to the next Legislature, which would be elected in November, 1884, and would meet in January, 1885; and to do so was the final decision of the Board.

But the Board did not remain idle in the meantime. Through 1883 and in 1884 many tests and analyses of building stone were made. Titles to the various lots and lands that had been donated to the building fund, were overhauled and, after a great deal of bother and vexation, perfected, and most of the tracts sold, the receipts from them being $93,233. The block of land bounded by Broadway, and Colfax, Lincoln, and Fourteenth Avenues, fronting the Brown site on the west, was purchased from W. S. Cheesman and George W. Kassler for $100,000. This purchase gave the Capitol grounds their present area and also indicated the value of Henry C. Brown's gift of twice as much ground. The thus enlarged Capitol site was surveyed and platted, and the $5,000 appropriated by the act of February 11, 1881, for grading, enclosing and otherwise improving it was expended for those purposes. Something like twenty sets of plans and preliminary specifications had by that time been received and the Board had decided in favor of those prepared by E. E. Myers, of Detroit, Michigan, who was architect of the county Court House. It was from his plans, which were a second time somewhat changed to suit new and better conclusions, that the present edifice was built. The Board had also decided to recommend to and urge upon the Legislature the immediate erection of an entire building, complete, the cost of which should not exceed one million dollars. At the close of 1884, the Board reported the following estimate of resources, "in round numbers," for building the Capitol, the expenditures up to that time having been unimportant:

Cash in Treasury, December 1, 1884	$134,000.00
Internal Improvement Fund, sale and lease of lands, cash	139,000.00
Public Building Fund, sale and lease of lands, cash	20,000.00
From sale of lands donated by citizens of Denver	100,000.00
From bonds authorized	300,000.00
From ½ mill tax for years 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890	407,000.00
	$1,100,000.00

In this estimate the Board, as will be noticed, had in view the transfer of the public building funds that was finally provided for by the Legislature in the spring of 1889.

When the Legislature met in January, 1885, the most important matter with which it had to deal was the Capitol question. There was at that time little doubt of the result of the litigation with Henry C. Brown, and the people wanted a beginning made on the building without further delay. After much discussion through the session, the act approved April 1, 1885, was passed. It provided for a fire-proof building of stone to cost not exceeding one million of dollars, that amount to be expended at a rate not exceeding $200,000 a year, beginning with 1885; and that the edifice be completed and ready for use by January 1, 1890. The law also continued the old members as a "Board of Supervision and Direction," with Governor Eaton, who had succeeded Grant, as Chairman.

But there was still more delay in getting started. Architect Myers was given three months to prepare his plans and specifications, which required some modifications, for construction work; but he fell ill, and they were not ready until January, 1886. Bids for erecting the building were opened February 20, 1886, but all of them exceeded the one million cost limit. Finally, after a minor revision of plans and some whittling on the most favorable bid, the Board concluded, on April 1, 1886, a contract with W. D. Richardson, of Illinois, for erecting the building, complete, for $930,485. After much running to and fro over Colorado, the Board had decided that the Capitol should be built of a white sandstone found in Gunnison county. The contractor was delayed in his preparations and did not begin work on the foundations until midsummer. The work progressed very slowly, and in the spring of 1887 it was discovered that more elaborate foundations would be required than had been planned. An amended contract was made, and soon afterward there were complications with the contractor, who had overdrawn on his work and had become seriously involved, work was suspended and most vexatious litigation ensued. The circumstances of these troubles are not of interest now, but they resulted in the cancellation of Richardson's contract, and the loss of another year's time.

With all these troubles and delays with their accompanying expense, the Board saw that the million dollar limit was bound to be considerably exceeded before the building would be finished and made ready for occupancy. But, on March 27, 1888, a contract was made with Geddes & Seerie, of Denver, to complete the foundations for $59,750. On May 7th a contract for the stone and brick work of the superstructure was made with the same firm, for $700,000.

It seemed that things were now to go forward, but in a very short time there appeared another cause for interruption. The Gunnison sandstone quarry had not been developed, and now upon a working examination both the quality and quantity of available stone fell far short of expectations. When this became known a clamor arose against using sandstone and in favor of granite. The Board willingly responded to this manifestation of public opinion and quickly and fortunately decided that granite it should be, even though it would double the cost of the Capitol. Therefore an arrangement was made with Geddes & Seerie under which they proceeded with their foundation work, and were to let the superstructure contract await the meeting of the Legislature in January, 1889, when authority to incur the increased expense of granite would be asked.

The proposition caused much discussion in the Legislature but it was finally successful. By an act approved April 1, 1889, the Board was reduced to five members, to constitute the "Board of Capitol Managers," and reorganized. The act did not name them except to make the Governor a member and Chairman, ex officio, but it authorized him to appoint his four associates. Governor Cooper who had succeeded Eaton, selected Benjamin F. Crowell, Charles J. Hughes, Jr.; Otto Mears, and John L. Routt. There had previously been a change in the old Board, W. W. Webster having resigned on December 4, 1887, and was succeeded by M. Spangler. There had also been a change in the Secretary in consequence of the death of George T. Clark, November 6, 1888, and he had been succeeded by D. W. Campbell. We may as well add here that Campbell resigned September 1, 1889, and was succeeded by Mr. Herman Lueders, who has continuously and most capably served since that time, and to whom we are indebted for much assistance in the preparation of this Capitol sketch.

This same act acquiesced in the granite proposition, indorsed the change and authorized an increase of expense from the original million to two million dollars; the structure to be built of granite, brick, and iron; these materials and all incidental others to be, so far as practicable, of Colorado production; and the edifice to be finished and made ready for use by January 1, 1893.

Other legislation for the Capitol in the closing days of that session appropriated $20,000 for appropriate landscape improvements and adornments on the fine site; provided for submitting to the people at the election in the following November a proposition to issue $250,000 worth of fifteen-year, six per cent. additional Capitol building bonds; and transferred to the building fund all the accumulations from the land grants then in the public building permanent fund and the public building income fund, and all accretions they might receive during 1889 and 1890. All these provisions turned out well except the bond proposition; that was disapproved by the people at the ensuing November election.

The way having been opened at last for the erection of a magnificent building, new contracts

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Job Adams Cooper, sixth Governor of the State of Colorado (in the seventh term), was born in Greenville, Bond county, Ills., November 6, 1843, of English and Dutch descent. His father, Charles Cooper, an English manufacturer, came to the United States in 1820, settling first in New Jersey, later in Ohio, and still later removing to Bond county, Ills., where he became a farmer.

In his boyhood, Gov. Cooper attended school at Knoxville, Ills., and afterward entered Knox College at Galesburg, Ills. While at that institution he enlisted in the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Regiment Illinois Volunteers, under one of the later calls for troops by President Lincoln, and became Second Sergeant of Company C. With his regiment he was serving at Memphis, Tenn., when that city was attacked by the Confederate General Forrest in 1864, and remained in service until the regiment was mustered out.

Resuming his course at Knox College, he was graduated there and then began studying law. After his admission to the Illinois bar, he returned to Greenville, and in 1868 was elected Clerk of the Circuit Court and Recorder of Bond county, serving four years.

Gov. Cooper removed to Colorado in May, 1872, located in Denver, and resumed practice of law, which he continued until the autumn of that year when he engaged in the fire insurance and real estate business in partnership with Peter Winne. In this business partnership, which continued until the autumn of 1876, he acquired important interests in the city and laid the foundations of his fortune. In the spring of 1877 when the German Bank was reorganized as the German National Bank, as related elsewhere in this volume, he became its first Vice President, but before the close of that year was elected Cashier of that Bank. Except during a brief interval he continued as Cashier of the German National until after his election as Governor of Colorado in November, 1888.

Gov. Cooper, an earnest, consistent Republican, had been nominated for Governor by his party, and his election by a majority of about 10,000 occurred on the forty-fifth anniversary of his birth. As Chief Executive of the State, his administration of public affairs was able, faithful and conservative, and when he closed his term in January, 1891, he had the approval and good-will of the people of Colorado.

Gov. Cooper was one of the organizers of the National Bank of Commerce in the summer of 1890, became a member of its first Board of Directors, and was elected its first President. He continued as President of that bank until January, 1897, when he retired from his more active participation in business affairs. He was one of the builders of Denver, and his interests in the city were large and many. The great "Cooper Building" at Seventeenth and Curtis streets, erected in 1892-93, an architectural ornament of the city, was one of his works. He was also interested in various undertakings elsewhere in Colorado and for several years before his death was identified with several important mines in the Cripple Creek district.

Governor Cooper's death at his home in Denver on January 20, 1899, after a very brief illness, caused deep sorrow in the city and State, for he had been a man of much public spirit and had exerted great influence in the development of both. On September 17, 1867, he married Miss Jane O., daughter of Rev. R. E. Barnes, of Galesburg, Ills., and who survives him. Four children, a son and three daughters, were born to them.—J. C. S.

Job A. Cooper.

The Colorado Capitol.

were accordingly made; with Geddes & Seerie for the brick and granite work at $1,171,396.75; with W. J. Godfrey & Co., of Denver, for cast iron columns, at $13,450; and with a Chicago concern for steel beams at $32,875. It was decided that the interior finish should be of hard wood for all woodwork, and of marble for wainscoting and main floors, which part of the work was to be separately and later provided for. The corner-stone was laid on July 4, 1890, by the M. W. Grand Lodge F. & A. M. of Colorado, and upon the basis of the contracts mentioned work was pushed steadily forward by the superstructure contractors without any more changes and without friction between them and the Board of Capitol Managers.

*After the final disposition, in January, 1886, of the litigation with Henry C. Brown, suits had to be brought against some of those who donated lots to the building fund away back in the Territorial days, and they terminated in the State's favor; the subsequent sale of the belated properties adding considerably to the building fund.

In 1890, when it became evident that the finished and furnished cost of the building would greatly exceed even the two millions, there was no way to do but to appeal to the Legislature at its next meeting for authority and financial provision for the unavoidable increase, if the work was to be made complete, harmonious and appropriate in all its details. The Legislature was responsive and by an act approved March 26, 1891, provided for submitting to the people at the ensuing November election a proposition for issuing $300,000 of fifteen-year four per cent. additional Capitol-building bonds. The same act also provided for a special levy to create a sinking fund for their redemption. The issue was approved by the people at the election in November, 1891, and the bonds brought a premium of $3,750.

The men on whom fell the unceasing care, responsibility, and vexatious difficulties involved in all these long-drawn-out proceedings in the earlier periods of the construction of that building, practically gave their services to the State. They were not under salary; the only compensation was that of a per diem allowance, and for actual expenses incurred. The old Board received four dollars a day for time actually employed, until April, 1885, when the pay was advanced to five dollars; and that continued to be the modest allowance until, by the act of April 1, 1889, the old "Board of Direction and Supervision" was succeeded by the Board of Capitol Managers. For the members of the latter, salaries of $2,500 a year were provided, with allowance for travelling expenses; but no expense bill has ever been presented by any member. This arrangement continued until the spring of 1897, when, in consequence of some criticism of the policy of paying such salaries on account of a work that had so long been in progress, the Board recommended to the Legislature the discontinuance of all compensation to its members. Therefore, by an act approved April 12, 1897, the formality of creating a new Board of Capitol Managers to serve without compensation was gone through, repealing the act of April 1, 1889. So, the present members receive nothing for their time and services. The act of 1897 named the members: the Governor, ex officio, (to be Chairman, also); former Governor Job A. Cooper, Charles J. Hughes, Jr.; Otto Mears, and former Governor John L. Routt. They organized April 30, 1897, by re-electing Herman Lueders, Secretary, whose duties go on every day, the salary being $2,000 per annum.

There had been no change in the Board of 1889 until November 13, 1895, when Benjamin F. Crowell resigned. Governor McIntyre appointed former Governor Cooper to succeed him. John L. Routt resigned June 1, 1897, after the abrogation of salaries, and George Tritch succeeded him. Job A. Cooper died January 20, 1899, and was succeeded by George W. Baxter, former Governor of Wyoming. Upon the death of George Tritch, October 8, 1899, Joseph A. Thatcher became a member. The Board now consists of the Governor, Baxter, Hughes, Mears and Thatcher.

Mr. Herman Lueders, who, for so many years has been the Secretary of the Board, prepared for this work the following summarized statement of the financial transactions in connection with the Capitol building from the beginning of construction work upon it to December 1, 1900:

Expenditures on building	$2,553,737.60
On grounds	60,000.00
Furniture	101,624.55
	$2,715,362.15
Maintenance, six years	195,637.42
Total expenditures	$2,910,999.57

Cash receipts to December 1, 1900—

Collections, ½ mill tax	$1,512,222.11
Sale of donated lands	125,233.00
Sale of bonds	600,000.00
Premiums on bonds	5,717.00
Transfer public building income fund	20,066.74
Transfer public building permanent fund	63,618.67
Loan from internal improvement fund	150,000.00
Total	$2,476,857.52

Disbursements to December 1, 1900—

Warrants redeemed	$2,325,259.50
Interest on redeemed warrants	85,689.08
Interest on bonds	53,060.00
Cash on hand	12,848.94
Total	$2,476,857.52

Warrant Account—

Total of warrants issued to December 1, 1900	$2,910,999.57
Warrants redeemed	2,325,259.50
Warrants outstanding	$585,740.07

In ground-plan dimensions, including structural approaches, the building is 383 feet long and 313 feet wide. It has cost more than the later estimates contemplated; a result not unusual. Though it was last specified to be completed by January 1, 1893, it was not quite finished at the close of 1900; there having been many unavoidable delays on the interior work. However, the last of the finishing touches will soon have been given, and then the structure will represent a total outlay, including maintenance, of about $3,000,000. It was far enough advanced toward completion for the State executive officers to occupy quarters in it in the autumn of 1894 and for the Legislature to meet in the fine chambers provided for the two houses, in January, 1895. We have entered somewhat at length into the details of its history, but perhaps the prominence and importance of the building in and to Denver, and the rather extraordinary circumstances associated with its inception and construction, are sufficient warrant for having done so.

Our Capitol with its great, lofty dome; massive walls, columns and portals, is an exceptionally handsome, dignified and well-proportioned edifice; few structures in this country are more pleasing in their aspects than it as it stands there on its commanding site in a splendid park that each passing year will make more beautiful. The granite of which it is built was quarried on Beaver creek, in Gunnison county, and is of remarkably even color; a soft shade of gray. The stone is also of unusually uniform texture and free from discoloring substances that so often stain and disfigure under the action of the elements. Furthermore, it is an honestly built structure, the State having received full value for every dollar expended on it. An unique matter of detail is its system of white and colored incandescent electric lights—from its own electric plant—by which the dome and roof-lines may be illuminated outside at night. Upon gala occasions when the building is so illuminated the effect produced is brilliantly beautiful. It would seem that a structure so stately, so dignified, so harmonious in all its lines and effects, should inspire higher, nobler and better things than some of the legislative performances that have been enacted within its walls.

While the Legislatures of Colorado have, no doubt and in the main, averaged well with those of other States, there has been in recent times a tendency, which late events indicate will soon have proved a mere transient ebullition, to incorporate various idiosyncrasies into State laws—alleged and so-called "freak legislation." The Ninth General Assembly, "Governor Waite's Legislature," is painfully memorable for that kind of work. As to which, thus far, proved the best Legislature in the State's history, opinions are at variance; but as to which made a record, entirely outside the evils of "freak legislation," as having been the worst, there is a remarkable unanimity of public sentiment and memory in favor of the Seventh, which succeeded in attaining the distinctive title of "the Robber Seventh."

CHAPTER LI.

STATE INSTITUTIONS—UNIVERSITY—AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE—SCHOOL OF MINES—NORMAL SCHOOL—SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' HOME—INSTITUTE FOR BLIND AND MUTE—ASYLUM FOR INSANE—HOME FOR DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR BOYS—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS—STATE REFORMATORY—PENITENTIARY—COLORADO'S VAST DOMAIN—CONSPICUOUS FEATURES, CLIMATE AND RESOURCES—AGGREGATE VALUES OF PRODUCTS—POPULATION—FINANCES—THE FUTURE.

The public institutions of Colorado, considering that the State is but a quarter of a century old, are, in the highest and widest sense creditable to the liberality and broad-mindedness of her people. They take rank with those of many older States and are entitled to be reckoned among the best, if not the largest, of their kind.

The Colorado State University at Boulder is truly all that its name implies—an university of learning. It was founded under the Territorial government but its development was not put well under way until the Territory became a State. Its control and direction are vested in an elective Board of Regents consisting of six members whose terms are six years, two being elected biennially. The University buildings are of modern types and every department is completely equipped for its purpose. The faculty includes some of the ablest educators in the country, and the University is one of the great and successful educational institutions of the west. The enabling act under which Colorado was admitted as a State contained very liberal provisions for schools. It provided that two sections of land in every township be reserved to the State for school purposes. Of this large grant the State still holds unsold 3,345,953 acres, of which 1,100,058 acres are now under lease, the income therefrom in 1900 having exceeded $70,000. These holdings embrace much valuable mineral and fine agricultural land. The proceeds of sale of school lands by law constitute a permanent school fund, the interest from which, only, to be expended for the support of public schools. To the interest is added the income from the leased school lands. In addition to this general school grant, Congress set apart seventy-two sections for the support of a State University. Tuition at the University, as at the State's other educational institutions, is free.

The University was incorporated by an act of the Territorial Legislature of 1861, and the location fixed at Boulder. In 1871, three public-spirited citizens of Boulder gave the University fifty-two acres of land adjoining the city, valued at $5,000. In 1874, the Territorial Legislature appropriated $15,000, and the citizens of Boulder contributed a like sum in cash. In 1876, the Constitution of Colorado provided that upon its adoption the University at Boulder should become an institution of the State, thus entitling it to the lands appropriated by Congress, and further made provisions for its management and control. The First General Assembly of the State made provision for its permanent support by the levy of a tax of one-fifth of a mill upon all property in the State; also, for a fund to be obtained by the sale of lands granted by the United States. The institution was opened in September, 1877. In 1878, the General Assembly appropriated $7,000 for apparatus, furniture, and so forth. In 1883, the General Assembly provided a special fund by a tax levy of one-fifth of a mill, for the years 1883 and 1884, yielding about $40,000. This fund was expended for apparatus, furniture, additional buildings, and for the improvement of the grounds. The University is maintained by the tax-levy of one-fifth of a mill on the assessed valuation of the property of the State. In 1891, a special appropriation of $30,000 was made. This was expended for the erection of the Hale Scientific Building. In 1893, the General Assembly appropriated $34,000 for buildings and grounds, and granted an additional one-tenth of a mill to the income of the University for one year. In 1895, the General Assembly, in addition to the regular one-fifth mill, voted a special appropriation of $40,000. In 1897, the special appropriation was $40,000, and in 1899, a special appropriation of $110,000 was voted.

The University of Colorado is the culmination of the public school system of the State and is maintained by the State to provide, at a minimum cost, higher and professional education for those graduated in the High Schools. It enables them to pursue their studies to any extent and in any direction they may choose. The departments of instruction in the University are comprehended under the following-named divisions: College of Liberal Arts, embracing classical, philosophical, scientific, and literary courses; the Graduate School; School of Applied Science; School of Medicine; School of Law; School of Music; and the Preparatory School. In high standards and in all that pertains to true University dignity the University of Colorado ranks with such State Universities as those of Michigan, Wisconsin, and California.

The State Agricultural College, which had its beginning in Territorial times, also, is at Fort Collins, in one of the finest of Colorado's agricultural districts. Three citizens of that place donated to the Territory two hundred and forty acres of land adjoining the little city, and on it commodious and handsome buildings were later erected, fully equipped for the work of the institution. Their surroundings have been made exceedingly attractive by shade trees, lawns and gardens. The first State Legislature, made liberal provisions for the support of the college and the erection of new buildings, and it was placed on a substantial basis by 1879. Under an act of Congress of August 30, 1890, the College receives from the United States government an income of $15,000 annually, to be increased by $1,000 a year until it reaches $25,000, when it is to remain permanent at that sum. The design of the institution is to afford thorough instruction in agriculture and the natural sciences connected with that pursuit, which is imparted in its several departments: agriculture, horticulture, botany, chemistry, geology, zoölogy, and entomology; mechanical, civil and irrigating engineering; and in addition to these there is a thorough scholastic course. Inasmuch as agriculture in Colorado depends on irrigation, especial attention is given to the theory and practice of the best methods of applying water to different soils, as it is not a hap-hazard undertaking to be properly done without knowledge, training and experience. The college also maintains four experiment stations which are in useful operation. It was more especially for these that Congress endowed the College with the income above-mentioned.

The State School of Mines at Golden, founded by the Territory, though not a large institution, is one of the most efficient in the country and of great usefulness to the various and varied mining industries of Colorado. It is a thorough technical school and prepares its students for intelligent theoretical and practical prosecution of mining in all its branches; for Colorado mining includes nearly every kind of operations involved in the development of mineral resources.

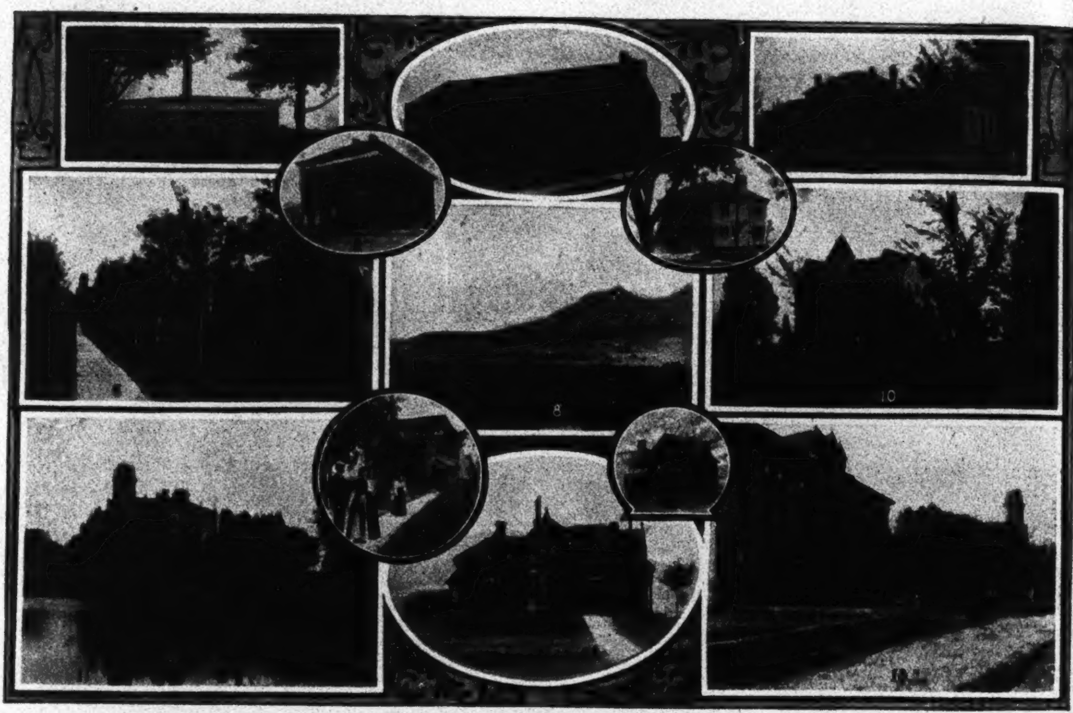
The State Normal School is located at Greeley where it was opened in 1890. Its career as a college for properly preparing teachers for the duties of their calling has been as uniformly successful as its work has been thorough.

The public school system of Colorado is as nearly perfect as that of any other State of the Union. In proportion to population it outranks that of many older States. In 1900 the expenditures for public schools approximated $2,900,000, of which sum nearly $1,600,000 represented salaries paid, the total having been about $385,000 greater than the expenditures in 1899. According to the school census of 1900 there were then 158,142 children of school age in the State, an increase of 10,756 over 1899. The school enrollment in 1900 was 120,846; an increase of 9,252 over that of 1899. During the biennial period, 1899-1900, 126 new school buildings were erected in the State, including several fine structures for High School purposes.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, three miles east of Monte Vista, was established by an act of the Legislature approved March 15, 1889, and subsequently amended. Its 120 acres of land was donated by the citizens of Monte Vista and the State made the improvements which include a half-dozen buildings all constructed of stone. The law admits to the Home all honorably discharged soldiers and sailors, and even those dependent on them, who have been residents of the State for one year preceding the time of application for admission. The Home's population varies between summer and winter, but with so decided a tendency toward future increase that additional accommodations are to be provided. At the close of 1899 there were about 150 persons being cared for there; and on December 1, 1900, the number was 139—a temporary slight reduction.

The Institute for the Blind and Mute, which is chiefly educational in its purpose, was a heritage from the Territory, and is located at Colorado Springs. Its beginning was authorized by an act of the Territorial Legislature in 1874. By an act approved March 15, 1877, the State made more ample provisions for it. Since then the State has been very generous in its maintenance of this school which has resulted in a most efficient institution, provided with a strong corps of instructors, good buildings and a fairly liberal amount of equipment. At the close of 1899 the institution had nearly 100 pupils, the number varying somewhat with the seasons; and on December 1, 1900, they numbered 187. The school and its inmates are especially the objects of the considerate regard and attention of the people of Colorado Springs.

The State Asylum for Insane is at Pueblo. The buildings are of modern construction and provided with everything that would contribute to the comfort and well-being of the unfortunates the institution shelters and cares for; and it is conducted on an enlightened basis of humanity and helpfulness. At the close of 1899 there were 316 male and 177 female patients in the institution, and on December 1, 1900, the inmates numbered 507. The Asylum was established by an act of



University of Colorado—Views of Buildings at Boulder.

1. Engineering Building.
2. Hospital.
3. Gymnasium.
4. Chemical Building.
5. Medical Building.
6. President's House.
7. Anatomy Building.
8. Site of University.
9. Cottage Number 2.
10. Hale Scientific Building
11. Main Building.
12. Cottage Number 1.
13. Woodbury Hall.

the Legislature approved February 8, 1879, and one large building was built for it. The Legislature of 1893 directed that all additional buildings erected for the Asylum's purpose should be of moderate size and upon the "cottage plan," and that separate quarters be provided for the criminal insane. The record of the institution for good management is, with one exception, an excellent one. In 1899 a brief departure from that basis raised a storm of public indignation that quickly resulted in a change of administration of its affairs.

The State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children is of comparatively recent origin, having been established by an act of the Legislature approved April 10, 1895. It is located in Denver—on Bert street, "North Denver"—in rented quarters, but preparations are under way for providing two adequate and modern buildings, one for each sex, on a tract of land near the city. At the close of 1899 this institution sheltered forty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls; and on December 1, 1900, it had ninety-three inmates. The home is intended only as a temporary refuge for these waifs, permanent homes being found for them among the people whenever opportunity offers for that disposition of them.

The State Industrial School for Boys, at Golden, was established by an act of the Legislature approved February 12, 1881, and opened in June, 1882, on the old Jarvis Hall premises bought by the State. Good buildings have been added from time to time until the school is now well-equipped for its purposes, and there are about sixty-five acres of land belonging to it. This Industrial School is intended for the reclamation, education and manual training of wayward boys too young to be regarded and treated as criminals. It demonstrates every year its great usefulness to society and to those who receive the benefits that it freely imparts. At the close of 1899 there were about 125 boys at the School, but the number is varied as terms expire and new ones are begun. On December 1, 1900, its inmates numbered 182.

The State Industrial School for Girls is at Denver, and was established by an act of the Legislature approved April 4, 1887. Until recently it occupied rented quarters in the town of Aurora east of the city, being intended for the reception and reformation of girls convicted of offenses against the law, who were formerly sent to the Golden reform school; and has been one of the most troublesome of all the minor institutions to manage. On December 31, 1899, it had forty inmates, and on December 1, 1900, the number had increased to fifty-four. In April, 1900, a farm of forty acres three miles west of Fort Logan was purchased as a permanent home for the School, and it is anticipated that the institution will hereafter be more readily kept to a higher standard.

The State Reformatory at Buena Vista was established by an act of the Legislature approved April 19, 1889. It is for the reception of men and boys convicted of their first criminal offenses and to them a very liberal parole system is open. The institution has a large tract of land and is provided with good buildings. The inmates are kept busy every work day at farming, gardening and shop work, and the Reformatory is justifying its right to that title. At the close of 1899 it had 85 inmates, and on December 1, 1900, 115.

The State Penitentiary is at Canon City, where it was established by an act of the Territorial Legislature approved January 7, 1868. Some of the buildings still in use were erected during Territorial times, but most of them, on the now much enlarged tract of land, were built by the State as increased demands made larger accommodations necessary. The rules of management and discipline are laid down on humane lines, and are intended to better the moral and physical condition of those whose offenses against society have placed them under the ban of the law and within the prison's gates. At the close of 1899 the institution contained 536 men, and five women, prisoners; and on December 1, 1900, the prisoners numbered 590. Unfortunately, under existing law limiting prison competition with "free labor," a very large proportion of the prisoners are kept in idleness. Some stone is quarried, and brick and lime made, but aside from the limited amount of that kind of work available, the other employment for the prisoners is gardening and farming on the prison land, and routine duty in and around the institution.

The State's military establishment is, in proportion to population, abreast of that of other States. As related in a succeeding chapter, it became somewhat disorganized in consequence of a large part of it having been merged in Colorado's quota of volunteers for the Spanish war. Its re-organization immediately followed, and it now consists of two regiments of infantry of 476 and 421 men, respectively; with a total enlistment of 897. In addition thereto there are three troops of cavalry numbering 155 men, a battery of artillery with sixty-one men, a medical department with twenty-six men, and a signal corps of eleven men. This force, of which the artillery, two troops of cavalry, and four companies of infantry are in Denver, is well disciplined, armed and equipped, and is maintained at a high standard of efficiency. For purposes rather more ornamental than warlike, the Governor has a military staff of thirty-four officers —mostly "Colonels;" and the brigade and Quartermaster's staffs number, respectively, five and four officers.

In preceding chapters we have made some account of the historical geology of Colorado; of its pre-historic peoples; Indian tribes; native animals; the assumed desert-like conditions of its plains and the forbidding aspect of its mountain regions; early explorations by Spanish adventurers; derivation of its territory; explorations by authority of the United States; occupation by white hunters and trappers; discoveries of gold and ensuing settlement of the country; and of various collateral events; therefore, it is not essential that we further refer here to these subjects.

Geographically Colorado lies between the 102nd meridian of west longitude on the east and the 109th meridian on the west; and the 37th parallel of north latitude on the south and the 41st parallel on the north; these boundaries outlining a parallelogram. The difference in solar time between the east and west lines of the State is twenty-eight minutes, and the geographical center of the area is at a point three miles north-northeast of Spinney station on the Colorado Midland Railway, in Park County.

Politically the State is bounded on the north by Nebraska and Wyoming, on the west by Utah, on the south by New Mexico, and Oklahoma Territory, and on the east by Kansas and Nebraska. It embraces 103,645 square miles, or 66,332,800 acres —a great empire within itself. The State's area is equal to fifty-four States like Delaware, twenty-two and one-half like Connecticut, thirteen and one-fourth like Massachusetts, two and three-tenths like Pennsylvania, and about two and one-half like Ohio. About two-fifths of its area is of the great plains to the eastward of the Rocky Mountain foothills; the remaining three-fifths being mountainous and of wonderful grandeur and beauty.

The vast, rolling plains, once the ranges of countless hosts of buffalo, antelope, and other native animals, are destitute of natural-growth timber, except fringes of cottonwood trees along the banks of the streams. But the natural treelessness of the landscape is fast being relieved by the growths planted and cared for by the new people who came in and occupied the land. The persistent natural verdure of the plains consists of the bunch-grass which sustained the buffalo, of many flower-bearing annuals commonly called "weeds," and a variety of cactus growths in which there is no known value. By midsummer, usually, the vegetation has matured and turned to a grayish-brown which gives to the great reaches of land an aspect of desolation. Nevertheless, the dry bunch-grass is nutritious and fattens the herds of domestic beasts that have succeeded their aboriginal kindred. Any part of this plains region can be made to yield bountiful crops by irrigation. Indeed, the extent to which these vast areas of land can be tilled is limited only by the supply of water that may be conveyed to them by artificial means. Large sections along the eastern border of the State, where rainfall is more frequent than in the belt intermediate to them and the mountains, are under successful cultivation without artificially conveying water to them.

About four-fifths of Colorado has an elevation ranging between 4,000 and 10,000 feet above sea level. The lowest point to the eastward of its limits is 3,703 feet above the sea; and in the west the lowest point is 4,435 feet above. The summit of the main, or dividing, range averages about 11,000 feet. There are seventy-two peaks in the State which rise to heights ranging between 13,500 and 14,500 feet; the loftiest being found in the Sierra Blanca, part of the ramparts of the San Luis Park, with an elevation of 14,483 feet. On these towering summits snow lies throughout the year and is always visible except when wrapped in the mists of clouds that sometimes enfold the monarch eminences of the ranges.

The main, or dividing, range of the Rocky Mountains traverses the State from north to south approximately through the middle, but in the general vicinity of Denver it bows to the east until the "divide" approaches to within fifty to sixty miles of the city, Long's Peak being one of its conspicuous local features. The central belt of mountain region extending from north to south presents aspects that give it rank with the most magnificent mountain scenery in the world.

The so-called "parks" in the mountains constitute a feature of Colorado topography that is unique. These "parks" are level areas walled in by great mountain ranges with here and there a water-worn pass or canon opening a way through to them. When in ancient geological times the mountain ranges were uplifted, these park areas appear to have been elevated without the disruption going on around them, and became the beds of isolated lakes or seas. As surplus water found its way over the rim of the surrounding barriers, it gradually scoured out deeper canon channels until the seas, or lakes, were drained and their beds left to become, as vegetation advanced, places of great beauty and fertility. There are four of these "parks"—the North, Middle, South and San Luis, all lying in the area of the great ranges, and in the order as named, the North Park being the first south of the Wyoming line. Their elevations range between 7,500 and 8,500 feet, but some of the rocky ramparts enclosing them are a mile higher. The soil is extremely fertile and produces abundant crops of cereals, fruits and vegetables. In their native conditions these distinctive, picturesque and beautiful features of the mountain sys-

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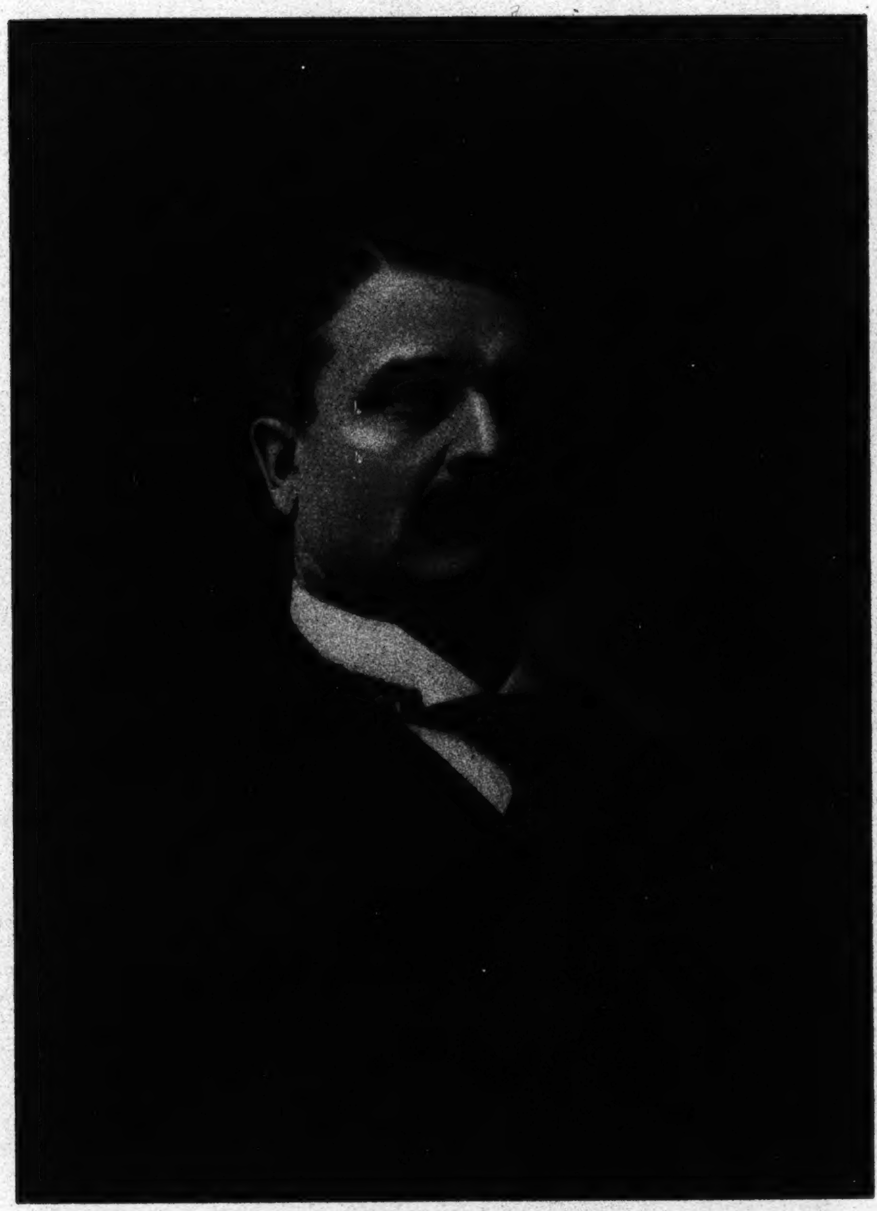
James B. Orman, tenth Governor of the State of Colorado (in the thirteenth term), was born in Muscatine, Iowa, November 4, 1849; his parents removing thence to near Winterset, that State, in 1858. After four years spent in the schools of Chicago, he returned to his father's farm, and until 1866 was there engaged in farming and stock-raising.

Governor Orman crossed the plains by stagecoach and became a citizen of Colorado in 1866, first locating in Denver. Here he engaged in dealing in draft animals, and during the ensuing two or three years transacted a large business. In 1869, when the era of railroad construction in Colorado opened, he, in partnership with his brother, W. A. Orman, took the contract to build the Kansas Pacific road from Sheridan, Kan., to Denver; and it was by them that the famous and extraordinary feat in rapid construction of a railroad, mentioned in our history of that road, was accomplished. The successful results of that contract decided Governor Orman's future business career, and since that time, in various partnerships of which he has been in most instances the directing member, he has uninterruptedly been identified with the construction of many railroads in the western States and Territories, built part of the Canadian Pacific, and has had much to do with the physical creation of nearly every system of roads in Colorado.

Early in the Seventies, Governor Orman acquired large real estate interests in Pueblo, and then made that city, as it has ever since been, his home. Increasing his real estate holdings there in later years, he became a leader in the development of that city, which, with the results of his railway building, enriched him. On his own account, and in some instances in association with others, he erected many buildings in Pueblo, including the large opera house and several fine business blocks; in 1879 projected and began building the city's present extended system of street-railways; participated in the organization and is a director of several of Pueblo's financial institutions; an organizer and directing spirit of large ditch and irrigation companies in the southern part of the State and owner of extensive ranche properties there devoted to stock-raising; a stockholder in and director of several important manufacturing establishments; and interested in various other public and private enterprises in that city. For a long series of terms he was a member of the Pueblo City Council, and more recently Mayor of the city. These various activities, in most of which he still retains his interests, and his broad public spirit, have made Governor Orman a conspicuous figure in the upbuilding of Pueblo and the development of the southern part of the State.

In politics a life-long Democrat, Governor Orman was, in 1880, elected Representative from Pueblo county in the Third General Assembly, and in 1883 a member of the Senate of the Fourth General Assembly. In the session of 1883 when a United States Senator was to be elected he became the unanimous choice of the Democratic minority in that Legislature for that position. In 1900 he was nominated by his party as its candidate for Governor of the State; his candidacy was indorsed by the Silver Republican and the People's parties, and in November of that year he was elected by a majority of 24,594 over Frank C. Goudy, the Republican candidate. He was inaugurated Governor of Colorado in January, 1901, for the term ending in January, 1903.—J. C. S.



James B. Orman.

tem were covered with verdure, watered by many small, winding streams, and were the favorite haunts of thousands of elk, deer and other wild creatures. Under the changes wrought by agriculture the aspects presented in these "parks" are even more charming than those of their original, undisturbed natural condition. The North Park embraces about 850 square miles, the Middle about 750, the South about 400, and the San Luis about 5,000. The drainage of the North Park is to the east by way of the North Platte; that of the Middle to the Pacific by way of the Grand and Colorado rivers; that of the South to the east by way of the South Platte; that of San Luis to the south by way of the Rio Grande.

The altitudes (in feet) above sea level of the cities and more important towns of Colorado are as follows:

Alamosa	7,516	Greeley	4,779
Aspen	7,910	Gunnison	7,680
Black Hawk	7,975	Idaho Springs	7,515
Boulder	5,184	Lake City	8,604
Breckenridge	9,497	Leadville	10,200
Buena Vista	7,970	Littleton	5,354
Canon City	5,344	Longmont	5,004
Caribou	9,905	Loveland	5,030
Central	8,516	Manitou	6,383
Colorado Springs	6,000	Meeker	6,491
Creede	9,200	Montrose	5,847
Cripple Creek	9,396	Morrison	7,963
Del Norte	7,880	Nederland	8,263
Delta	4,963	Ouray	7,705
Denver	5,197	Pueblo	4,713
Durango	6,520	Red Cliff	8,871
Fairplay	9,965	Rosita	8,500
Fort Collins	4,966	Saguache	7,620
Fort Garland	7,936	Silver Plume	9,219
Georgetown	8,419	Silverton	9,300
Glenwood	5,770	Telluride	8,800
Golden	5,668	Trinidad	6,005
Grand Junction	4,594		

The elevations of the more prominent mountain passes, and those of the mountain parks, lakes and medicinal springs are as follows:

Argentine Pass	13,281	North Park	8,500
Berthoud Pass	11,350	Pagosa Springs	7,100
Boulder Pass	11,670	Palmer Lake	7,650
Chicago Lakes	11,500	Poncha Pass	9,061
Estes Park	6,810	San Luis Park	7,620
Fremont Pass	11,329	Steamboat Sp'gs	6,781
Grand Lake	8,153	South Park	8,842
Green Lake	10,400	Tennessee Pass	10,143
Hot Sulphur Sp'gs	7,715	Twin Lakes	9,333
Loveland Pass	11,876	Veta Pass	9,399
Marshall Pass	10,858	Wagon Wheel Gap	8,449
Middle Park	7,750		

A well-made topographical map of Colorado entering much into details, shows a net work of rivers and their branches. So many of these are revealed by such a map that the observer guided by it alone would conclude that no part of the State can be arid. Unfortunately a large majority of these minor streams which are made to appear traversing the plains, are dry beds through that part of the year in which water in them would be of the greater benefit. From the eastern slopes of the great ranges flow the South Platte and the Arkansas rivers, each having many tributaries but few of which maintain fair standing throughout the year. Following occasional torrential rains most of them fill and overflow their banks and then as quickly subside, causing alternating feasts and famines of water. The small streams putting out from the mountains are more consistent, being maintained the year round by melting snow, and carrying sparkling water of remarkable purity. On the western slope the Grand and Gunnison rivers drain that side of the State with the assistance of innumerable tributaries fed by melting snow, and which, therefore, unlike their kind on the plains, do not become dry beds in the summer season of the year. The Green river enters the northwest corner of the State and then, after receiving the waters of the attenuated Yampai, abruptly changes course and returns to Utah. The central-southern area of the State is drained by the uncertain Rio Grande which in no part of Colorado becomes a stream befitting the name it bears. Here and there through the mountain districts are many beautiful locked-in lakes and lakelets of water as clear as crystal and as cold as the snowy sources from which it came. These gems in their settings of towering granite peaks, their shores green with verdure, and their waters gleaming in the sunlight or slumbering in the mellowed radiance of the moon, form pictures of inspiring grandeur and exquisite beauty.

Mineral springs, the waters of which are found highly beneficial to all who drink them, abound in the mountains of Colorado. The waters exist in almost every variety of composition and temperature—some as low as forty degrees Fahrenheit, while others run up nearly to the boiling point. Chemically they carry a great variety of minerals, from the gentlest soda to the most pungent salts and powerfully odorous sulphates. While much has been done to develop them and to provide means for their utilization, the coming years will doubtless bring a greatly enlarged development. The Manitou springs at the base of Pike's Peak are the oldest to our people. Others that have later come into prominence for their medicinal values, are those of Idaho Springs, Glenwood on the west slope, Poncha at the foot of Marshall Pass, the Hot Sulphur Springs in the Middle Park, the Mount Princeton hot springs near Buena Vista, and the Liberty Springs at Wagon Wheel Gap. There are many others of lesser renown, but probably of equal virtue. The natural provisions and opportunities for "health resorts" and "summer watering places" in Colorado, are to be numbered by hundreds, and are surrounded by Nature's grandest handiwork.

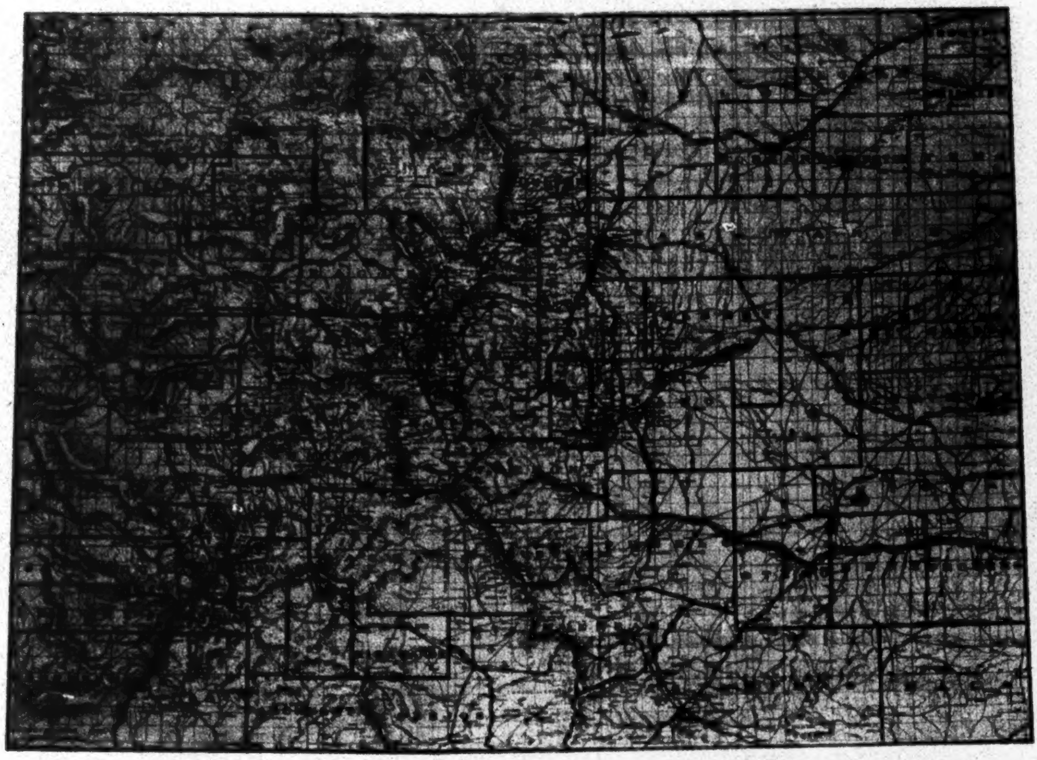
The climate of Colorado is justly entitled to most favorable consideration. It is remarkable for its salubrity and healthfulness, being dry, mild and genial. Fogs are rare visitors, and the heavy, damp, chilling days so often experienced in lower lands, are unknown. The recorded extremes of summer heat and winter cold do not vary much from those known in the States of the same latitude bordering the Mississippi river, but there are few of the personal discomforts here that attend them there. Midsummer heat of 96 degrees is not rare in Denver, and winter cold indicated by temperature lower than twenty degrees below Fahrenheit zero is of record in numerous instances. However, the summer heat is not oppressive, and in the shade the air is always refreshingly cooler. The sun's direct rays streaming down from a cloudless summer sky seem and are hotter than in lower levels, because the thinner air, destitute of moisture, does not intercept and absorb them; the air does not become heated. The summer nights are never sultry, no matter what the temperature of the day may have been, and restful slumber is never prevented by what is known as "closeness" in lower altitudes. The absence of humidity largely reduces the ordinary discomforts arising from summer heat, and prevents its dangers. Sunstroke is unknown in Colorado. The winters have their disagreeable periods—these usually in February and March. Extreme cold is not attended by great discomfort—it does not chill, nor induce sluggish circulation. The pure, dry, invigorating atmosphere is the preventive. Excessive cold is of short duration, and even in winter the sun is seldom obscured throughout the day. There is an unofficial record of an entire year late in the "Sixties" without one sunless day. About three hundred days in every year dawn with bright sunshine, and most of these continue cloudless to their close. The winters are marked by heavy snows in the mountains, but ordinarily these do not prevail over the plains. High winds bring the most disagreeable conditions of the Colorado climate, because they so frequently become "dust-storms." The dryness and peculiar character of the soil cause the air to be laden with dust in times of high wind, with exceedingly disagreeable consequences. But these "dust-storms" do not often occur. The tornado and cyclone are strangers in Colorado, and the "blizzard" and "norther" almost so. Winter rains rarely come and as a rule snow on the plains soon disappears. Much the greater part of the annual rainfall occurs in May and June, with May receiving the larger share. Many exaggerated views of Colorado's climate have been reduced to print and sent forth over the world, describing it to be as perfect all the time as some ideal day in Italy. We have many ideal days, a far greater proportion than will be encountered in any other State of the Union; but we have some that are not ideal. However, those falling below the standard do not depart far from it and, as the standard is a high one, their departure from it does not seriously affect the extraordinary climatic salubrity and gentleness that prevail in Colorado.

It would be a waste of time ending in useless results for any one to attempt to express in figures the values of all of Colorado's natural resources. The chief obstacle would be found in the fact that some of them are undeveloped and known only by surface indications; while of others a beginning, only, of their development has been made. Mining of gold and silver has progressed further, relatively, than any other industry. Large areas of territory are still in a state of nature. A region in the northwestern corner of the State, nearly as large as the State of Indiana, remains practically undeveloped. No one can say what various sources of wealth exist there; only time and toil and the application of capital will reveal its secrets.

In the beginning and for years afterward, mining the precious metals received the attention of Colorado people almost to the exclusion of everything else. While it still retains its commanding position and will probably continue to do so, some other industries of the State have attained a conspicuous development. Mentioning the latter in order of their present importance they would stand about as follows: agriculture, general manufacturing, stock-raising, coal mining, iron and steel production, horticulture, timber and lumber production, quarry products, and petroleum products.

In the present fifty-seven organized counties into which the State is sub-divided, gold and silver are found in varying quantities in forty of them; iron, copper, lead, and zinc in thirty-seven; aluminum in five; what may be termed the chemical minerals, in thirty-one; what may be termed commercial minerals, in every one of them; what may be termed structural minerals, in twenty-eight; precious stones of the second and inferior grades, in thirty-three; with agriculture successfully conducted in fifty-four.

The pioneers of Colorado did not anticipate that agriculture, the noblest of all human occupations, would ever attain any importance. Indeed, few of them believed that anything beyond buffalo grass, wild flowering plants, and the several native varieties of cactus and their kindred, would grow from the soil. They were astonished by the appearance of a few fine stalks of wheat that had sprung from vagrant seeds in a Denver garden, and later heard reports of home-grown fruit with incredulity. To this day the stranger entering Denver by way of the railroads traversing the country directly between the city and the Kansas line, has little faith in the agricultural resources of the State. He naturally forms his conclusions from the evidence afforded by the treeless, comparatively barren, and little watered region through which he

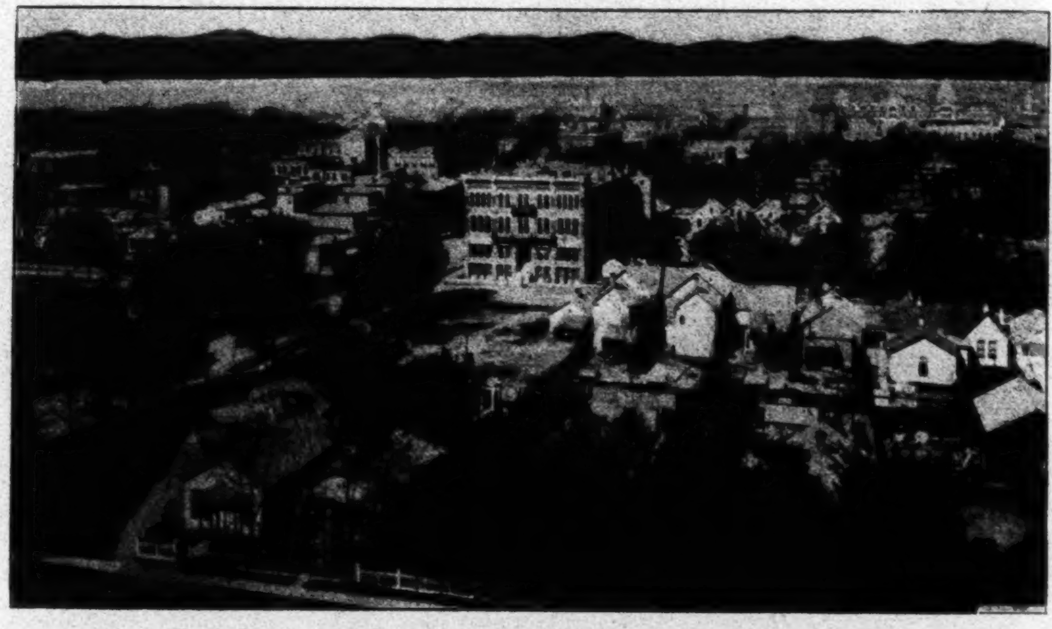


Punnett Bros'. Map of Colorado, 1900.

has passed. Lying directly east of Denver for a distance of nearly a hundred miles, is a zone of territory that has had little agricultural development, and awaits irrigation. The impression produced by it in the traveler's mind is one of dreariness, desolation and hopelessness. Fine farms, comfortable country homes, and the thrift of rewarded husbandry disappeared when he entered that zone, and when he reaches and views Denver he is at a loss to understand how so large and busy a city grew and is sustained by so poor a country as that through which he passed in getting here. The railways directly to the east from Denver do not traverse sections yet developed for agricultural purposes, and their ways are not through inviting places. The farms of Colorado are along the larger streams, the South Platte, the Arkansas, the Cache-le Poudre and their tributaries; and in the mountain parks and valleys. Nearly all of a broad belt along the base of the foot-hills is under cultivation; the valley of the Arkansas river and the valley of the Rio Grande are busy and fruitful farming regions; on the headwaters of the San Juan, along the Uncompahgre and the Gunnison, and in the valley of the Grand are more. Wherever there are soil and water or wherever water can be taken in ditches, fine harvests reward the planter and sower; and there are now 2,600,000 acres of irrigated land. The land, even that on the plains, is of remarkable fertility under irrigation and may be tilled with less than the usual amount of labor bestowed on growing crops elsewhere. The cereals yielded are of superior quality; fruit and vegetables are produced in surprising quantities. Fifty bushels of wheat to the acre are not unusual; one hundred bushels of potatoes make the average crop, while from five to six hundred have been known; the harvest of fruit is usually limited only by the ability of the trees and vines to bear their burdens. Alfalfa, the principal hay crop, permits two and frequently three cuttings a year, and produces in that time from four to six tons to the acre. The growing of fruit and the fruit-vegetables has reached fairly large proportions; there being now about 40,000 acres planted to various fruits, the crop value of which in 1900 was conservatively estimated at $3,000,000. All the berries yield profusely, while apples, peaches, plums, nectarines, apricots, pears, and cherries bend down the trees on which they grow. The melon crop has become an annual event and its fame has gone abroad over all the country. Hundreds of carloads are annually marketed east of the Mississippi river. We shall not burden these pages with statistics which will be displaced by the increase of the following year, but it may be worth while to state that the annual value of Colorado's general agricultural products, exclusive of live-stock, has reached a point approximating $35,000,000. The great factor in this result has been irrigation, and its work may be said to be only fairly begun. There are upward of 15,000 miles of irrigating ditches in the State, and these are being added to every year. The later ones are projected on larger plans and serve larger areas, so that each succeeding year will bring under cultivation many thousand acres of the wonderfully fertile soil of Colorado. As these water ways are carried farther and farther the increase in verdure may be expected to prevent much of the evaporation now occurring, and incidentally to induce more frequent showers on the drier portions of the plains. Every irrigated section will quickly become like a blooming garden, and every acre of newly watered soil will return its owner a rich harvest. In 1898 the cultivation of the sugar beet was introduced in the State and the experimental crops yielded under analysis an unusual proportion of sugar. This resulted in a determination to establish the sugar industry in Colorado, and it has had a remarkably quick development. Of this, a few figures are permissible. Three large refineries have already been erected and two others are planned for 1901. Upward of $1,500,000 have been invested in the business, and in 1900 about 7,000 acres of land were planted to beets producing more than 60,000 tons that yielded about $350,000 to the growers. Something like 12,000,000 pounds of sugar were produced. The new town of Sugar City in the sugar beet district of Otero county has a population exceeding 1,000, though it is not yet two years old. It is now too early to record large practical results from this addition to the agricultural resources of the State, but it may be said that the industry promises to be a very important one. When it is considered that Colorado is but forty years old, and that first convictions were so much adverse to agricultural possibilities, the developments have been remarkable. The pioneers came here to mine the precious metals, and for years mining was regarded as the only available source of wealth. Therefore, much time was lost before experience and good judgment proved that the fertile soil could be made to produce returns exceeding in value those dug out of the bowels of the mountains or recovered from the gulches, bars and streams.

Stock-raising in Colorado is steadily advancing as a permanent business pursuit; though under existing conditions it may be said to be in its infancy. The days of the picturesque and untamed "cowboy," and of unobstructed and practically unlimited ranges for his long-horned Texas steer, are over, and the business of rearing and fattening stock for market is conducted on lines quite different from those followed in the west twenty years ago. In Colorado stock is kept on land no longer open from horizon to horizon, but enclosed and generally of private ownership. Some of the enclosures embrace vast tracts, but the large majority of stock-raisers occupy ranches of moderate acreage, on which their stock is protected from storms, and is given more considerate attention than was bestowed in former years. There has been an enormous increase of stock in proportion to area of grazing lands, in recent years; and this feature of the business will continue, and will afford profitable occupation for a steadily increasing number of men and amount of capital. The glory of the "cow-boy" has departed, and he is now a common-place, every-day stockman far more interested in seeing his steers round out, or his sheep flourish, under the influence of intelligent care and good feeding, than he ever was in "shooting up" an occasionally visited frontier town. In 1900 there were about 1,000,000 head of cattle, and near 2,000,000 sheep in the State, which figures will give the reader an idea of the market value of Colorado's annual live-stock crop. The business of fattening lambs for market has grown to very large proportions within a few years, and the yearly value of marketed dairy products has risen to about $4,000,000. The total value of all live-stock in the State in 1900—cattle, sheep, horses and swine—was probably somewhere near $40,000,000. Denver has become a distributing point for a large part of the business attending this industry, and of the extent to which she has become so, some account is given elsewhere in this volume in connection with what is said of the commercial and manufacturing interests of the city.

The coal measures of Colorado are enormous, and it is not extravagant to say that they are inexhaustible so far as many succeeding generations of men will need to be concerned. In the twenty-nine counties of the State underlying the surface of which coal exists, the aggregate area of the measures is 18,100 square miles. The coal includes all grades and varieties; from the hard, bright anthracites, through the bituminous albertites to the semi-bituminous, clean lignites or Cretaceous coals. The bituminous yields superior illuminating gas and produces an excellent quality of coke. Estimates of geologists and mining engineers make the available supply 45,197,100,000 tons, though we are not sure that they know within a few billions of tons one way or the other. Colorado coal has not yet been given the general distribution its good qualities, its abundance and its location with respect to the great central-west territory of fuel consumption, would seem to entitle it, although its market is steadily expanding and the output of the mines for distant shipment likewise increasing every year. The railways have been charged with neglect of Colorado coal, and with discrimination against it in their rates; but it does not appear clear that this addition to their burden of sins is one that fairly belongs to them. The monop-



View in Denver, westward from roof of Court House, 1884. Fifteenth street on the left.

olistic character of control which has practically dominated the operation of Colorado coal mines in recent years, would seem to include sounder reasons for the alleged inadequate development of this enormous natural resource of the State, than are found in the complaints against the railroads which are always hungry for freight. Notwithstanding these alleged drawbacks, Colorado now stands third in the list of coal-producing States, the output in 1900 having aggregated nearly 5,500,000 tons, with a value on board cars at mines of about $8,000,000.

The business of converting the varied and abundant raw materials in Colorado into finished and marketable products is in its infancy. Manufacturing in the State at large may be said to date from the year 1880; yet its beginnings then were small, and its growth for several years afterward was but moderate. It has been within the last ten or twelve years that its expansion reached conspicuous proportions. The larger value of annual products and the larger variety of them are to be credited to the city of Denver, and are considered in detail elsewhere in this volume. The city of Pueblo with its large blast furnaces, steel plants, and rolling mills takes second rank. The iron and steel industry would seem to promise the greater development in manufacturing. Enormous deposits of iron ore of many varieties exist in the State, easily accessible and of good quality for conversion into castings, and structural steel. Thus far the reduction of ore to pig metal is chiefly in the hands of one corporation, operating the great establishments at Pueblo. With the abundant measures of fine furnace and coking coal adjacent to the vast deposits of iron ore, the growth of manufacturing in iron bids fair to be rapid and varied. The mines of Colorado call for a great variety of machinery; much the larger part of it is now made in the State, and its manufacturers also supply mining districts in other States and countries. Curing and packing meat is another industry that has made a robust beginning and appears to have a most promising future. The expansion of the live-stock industry in the central west will call for the establishment of great packing houses in the Colorado cities and towns at the base of the mountains. For manufacturing enterprises of lesser magnitude the enormous, and now to a great extent neglected, potential energy of the mountain streams will probably soon be electrically utilized. A recent computation of the theoretical power value of the streams of Colorado makes it exceed five million horse power by electrical methods. Of course, but a relatively moderate proportion of this energy could be utilized practically, but the presence of such an enormous store of theoretical energy invites greater attention and utilization than it has yet received.

The conversion of standing timber into marketable products is a business that has attained considerable importance, but one that may not be expected to have a great expansion. In the vicinity of Denver and around all the mining centers the timber growth has yielded to demands made upon it, and is nearing exhaustion. While large areas of the State are well-timbered, circumstances of location, difficulties of access and consequent expense, will probably lead to increased consumption of timber products from other States, rather than to a great expansion of the lumbering interests in Colorado. The forest areas, almost wholly in the mountain districts, embrace about 16,000 square miles, the mill timber being chiefly white and yellow pine, and spruce. None of the hard-wood trees are among the indigenous growths, though many have been introduced in the cities and towns as shade trees, and have flourished under irrigation. There are a few native "scrub-oaks" but they are of no value for commercial purposes.

The building material available in Colorado is of exceptionally fine qualities. The granites, sandstones and lavas used in the larger buildings in Denver indicate the character of the inexhaustible stores the State possesses. The granites willingly receive a fine finish, and when polished present surfaces equal to any produced on the best granites in the world. The stately Capitol building exhibits in its massive elevations the superb quality, evenness of color and texture of Colorado's gray granite. The red sandstones which enter into the construction of many of our buildings, including hundreds of beautiful homes, is unequalled by any found elsewhere in the United States. Much of it when built into walls has the glint of coral. The deposits of marble in the State are of vast dimensions and of endless variety of colors and shadings; and with them are great stores of onyx that stands well in comparison with the fine products of Mexico. The clays work into brick of unusual accuracy and smoothness of finish, and the wide distribution of iron oxide results in giving building brick a warm and pleasant color that harmonizes well with the native stone. The unusual general excellence of the building material, and its reasonable cost, have made the standard of architecture prevailing in Denver a higher one than exists in any other city in the country.

The petroleum resources of the State are not, so far as developed at this time, of conspicuous importance as compared with others, and present few features of general interest. The producing wells are confined to a limited area at and near Florence, Fremont county, in the mountain-valley of the Arkansas river. The district has never produced anything sensational; no phenomenal wells have been drilled; old wells give out and new ones take their places, and so the industry goes quietly on from year to year. About five hundred have been drilled, and about one-fourth of them proved ineffective. They are usually sunk to about 1,500 feet; ordinarily the oil rises in them to within 400 feet of the surface and is then pumped out. There have been no spouting nor flowing wells. The most productive well up to this time has yielded during the six years of its life about one-fifth of the total annual product; or 100,000 barrels each year. The field's development dates from 1887, in which year the product was 76,295 barrels. The output rapidly increased until its maximum of 842,000 barrels was attained in 1892, since when it has declined and is now rather more than 500,000 barrels annually. The refined products of the field constitute only about ten per cent. of Colorado's consumption of the various petroleum products. The oil is refined at Florence, though considerable quantities are sold in the crude form for fuel to be used under boilers in adjacent mining towns and at Pueblo. The district affords some natural gas which is used domestically in Florence.

The State of Colorado is great in many things and, while we are not intending to present a mass of dry statistics, we may properly and briefly mention here, in addition to what has been said, some other features in which she has proved herself great. In 1898 the State produced upward of $23,500,000 worth of gold; in 1899, more than $26,000,000 worth; and in 1900, about $29,000,000 worth. Since 1858 her resources have added to the world's stock of gold an amount to the value of $251,000,000, in round numbers; and she now leads as a producer of that metal. Her total contributions of silver have been still greater—exceeding $541,000,000—with a large proportion of her silver mines closed in recent years. For the years 1898, 1899, and 1900 the silver production averaged nearly $29,000,000; these silver values being expressed here in the "coinage value" of the metal. Exact figures of precious metals production are given in a succeeding chapter dealing with mining and smelting affairs. The actual value of all products from Colorado's natural resources alone, approximated $200,000,000 in 1900; or about $365 for each man, woman and child in the State; the market value of gold and silver production alone having been about $115,000 for every day in the year. Values of other products have been conservatively approximated. The State owns, aside from school-lands, not far from a million acres of internal improvement, University, Agricultural College, saline and other lands, the rental income from which now constitutes an important part of public revenue. The values of her mining products aside from the precious metals—coal, iron, lead, copper, manganese and other minerals—aggregate in the millions; and the annual values of her manufactured goods aggregate many other millions, her millers alone making the equivalent of a million barrels of flour. Yet, the conviction that the varied resources of our State have, outside of mining for the precious metals, made but the beginning of their development, is unquestionably well founded. No intelligent observer believes otherwise, nor is there any reason for believing otherwise.

The increase of population in the State since 1890 (when the number was 412,198), has been steady and rather above the average of the other States. By the census of 1900 the population, exclusive of 597 Indians, was 539,700; an increase of 30.9 per cent. Fifteen counties—Baca, Kiowa, Kit Carson, Ouray, Park, Phillips, Pitkin, Sedgwick, Washington, Cheyenne, Clear Creek, Custer, Dolores, Eagle and Yuma—had reduced populations, ranging from 1 per cent. in Custer to 50 per cent. in Sedgwick. The gains in the other counties ranged from 3.8 per cent. in Douglas, to 174.8 in Otero. The figures of that census revealed a decided tendency to great increase of population in agricultural counties in whch irrigation is available. This increase of population entitled Colorado to another Congressman, and the re-apportionment bill pending in Congress at the time our record closed provided for the State having three Representatives in that body. The total vote in the State at the election in November, 1900, for Presidential electors, was 215,703, of which 122,733 were Democratic, and 93,039 Republican.

The tax duplicate of the State as assessed in 1900 was $216,776,356, an increase of about $13,000,000 since 1899, when it was $203,486,692. The figures for 1900 do not represent the highest valuation in the State's history. The maximum was reached in 1892 with $236,000,000, from which there was a steady recession until 1898, when the sum was $192,243,080. It is probable that assessments do not stand for much more than one-third the real value of all the taxable property in the State. The tax levy fixed in 1900 for general State purposes was the constitutional limit—four mills; to which was added a special levy of one-tenth of a mill for interest on insurrection bonds, and a poll-tax of $1.00 on each male inhabitant of lawful age. Outside the bonded Capitol-building debt the State now (close of 1900) has a floating debt of outstanding warrants of $2,073,000. But when the value of lands and other property owned by the State is set over against the amount she owes, her balance of assets is tremendously in excess of liabilities. Taking the whole State under consideration, the years 1899 and 1900 were the most prosperous in general development in her history, not excepting any in the palmy days of silver mining; and 1901 bids fair to excel either of them.

If, in the presence of all that has been done in these few years that cover but little more than half the period allotted to man as the bounds of his existence in this world, it seems evident that it represents but the preparatory work, who will undertake to outline the development of Colorado in a like period reaching into the future? Who would consent to predict the measures of her growth in population and wealth as they will be fifty years hence? Who would dream of attempting to define her position among the commonwealths of the earth in the closing year of the next century?

CHAPTER LII.

Arapahoe County—Its History Prior to Founding of Denver—Origin in 1855—Election in 1856—County Establishments in Our Pioneer Times—Multiplicity of Elections and Officers—Organization Under Colorado Territory—Transition from Territory to State—Pioneer Court Houses—Investments in Railways—County Buildings—County Domain—Valuations and Tax Levies—Population—County Towns—Topography, and Character of Land.

Much of the pioneer history of Arapahoe county has been interwoven in our accounts of the founding of Denver and of the pioneer era in the city. Yet, there remain some additional details of the early times to be narrated; and these, although involving a few repetitions, have been reserved for consideration in connection with the subsequent development of the county establishment. As the reader will have seen, the principal scenes and incidents associated with the first actual settlement of Colorado were enacted upon the soil of Arapahoe county, the attempts at providing an organization for which, in 1858-59, confused and irregular as they were, were the first endeavors to actually establish civil government on its soil; for the organizations of the pioneer town companies included no provisions for such government, nor for any government; nor had the founders of the pioneer settlements any authority to make such provisions.

The history of Arapahoe county, as indicated in a preceding chapter, ante-dates that of the city of Denver by several years. This fact appears to have been hitherto overlooked, and was brought to light in a substantiated form by a search through the records of Kansas Territory instituted at Topeka for this work. Arapahoe county, as a legislative creation, dates from August 25, 1855; and did not arise here in a kind of spontaneous form, after the founders of the Cherry creek towns located on the site of Denver. The Territory of Kansas was created by Congress in 1854, and among the acts of the Territory's first Legislature was the following:

Be it Enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, as follows:

Section 1. All that part of the Territory of Kansas, described within the following limits, to-wit: Beginning at the northeast corner of New Mexico, running thence north to the south line of Nebraska and north line of Kansas; thence along said line to the east line of Utah territory; thence along said line between Utah and Kansas territories, to where said line strikes New Mexico; thence along said line between said New Mexico and the territory of Kansas, to the place of beginning, shall be, and is hereby declared to constitute a county, to be known as Arapahoe county.

Sec. 2. Allen P. Tibbitts is hereby appointed judge of the probate court of Arapahoe county. Said court to be held at such place in said county as the said judge shall deem best for the interest of the citizens of said county. Provided, always, that the place designated as the county seat shall be one place of holding said court, at which place shall be kept the records of said court, where all official business shall be transacted in vacation.

Sec. 3. All county officers shall hold their offices at said county seat.

Sec. 4. The said judge of probate shall have power to appoint such officers of the county as are specified in this act, but not appointed, and justify the same; all such appointments made by judge of probate shall be entered of record.

Sec. 5. The judge of probate shall not be ineligible to fill any other office in the county, not conflicting with the duties of probate judge.

Sec. 6. Allen P. Tibbitts, Levi Mitchell, and Jonathan Atwood, are hereby appointed commissioners to locate the county seat; said county seat to be known by the name of Mountain City; said commissioners, so appointed, to be and constitute the board of county commissioners to transact county business.

Sec. 7. James Stringfellow is hereby appointed clerk of the county or probate court who, by virtue of his office, shall be ex-officio recorder.

Sec. 8. The said judge of probate shall have full power to appoint a justice or justices of the peace, within and for said county, who shall hold his or their offices at the place designated by said judge.

Sec. 9. There shall be appointed by said judge, one sheriff, one treasurer (who shall be ex-officio assessor), and one surveyor.

Sec. 10. All persons appointed under the provisions of this act shall hold their offices until the first general election thereafter, at which time said offices shall be filled by elections.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

John H. Stringfellow,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
Thos. Johnson, President of the Senate.
Approved August 25, 1855.
Dan. Woodson, Acting Governor.

It is hardly necessary to state that this act was not followed by the institution of a county government in this then remote region; that is to say, the county officers appointed and provided for by that law never entered the county's domain to establish themselves in authority. So far as could be learned, Probate Judge Allen P. Tibbitts, Clerk Stringfellow, and Commissioners Mitchell and Atwood never started in the direction of Pike's Peak, and never saw the land over which they were given dominion by that act of 1855. Still, there were other patriots in Kansas in those days, and a few of these who were either on the borderland of Arapahoe, or went there especially for the purpose, held an election in, or for, the county in 1856.

The Arapahoe county organic act constitutes Chapter 37 of the "Laws of 1855," Kansas Territory. The Territorial general election laws of 1855 provided that elections for Representatives in the Legislature, and for all other elective officers, should be held on the first Monday in October, 1856, and on the first Monday in October in every year thereafter. Section 1, of Chapter 38 of the laws of 1855, provided that "the County of Arapahoe shall, at the general election every year thereafter, elect one Representative to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas."

The first general election in the Territory after the enactment of these laws, was held in October, 1856. On the 6th of that October an election was held in Arapahoe county—the first one in all this Pike's Peak region. The following return by the Judges and Clerks of that election is a copy of the original on file in the office of the Secretary of State, of the State of Kansas, at Topeka—"Arapahoe District" referring to the Council (or Senate) district of which Arapahoe county was nominally a part:

"Arapahoe District,
Kansas Territory."

"The following is the Poll Book of an election held for Arapahoe County at the house of James Lenard at a place called Syracuse Creek in that district of Kansas Territory lying between Marshall County and Arapahoe County on the Sixth day of October 1856 for a Member of the House of Representatives of the next Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory, for Arapahoe County; for a Member of the Council of the district in which Arapahoe is included; for one delegate in the next term of the present session of Congress, and for a convention or no convention to frame a State constitution, which was held in pursuance of law and the proclamation of the Governor, etc.

The following vote was cast for said officers for Arapahoe County, Kansas Territory:

1. H. W. Wright,
2. J. T. Price,
3. J. W. Harris,
4. H. E. Hardy,
5. John Welch,
6. E. Gleason,
7. David Lenard,
8. James Lenard,
9. Patrick Welch,
10. B. F. Simmons,
11. Coote Lombard,
12. John Reynolds,
13. James Reynolds.

And the undersigned as Judges of election in Arapahoe Election precinct certify that thirteen votes were cast at said house by ballot, of which Benjamin F. Simmons received ten votes for representative in the next Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory from Arapahoe County; one for B. F. Fleming for said representative, and one vote for James Harris for the same. John W. Whitfield received seven for delegate in the next session of the present Congress, and seven for F. J. Marshall for Council in the next Legislative Assembly of Kansas Territory.

This Sixth of October, 1856.

J. W. Harris,
P. Z. Taylor,
Clerks.

H. E. Hardy,
H. W. Wright,
J. T. Price,
Judges.

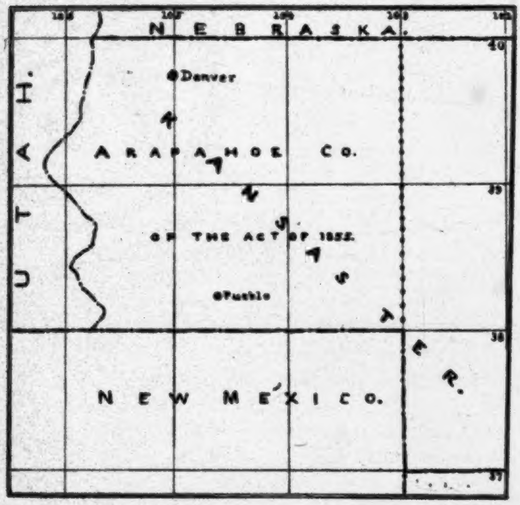
This election, at which only thirteen votes were cast, was held under the provisions of Section 1 of Chapter 38, above cited, and there was no attention given to electing county officers; if each voter had been a candidate for one of the offices there were not men enough to fill all of them, including those mentioned in this "election return." Clerk Taylor does not appear to have voted, and the "return" does not fully account for all the thirteen votes, nor does it give the result on the constitutional convention question. This "election" evidently was one of the many merely nominal ones held in Kansas in those times—a form with but little of the substance.

That Simmons took his seat and served in the Kansas Legislature as the member from Arapahoe county on the basis of that "election" is clearly shown by the old Territorial records. The "House Journal, Second Session, 1857," now in the office of the Secretary of State at Topeka, records Simmons as having been present and taking part in the proceedings as "the Representative from Arapahoe County." That session was called to order January 12, 1857, and the journal states that "Mr. Lyle former Clerk of the last House called the names of the members holding certificates of election, when the following gentlemen presented certificates and were duly sworn in by Judge S. G. Cato." Then follows a list of the counties and of the member or members representing them. In this list appears "Arapahoe—B. F. Simmons." Further along the journal records Simmons as participating in a viva voce vote for Speaker and other officers. It further appears in the journal that the Speaker appointed as the "Committee on Rules: Simmons, Watterson, and Kuykendall." Making Simmons Chairman of so important a committee establishes him as having been a man of influence, a leader, among his associates.

The records of Kansas Territory at Topeka reveal no evidence of any other election, for either members of the Legislative Assembly, or for county officers, having been held in Arapahoe county until November 8, 1859. Excepting for the one we have mentioned in the foregoing, there are no election returns from the county on file at Topeka prior to those of November 8, 1859, and no trace of any of the intervening "elections" that were held here. These facts are essential to an understanding of the status of some "county officers" elected here in 1859.

As defined by the act of 1855, and as indicated by the accompanying map, the Arapahoe county of Kansas Territory embraced about one-fifth of the present area of Colorado, with its east line about fifty-three miles west of the present east line of the State. At that time the thirty-eighth parallel was the north line of New Mexico, and the 103rd meridian the east line—as now.

During nearly the whole of the existence of the Territory of Kansas its embroilments and strife absorbed the attention of its people, and commanded that they remain in its eastern sections bordering on the Missouri river. If the lack of people, and the conditions here in its far western limits, had not forbidden any attempt to actually organize Arapahoe county under that law of 1855, the state of affairs in the eastern were probably sufficient to dissuade such an attempt. After that election by a baker's dozen of "voters" in 1856, Arapahoe county of the act of 1855 appears to have been almost forgotten; so nearly forgotten that these foregoing facts of its primitive history have not hitherto had their place in our local annals. Nevertheless, that county division of Kansas Territory remained, at least nominally, in force and effect until February, 1859; and when our pioneers came hither in 1858, they came into Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory, and may be regarded as having been the county's first permanent citizens.



Map showing Arapahoe County, Kansas Territory, as defined by the act of 1855.

The law creating Arapahoe county, and the one providing for its representation in the Legislative Assembly of Kansas, would seem to have been at variance with the then established practice in dealing with territory, title to which the Indians had not surrendered by some form of treaty. The mere nominal setting off of the western end of Kansas Territory as an unorganized county would not have been so; but to provide a county government, establish a county seat, authorize and hold an election, and so forth, were unusual proceedings under then existing practices in dealing with the Indians. However, as matters turned out, it did not make much difference.

Aside from that election in 1856 and the continued nominal existence of the county, the only specific detail of the organic act of 1855 that ever had survival in the county's great area, was the name designated for the anticipated county seat. As the reader has seen in a preceding chapter, a "Mountain City" became a reality, but not a county seat, in 1859, and remained so until it was absorbed by Central City soon afterward.

None of the foregoing facts changed the practical conditions by which our pioneers found themselves surrounded late in 1858. Communities were established here in a region over which the jurisdiction of Kansas prevailed only in a nominal sense. The area of the Territory as defined by the creative act of Congress extended through here south of the fortieth parallel, and up into the mountains to the summit of the range, where it joined the nominal eastern boundary of Utah. But this Pike's Peak country having then been "Indian lands" reserved to the Indian inhabitants, and also having been far remote from the Kansas government, the Territory's jurisdiction was practically excluded from and altogether impotent in it. The only effective way at that time by which such jurisdiction could have been extended here was by the slow and uncertain process of the United States making treaties with the Indians under which, after the government's established customs in dealing with the red men, certain reservations would have been set apart for them and the remainder of the region opened, by their consent, to occupation by white men. This is what had to be done two years later to legally clear the decks for the white man's action; for, up to the autumn of 1860, no treaties of any kind existed between the United States and the Indian tribes of these immediate parts of the country. However, the white man did not wait for treaties, nor did he delay action in the meantime.

Therefore, the coming hither of Colorado pioneers in 1858 precipitated an unusual condition of political affairs; and one in which the initial movements toward bringing some form of civil government into existence were, from the necessities of the situation, irregular and in disregard of the adverse technicalities that theoretically stood in the way. When Governor Denver commissioned H. P. A. Smith, Hickory Rogers, and E. W. Wynkoop to go forth to the Pike's Peak region and institute a county government, it appears that he intended that their authority should rest upon the old and practically obsolete laws of 1855, by which Arapahoe county was created and officers authorized to be elected in it. But, as the reader will have observed, the laws contain no provision for the Governor of Kansas Territory appointing such officers; the organic act named or otherwise provided for the first ones, who were to "hold their offices until the first general election thereafter," when their successors were to have been chosen by election. If the officers named in the act, in the absence of actual discharge of their duties, could have constructively been regarded as holding their offices, they could only have held them until the next general election; and in the interval between the enactment of the laws and the founding of the Cherry creek towns there had been several general elections in Kansas Territory, at none of which, it is certain, were there elections for county officers in Arapahoe county.

As we have stated in a preceding chapter, a "county" election was held on November 6, 1858, though but one "county" officer was voted for—A. J. Smith, who was elected "Representative" in the Kansas Territorial Legislature. It does not appear that this election was claimed to have been a regular Arapahoe county affair, but rather an expression of the will of the few people "now in the Pike's Peak country." Therefore, it is to be considered as having been a spontaneous outgrowth of the soil and circumstances, and without anybody pretending to have had any definite authority for holding it. Still, some of our pioneers knew that the western end of Kansas Territory had at some time previous been set apart as Arapahoe county, and when they sent A. J. Smith forth as their Representative they provided him with credentials as the member from Arapahoe. The first local record of the county's existence is found in the original agreement of the organizers of the "St. Charles Town Company." But, in the autumn of 1858, nobody here attempted to even approximately define the boundaries and extent of the county; they were generalized by merely declaring they included "all around here," excepting that they did not encroach on Nebraska land, between which and Kansas parallel forty was the dividing line as it is now the northern line of the present county. We were unable to find any local record, of that period, that suggested any definite boundary for the county or that recalled its definitions as specified in the act of 1855. So, things were in such shape here that if it were desirable to consider any locality in this part of the country as lying within Arapahoe, there were no obstacles to doing so; and if it proved otherwise, the place could be left out.

In the matter of authority for having started the one wheel of Arapahoe county's official machinery that was put in motion early in November, 1858, the pioneers who did it were not much worse off than Governor Denver's "county officials," who arrived here on the 16th of that month and found to their surprise that an "election" had been held ten days before. These men came with some color of authority by virtue of the commissions they held from Governor Denver, but it may be said here that neither Smith as "Probate Judge," Rogers as "Supervisor," nor Wynkoop as "Sheriff" ever exercised to any noteworthy extent the functions of the offices to which they had been appointed. One very practical reason was that there was no business for them to do; but, if there had been they were not in a position to read their title to authority very clear in the rather muddled condition of Arapahoe county's primitive affairs.

Representative Smith proceeded to the Territorial capital and secured from the Legislature recognition as the member from Arapahoe; though, if technicalities had been applied to his case he would not have done so. But, notwithstanding that he had been "elected" at a time other than that appointed by Kansas law for the election of Representatives and other elective officers in the Territory, technicalities were set aside and Smith became the first of the enormous yield of statesmen our county has afforded since the permanent settlements were made within its borders; though whatever of definite record he may have made as a legislator appears to have been long ago buried in oblivion. No return or other report of his "election" could be found at Topeka.

The members of that Legislature had learned of the gold discoveries in the Pike's Peak country in 1858, and of the beginnings of settlements that had been made in it late in that year. They also knew that thousands of people along the Missouri river border were preparing in that winter to move upon the new land of gold in the west as soon as spring opened. What part, if any, "Representative" Smith had in disseminating this knowledge or in the legislation to which we are about to refer and which nominally abolished the Arapahoe county of the act of 1855, could not be determined. As the bill to incorporate the "St. Charles Town Company" was then pending, it is more than likely that the enterprising pioneers back of that historic organization were active in procuring the passage of the new county-making law; as the names of two of them—T. C. Dickson and Charles Nichols—figure in it.

Governed by the belief that the western end of Kansas would be over-run by people—as proved true—in the spring and summer of 1859, the Legislature, by an act approved February 7th of that year, divided the western end of the Territory—practically the Arapahoe county area—into five new counties, named Montana, El Paso, Oro, Broderick, and Fremont. This act, in full, was as follows:

AN ACT establishing and organizing the Counties of Montana, El Paso, Oro, Broderick and Fremont, and to define the boundaries thereof.

Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas:

Section 1. That all that territory comprised within the following limits, to-wit: Commencing at a point on the fortieth parallel of latitude twenty miles east of the one hundred and fifth longitude, and running from thence west to the western boundary of the Territory of Kansas, thence following the boundary of the Territory of Kansas, on the summit of the Rocky mountains, to a point twenty miles north of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, thence due east to a point twenty miles east of the one hundred and fifth longitude, thence due north to the place of beginning, shall constitute the county of Montana.

Sec. 2. That all that territory comprised within the following limits, to-wit: Commencing at the north-east corner of Montana county, thence running due east to the one hundred and fourth longitude, thence due south to a point twenty miles south of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, thence due west to a point twenty miles east of the one hundred and fifth longitude, thence due north to the place of beginning, shall constitute the county of Oro.

Sec. 3. That all territory comprised within the limits, to-wit: Commencing at the point where the one hundred and fourth longitude crosses the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude, and running from thence due west to a point twenty miles west of the one hundred and fifth longitude, thence due north to a point twenty south of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, thence due east to the one hundred and fourth longitude, thence due south to the place of beginning, shall constitute the county of Broderick.

Sec. 4. That all that territory comprised within the following limits, to-wit: Commencing at the south-west corner of Broderick county and running thence due west to the western boundary of the territory of Kansas, thence north-easterly to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, to the south-west corner of Montana county, thence due east to a point twenty miles west of the one hundred and fifth longitude, thence due south to the place of beginning, shall constitute the county of Fremont.

Sec. 5. That all that territory comprised within the following limits, to-wit: Commencing at the north east corner of Fremont county and running thence due east to the south east corner of Montana county, thence due south to a point twenty miles south of the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, thence due west to a point twenty miles west of the one hundred and fifth longitude, thence due north to the place of beginning, shall constitute the county of El Paso.

Sec. 6. That Wm. H. Green, G. W. Allison and William O. Donnall be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to select and locate the temporary seat of justice for the county of El Paso, whose duty it shall be in making said location, to fix the same as near the geographical center of said county as they conveniently can, having due regard to the convenience and interests of the present and probable future population of said county.

Sec. 7. That J. H. Turney, Wm. H. Prentice and A. D. Richardson, be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to select and locate the temporary seat of justice for the county of Montana, whose duty it shall be, in making said location, to fix the same as near the geographical centre of said county as they conveniently can, having due regard to the convenience and interests of the present and probable future population of said county.

Sec. 8. That Simon C. Gephart, W. Walters and Charles Nichols be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to select and locate the temporary seat of justice for the county of Broderick, whose duty it shall be in making said location to fix the same as near the geographical center of said county as they conveniently can, having due regard to the convenience and interests of the present and probable future population of said county.

Sec. 9. That T. C. Dixon [Dickson], A. G. Patrick and T. L. Whitney be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to select and locate the temporary seat of justice for the county of Fremont, whose duty it shall be in making said location, to fix the same as near the geographical center of said county as they conveniently can, having due regard to the convenience and interest of the present and probable future population of said county.

Sec. 10. That D. Newcomb, Wm. J. King and George Mcgee be and are hereby constituted a board of commissioners to select and locate a temporary seat of justice for the county of Oro, whose duty it shall be in making the said location, to fix the same as near the geographical center of said county as they conveniently can, having due regard to the convenience and interest of the present and probable future population of said county.

Sec. 11. Said commissioners shall, after the said county seats are located and the proper surveys made, advertise a sale of two-hundred lots of each of said county seats, in some newspaper in each county at least one month previous to the day of sale; if no such newspaper exists in the county therein, a paper of the adjoining county, and if no newspapers are convenient, then it shall be lawful for said commissioners to give notice by posting hand bills at four of the most public places in each county, one month previous to the sale of said lots. The proceeds of said sale of lots shall be applied to liquidating the expenses of the commission and location of said county seats; should an excess occur after the above expenses are cancelled, it is made the duty of the commissioners to pay such balance into the county treasury of the county where such balance appears to have occurred.

Sec. 12. Said commissioners shall call an election for all county officers in each county at as early a day as they may deem advisable; and where said officers are elected, they shall take the usual oath of office as administered in this Territory and shall be commissioned in the same manner, but may assist in the organization of said counties after being qualified, prior to being commissioned.

Sec. 13. Said commissioners shall receive for their services, five dollars per day and expenses; this per diem to be computed from the date they set out for the county, where they are to locate the county seats, and continue until the expiration of their respective offices which shall be in nine months from the date of passage of this act.

Sec. 14. Such commissioners shall receive their pay out of the proceeds of the sale of the first lots of each county seats, in accordance with section 11, of this act.

Sec. 15. All acts and parts of acts in conflict with this act be and the same are hereby repealed.

Sec. 16. This act to take effect and be in force from and after the first day of March, 1859.

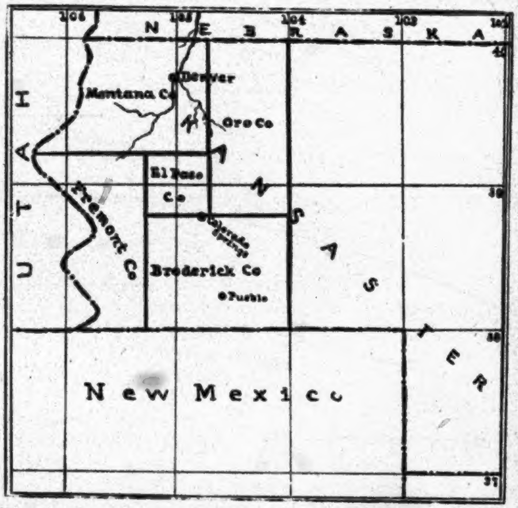
A. Larzalere,
Speaker of House of Representatives.
C. W. Babcock,
President of the Council.
Approved February 7, 1859.
S. Medary,
Governor.

It appears by the records at Topeka that a law making these new county divisions had been enacted late in the next preceding month, and that it had been re-enacted, as approved on February 7th, for the purpose of changing some minor details, one of which was to throw the expense of locating the county seats upon the proceeds of lot sales in the proposed towns, instead of making them a charge against the treasury of Kansas Territory. The reader will observe that these new counties did not, by one degree of longitude—103 to 104—cover all the area of the Arapahoe county of the act of 1855, and that this act of February 7, 1859, made no provision for what was left of the old county area. As in the instance of the primitive history of Arapahoe county, accounts of these projected counties of the act of February, 1859, have hitherto had no proper place in our local annals.

As will be seen in this act of February 7, 1859, Montana county, in which Denver was situated, was bounded on the north by the Fortieth parallel, on the east by a north-and-south line twenty miles east of the 105th meridian (Denver's longitude), on the south by an east-and-west line twenty miles north of the Thirty-ninth parallel, and on the west by the Utah line on the summit of the range. El Paso county lay south of the east part of Montana, and Oro eastward from both in a north-and-south oblong form. Broderick was south of El Paso and Oro, and extended to the southern line of the Territory, while Fremont covered the South Park country and all the southwest part of the Territory west of El Paso and Broderick to the Utah line and south of the western part of Montana. The accompanying map more definitely shows the outlines of these counties.

After the election of Smith in November, 1858, primitive political affairs here rested until the following spring when, on March 28th, was held the first election for a complement of "county officers." Those chosen were S. W. Wagoner, Probate Judge; D. D. Cook, Sheriff; John L. Hiffner, Treasurer; J. S. Lowrie, Register of Deeds; L. J. Winchester, Hickory Rogers, and R. L. Wooton, Road Supervisors; Levi Ferguson, Clerk of Board of Supervisors; Marshall Cook, Prosecuting Attorney; W. W. Hooper, Auditor; Roswell Hutchins, Assessor; and C. M. Steinberger, Coroner. In Denver City, B. Hieatt and H. Sweigert were elected Justices of the Peace; and William Wilson and G. S. Abbie, Constables. In Auraria, John Graves and F. F. Brune, Justices; and S. M. Rooker and W. G. Taylor, Constables.

The absence of all official and other adequate record of this election, both here and at Topeka, made it impossible for us to account for it in an entirely satisfactory manner. At the time it was held the Cherry creek towns were, under the act of preceding February 7th, at least nominally in Montana county; but, as we have said, there are no returns or other trace at Topeka of any election held in the west end of Kansas Territory in 1859 prior to November 8th, and the reminiscences of the few Denver survivors who participated in this one have not cleared away the uncertainties. While this election appears to have been at least nominally held as a Kansas affair, we were unable to determine whether it were the intention to elect, and organize Arapahoe county, under the act of 1855 (which had become practically obsolete prior to the act of February 7, 1859,) and in ignorance of the creation of Montana county, or a proceeding to organize Montana county under the new law.



Map showing Montana county and other counties as defined by the act of February, 1859.

Some circumstances suggest that it was an election for officers of Montana county, while others rather plainly point to it as having been one for the old Arapahoe county—a spontaneous movement of the people toward putting official life into that ancient bailiwick. In our history of the "Territory of Jefferson," in which much has been said of the pioneer county elections here, appears a resolution proposed (but rejected) in the meeting of citizens on April 11, 1859, and at which the movement for an independent State government here was inaugurated, authorizing "the late county officers-elect to enter at once upon the discharge of their respective duties without waiting for their commissions from the Governor, after having received their certificates of election from the Commissioners and having given the proper bonds." This reference to "the Commissioners" and to the "county officers-elect" would seem to apply to Montana county. As will have been seen in the provisions of Section 12 of the act of February 7, 1859, the Commissioners appointed by that act were authorized and directed to call elections in the several new counties "at as early a day as they may deem advisable," and the reference in the resolution to commissions from the Governor would seem to make it plain that these county officers were understood to have been elected under Kansas law. Yet, the other language of the resolution implies lack of knowledge of the provisions of the act of February 7th which, in Section 12, authorized the county officers to be elected in the new counties created by that act, to assist in the organization of the counties "after being qualified, prior to being commissioned" by the Governor. Furthermore, if that election were an Arapahoe county affair it was held without authority of law. In such matters as creating new counties, the Kansas Territory practice was to provide in the special creative acts for electing the first outfit of county officers at a special election to be called by the appointed Commissioners; such officers to hold until the next regular election day which, under the general election laws of the Territory, was the first Monday in October—the 3rd of that month in 1859. But the act of February 7, 1859, unlike the Arapahoe county creative act of August 25, 1855, is silent as to the terms for which officers were to be elected in Montana and the four other new counties, and leaves us to presume that their successors were to be chosen at the next regular election; for at no time in the Kansas Territorial period did a general statute authorize county elections in March. Nothing more definite than this could be found bearing upon the terms of the officers elected in March, 1859.

The act of February 7, 1859, appointed J. H. Turney, William H. Prentice, and A. D. Richardson the Commissioners to look after Montana county. Richardson's name is already familiar to our reader. Turney was certainly the J. H. Tierney who was a member of the "Lawrence party" of Pike's Peak gold hunters in the summer of 1858; his name having been usually pronounced as if spelled "Turney." Among the names of those participating in the "Jefferson" conventions in the spring of 1859, as printed in the Rocky Mountain News, was that of "J. H. Turner," which was probably another version of the Montana county Commissioner's name. Commissioner Prentice appears to have been a new figure. Commissioner Richardson, as the reader has seen, did not reach Denver until early in June, 1859. J. H. Tierney had gone back to eastern Kansas in the autumn of 1858, but of his return—if he were Commissioner Turney—and of the coming of Commissioner Prentice, very early in the spring of 1859, if they came at that time, we could find no certain record. It may have been that Commissioners Turney and Prentice hastened here after enactment of the law of February 7, 1859, in advance of Commissioner Richardson and, finding Denver a ready-made county seat for Montana county the boundaries of which had been defined by the act, at once ordered the election of March 28th; but we could find no definite record or reminiscence of their presence here at that time.

On the other hand, it would seem that Montana county was practically unknown at the mouth of Cherry creek in 1859, as it has been ever since. Mr. W. N. Byers remarked to the writer that it was his impression that the March election was intended for Arapahoe county, but that at the time of his coming here, about a month later, little was said of it and little attention paid to the officers elected. In March of that year, as before and after, the transactions of the Town Companies invariably referred to "Arapahoe" when a county name was mentioned, and Montana county is unknown in their records. The pioneer records of real estate instituted by R. E. Whitsitt and by him continued until the Arapahoe county of Colorado Territory came into existence, do not recognize Montana county. While the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News, in the latter part of April, 1859, mentions various local events of that spring and prior to the paper's first appearance, it does not refer to the county election of March 28th; nor do succeeding issues. Indeed, the News seems to have wholly ignored the legal existence of Montana county through that spring. Early in May, 1859, J. T. Parkinson published in the News a "Legal Notice" that he had been "appointed by the Probate Court for Arapahoe county" administrator of the estate of Peleg T. Bassett; and in the issue of May 28th he gave "Legal Notice" that as Bassett's administrator he had "made application to the Probate court for Arapahoe county" for an order to sell real estate belonging to Bassett's estate. Various other "Legal Notices" and incidental references to county matters in the News in the summer of 1859 invariably mention "Arapahoe" as the name of the county.

Nevertheless, and whatever may have been the understanding at the time, or the authority or lack of authority for holding it, the election of March 28th was, as a historical fact, the first attempt to provide a county organization here, whether it were intended for Montana county or Arapahoe.

At this juncture we may as well add what remains to be said of Montana and the other counties provided for by the act of February 7, 1859. As the reader has seen, there is some doubt about the election of March 28th, but aside from whatever may have been its relations to Montana county, it does not appear that any of the five new counties were ever established as regular organizations, nor that any serious attempt to do so was made. Colonel T. C. Dickson, of Cheyenne, who was one of the Commissioners for Fremont county, informed the writer that so far as he knew no attempt was ever made toward establishing it; and it is also his recollection that none of them was established—the law becoming wholly inoperative. The movement for the proposed "State of Jefferson," inaugurated in April, 1859, was chiefly responsible for this. The people of the Pike's Peak country having determined to cut loose from Kansas and to manage their affairs in their own way, expected soon to be establishing counties of their own making. But, as elsewhere mentioned, the March crop of "county officers" was not wholly ignored in the various "Jefferson" proceedings in 1859.

In the annals of that year we found a few passing references to "A. D. Richardson, Commissioner," and in the files of the News covering the summer and autumn there are occasional allusions to "Montana" as if it were something that had tried to be and failed. These, Mr. Byers now says, represent the status of Montana county in public esteem at that time.

The name "El Paso" was given one of the "Jefferson Territory" counties, and with "Fremont" was perpetuated in the names of Colorado Territory and State counties. "Broderick" and "Oro" are entire strangers in the annals subsequent to the autumn of 1859—mere names in an old and forgotten statute of Kansas Territorial times—and "Montana" has only the meager, shadowy history we have outlined in the foregoing. Through the summer and autumn of 1859 while the "Jefferson" government was in course of preparation and while the "county officers" chosen the previous March were nominally holding their nominal positions, "Arapahoe" was the only county name in general use and, as we have said, the occasional references to "Montana" as a county name were as to a reminiscence of an indefinite past incident of little importance.

At that March election a total of 774 votes was cast; 144 in Denver City, 231 in Auraria, and 399 at the five other newly-established voting precincts, two of which were also "cities." Although the total vote was not large, considering that many new people had already come in early in that spring, there were charges made in the Cherry creek "cities" that the "country" precincts had celebrated and assisted the institution of county government by various and sundry "stuffings" of the ballot-boxes. However that may have been, it does not matter now.

But, as the reader has learned, before those pioneer "county officials" had entered upon the uncertain tenure of their offices and established themselves in their respective positions, the duties of which, so far as practical results demonstrated, never were much more than nominal, the movement to establish the independent State government of "Jefferson" had begun. Though we have already and at some length considered that attempt to organize here a new State, and the subsequent but less disappointing endeavors to make it a Territory, these rather frequent references to it in this chapter seem necessary to a clearer understanding of the relations between it and the much-tangled history of our county affairs in pioneer times. The county officers elected on March 28th were, as we have seen, regarded with some little favor by those then determined to cut loose from Kansas. But, as the independent movement through the spring and summer of 1859 gained headway and popularity, the authority of these officials, at no time very robust, steadily became weaker among the citizens. It was not the intention of the organizers of "Jefferson" to wholly discard them, but to have them continue as best they could until their successors should be elected under the jurisdiction of the new "government;" for, as already told, the returns of the "Jefferson" elections were later directed to be made to certain judicial officers in that county equipment.

The rapidity with which the country here filled with people in the spring of 1859 is indicated by the fact that while there were but seven "voting precincts" in the whole region when this March election was held, twenty-three precincts were named by the first Statehood convention (April 15th) to participate on May 9th in the election of delegates to the State constitutional convention to be held on June 6th.

The spring, summer, and early part of the autumn of 1859 passed without anything noteworthy having happened to those first-elected county officers, unless it were the steadily diminishing attention given them and their authority; and with the indorsement of "Jefferson Territory" by the people in the autumn of that year, they passed out of sight and knowledge without leaving any definite record of just when or how they did it.

In our accounts of the rise and fall of "Jefferson Territory" we have related the circumstances under which another election of county officers took place, on October 3rd, the day on which the election of a Delegate in Congress—not from Kansas Territory, but from the "Pike's Peak country"—and the election of delegates to the "Jefferson" Territorial convention of October 10th also took place; and we need not recount them here.

At that "election," at which votes for county officers were cast in but a few places, and the number of ballots, owing to the surreptitious character of the proceedings, a trifling aggregate, the following-named persons were "elected" as officers of Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory—Montana county having by that time practically sunk into oblivion in public esteem and political proceedings:

John H. Kehler, Sheriff; C. R. Bissell, Probate Judge; E. F. Clewell, Register of Deeds; L. W. Bliss, Treasurer; David C. Collier, Attorney; R. L. Wooton, Charles A. Lawrence, and J. M. Ferrill, Road Supervisors.

These did not constitute so full a complement as had been elected in the previous March, but the offices were the more important ones. As we have stated in our account of "Jefferson Territory," this election was instigated by men who knew that whatever lawful jurisdiction there was over this region was that of Kansas, and that the "Jefferson" movement would produce a government that would prove impotent. Yet, Bliss, of Golden City, the Treasurer, within two or three weeks became the Secretary of "Jefferson Territory." The politicians of those days were just as shifty as any we have with us now. Whether this election proceeded upon the theory that the terms of those elected the previous March had expired by limitation under Kansas law, or that they had no legal existence, we could not determine. Only one of the March officials survived in this new complement—"Uncle Dick" Wooton, who managed to make sure of continuing in his office by joining those who dismissed all his associates.

Then followed the organization of "Jefferson Territory;" and as its partisans had in the main proceeded upon the theory that this region was then wholly unorganized territory, it started out with an intention to organize it in disregard of all previous county divisions, and to establish within its domain counties and county governments under its own jurisdiction.

Very soon after the "county election" of October 3rd, its sponsors concluded that for various reasons it would better be done over; and done over it was on November 8, 1859. In our account of "Jefferson Territory" we have mentioned the causes that led up to this conclusion, and the indignation occasioned among the adherents of "Jefferson" by the political operations of those determined to uphold the jurisdiction of Kansas Territory. As we have also stated, at this repeated election of November 8th, voting was done in but a few places, and in consequence of popular hostility to it, a very small vote was cast; the highest number received by any candidate having been 273 for the Sheriff. Several changes were made in the ticket of October 3rd, those elected on November 8th having been as follows:

John H. Kehler, Sheriff; C. R. Bissell, Probate Judge; P. Peers, Treasurer; Matt. Riddleberger, County Clerk; R. E. Whitsitt, Recorder of Deeds; G. W. Barck, Coroner; G. W. West, Auditor; D. C. Collier, County Attorney; G. L. Moody, County Surveyor; R. L. Wooton, J. M. Ferrill, and Charles A. Lawrence, Road Supervisors.

There were two tickets in the field, but the second one appears to have been a mere "dummy" set up to make an appearance of popular interest and rivalry in the election, as its candidates received but twenty-five or thirty votes each. Wooton seems to have developed as much ability in office-getting as he possessed as a trapper, trader and Indian fighter, for at this election he was the third time chosen Road Supervisor, in that year.

Notwithstanding that the October election was held at the time appointed by the Kansas election laws which we have cited, and that the November one was not, the latter was held to have been the only legal one up to that time. Why it should have been so regarded is not apparent. But it was so recognized by the government of Kansas Territory, and its returns are, as we have stated, the earliest for an election of county officers that are now on file at Topeka. This county equipment was not only recognized by Kansas, but it was here, though to a limited extent, before the close of 1859. It may be said also that this was Arapahoe county's first outfit of officers of whose proceedings there is definite record, and which takes rank as constituting its first official organization, theoretically under the forms of law. The existing county records, in many ways, rest upon the beginnings of records made by several of those officers. Still, they were not generally accepted, and as the reader will have learned, had to divide official honors with rivals.

It will have been observed by those who are following us through these annals of our pioneer times, that at the county election of March 28, 1859, no provision for a Representative from Arapahoe in the Kansas Legislature had been made. The reason for the omission is not known. The "term" of "Representative" A. J. Smith expired with that of the Legislature of the winter of 1858-59 and, as there were relatively as many patriots here in those days willing to serve the people in any kind of office, as there are now, if not a greater proportion, the omission might seem to reflect some discredit on the craftiness of our pioneer office-hunters. But the managers of the county election of November 8th removed all cause for any such reflection upon their ability to provide for all positions to which there was any opening. At the head of their ticket they placed the name of Captain Richard Sopris, a pioneer of the spring of 1859, and an excellent man, as that of their candidate for Representative. Like that for the others on the ticket, his vote was small—219; but he was elected under the forms of existing law. He was recognized and received by the Kansas Legislature as a duly elected member from Arapahoe county, and served through the session held in the winter of 1859-60. His more important labors were to preserve peace between the Kansas government and the new one of "Jefferson" that was then doing an independent political business, or thought it was, in the western confines of Kansas Territory. While the "Jefferson" proposition was not viewed with any great alarm, it was certainly not pointed to with pride nor regarded with approval, by the duly constituted government of Kansas Territory.

The first "Jefferson Legislature," which had assembled on November 7, 1859, soon realized that the county election held the next day under the Kansas jurisdiction, had seriously complicated affairs, especially with relation to the most important county office—that of Sheriff, the first and foremost peace officer in every pioneer community. The "Legislature" had not yet divided its "Territory" into counties, and the county of which Kehler had been elected Sheriff, was the Arapahoe county of Kansas Territory, so far as anybody then here definitely understood its extent. Therefore, and to remedy the situation, the "Legislature," on December 7th, after it had divided the "Territory" into counties, enacted the following curious special "law" which appears in Chapter XXXVI, of the "Laws of Jefferson Territory:"

AN ACT

Confirming the Election of J. W. [H.] Kehler as Sheriff and fixing the Limits of his Jurisdiction under the Provisional Government.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Provisional Government of the Territory of Jefferson, the Governor approving.—That the election of J. H. Kehler to the office of Sheriff of the county of Arrappahoe, be and is hereby confirmed —provided that the said Kehler shall not exercise the duties of Sheriff in Arrappahoe unless he reside in the same, and act as the principal Sheriff therein.

Sec. 2. That the jurisdiction of J. H. Kehler, as Sheriff, extend over the first judicial district during the time for which he was elected—provided that he will by appointment of competent deputies in each county in said district, consult the will of the majority of the people of such counties, and enter into bond with the county court of such county, in such sum and manner as may be directed by such court—provided that the jurisdiction of said Kehler shall not extend over the county of Jefferson, unless, he, the said Kehler, make that county his place of residence, and perform the duties of Sheriff of said county in person.

Approved December 7, 1859.

This "act" confirming Kehler's election and making it apply to "Jefferson's" Arapahoe county, and requiring him to act "as the principal Sheriff" therein, is a most confusing "statute." He is first required to reside in Arapahoe county, and is then authorized to act as Sheriff of Jefferson county provided he reside in that county and perform Sheriff's duties in person. How they expected the man to "reside" in both counties at the same time is not clear.

The "Territory" had by that time been divided by the "Legislature" into judicial districts, and provisions had been made for establishing Courts in them and in the several counties; and aside from what appear to be special provisions of the "act" with respect to Arapahoe and Jefferson counties, it was the first intention, as we learned from other sources, to have Kehler temporarily act, through deputies, as Sheriff of the other "Jefferson" counties only until county elections could be held in them under the "Jefferson" jurisdiction. But, as the reader has seen, the intention of the "act" with respect to Arapahoe and Jefferson counties is far from definite. Inasmuch as the Arapahoe county of 1855 included or encroached upon several of the "Jefferson" counties, and as Kehler had been elected Sheriff for that county in a spirit of hostility to "Jefferson," it would seem that it was the intention to make peace with the opposition by conceding Kehler's election as Sheriff, and confirming his full authority in that office in the "Jefferson" Arapahoe county; and, also, though under the inconvenient requirement that he reside in two places at the same time, over the "Jefferson" Jefferson county; thus placing the Sheriff and his friends in a position in which they could not reasonably object to recognizing "Jefferson" jurisdiction, and so having harmony all around, the importance of which was fully appreciated by the "Jefferson Government." Any better solution than this, rests with the reader.

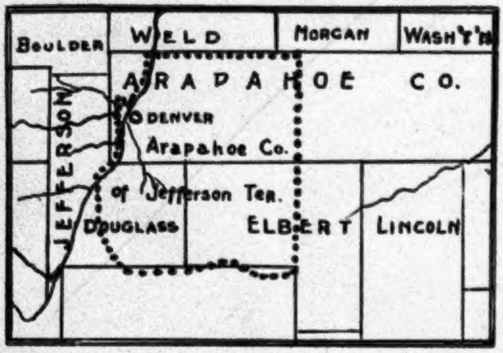
However, the proposition did not work out very well. Kehler rested his authority upon the laws of Kansas, but without having it very securely anchored to them, and continued to act as Sheriff of Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory, whenever he received a call for his official services.

The "Jefferson" "law" dividing the "Territory" into twelve huge counties was enacted early in November, 1859. One of the counties was named Arapahoe, and the one next west Jefferson. Arapahoe included a little more than one-third of the present county, and part of the present Douglas and Elbert counties; its boundaries having been defined as follows:

"Commencing at a point where the 40th parallel of north latitude crosses the 104th meridian of west longitude; thence west on said parallel to the center of the main channel of the south fork of the Platte river; thence up the main channel of said stream to the mouth of Clear creek; thence up the main channel of Clear creek to the mouth of Ralston's creek; thence in a straight line to a point where Montana creek joins the main channel of the Platte; thence up the main channel of said stream to the mouth of the canon at the base of the mountains; thence on the main divide between the waters of the Arkansas and the Platte rivers to where the 104th meridian of longitude crosses the same; thence north on said meridian to the place of beginning."

The "Jefferson Legislature" had also provided by "law" for "county officers" to be elected in each of its twelve counties, on the first Monday in January, 1860—the 2nd day of the month. A county election was held in Arapahoe on that day—the fourth one within ten months—at which the following named officers were chosen:

C. C. Post, President Judge; Thomas Pollock and A. C. Hunt, Associate Justices; Recorder, R. E. Whitsitt; Treasurer, Philip E. Peers; Attorney, D. C. Collier. In Auraria Charles Johnson was elected Justice of the Peace, and E. C. Tuttle, Constable; in Denver City, J. D. Smith, Justice of the Peace, and J. D. Hunter, constable.



Arapahoe County of "Jefferson Territory," indicated by dotted lines.

These men, as will be seen, lacked several of constituting a full complement of county officers; and the Recorder, Treasurer, and Attorney were the same men who had been elected to the same positions at the election held under Kansas jurisdiction on November 8, 1859. The reason for the omission of a Sheriff at this election was that Kehler had recently been made Sheriff of Arapahoe by the special "act" of the "Jefferson Legislature;" and it seems probable that the omission of others was due to the uncertainty and indifference that naturally grew out of such a muddled situation. Counting those elected in the previous March as being still nominally in office, and disregarding those elected October 3rd, Arapahoe had three outfits of county officials. But, as a matter of fact and as we have mentioned, the official tenure of the March crop had withered and finally vanished in the air, some time before; and it was not long until that of this January product, as such, went the same way.

At that election of January 2, 1860, Denver was formally made the county seat of Arapahoe. The "Jefferson Legislature" had previously by "law" consolidated the Cherry creek towns, and this choice applied to Auraria as much as it did to the rival division on the eastward side of the creek. Later a building in Auraria became the first Court House of the county.

During the first year of affairs here the more important records—those pertaining to real estate—were kept by the officers of the Town Companies. The Register of Deeds elected in March, 1859, left no records, if he ever made any. Whitsitt had been Recorder for the Denver Town Company since April, 1859, and after he was elected public Recorder under both jurisdictions, nearly every property-owner here had his deed or his town-lot certificate recorded by Whitsitt. He signed all his entries as "Recorder of Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory," and his were about all of the real estate records that were transmitted from the period of Kansas jurisdiction to that of Colorado Territory. As we have heretofore stated, the Town Companies in their transactions never recognized any provisional government. Officially, their towns were always located in Kansas Territory. In 1864 all of the Whitsitt records were acquired by the county and, to prevent any contention as to regularity of his election as Recorder in the early years, they were by law made part of the county's Records of Deeds, his oldest book now being book A, the first in the list of many volumes of real estate records. Richard E. Whitsitt was born March 30, 1830, in Hamilton county, Ohio, near Cincinnati. Upon the organization of Kansas Territory he located at Leavenworth and remained in that part of the country until he came hither the autumn of 1858. Whitsitt was a man of great energy, courage, and force of character, and was well fitted for his place as the leader and manager of the business affairs of a pioneer community. He acquired a fortune in Denver real estate, and remained a prominent citizen here until his sudden death at the Grand Central Hotel in the evening of March 17, 1881.

Kehler served several months as Sheriff under the Kansas jurisdiction, when he resigned and was succeeded by H. H. C. Harrison, who appears to have been appointed, as we could find no record of his election. On October 22, 1860, the day of the second general annual election under the "Jefferson" establishment, a county ticket consisting only of E. W. Wynkoop, Sheriff; and L. J. Winchester, Recorder, was elected. For some time after that Wynkoop is found figuring as Sheriff of the county; but there is no record of Recorder Winchester. On November 6, 1860, by order of the Secretary of Kansas Territory an election was held under that jurisdiction for a Representative in the Kansas Legislature, three County Commissioners, an Assessor, Probate Judge, Sheriff, Clerk, and Attorney—the last-named three "to fill vacancies."

At that election Edward M. McCook, afterward twice Governor of Colorado Territory, was elected Representative in the Kansas Legislature, and served during the winter of 1860-61. His duties were light and entailed no legislation of importance to his constituency; none having been sought, as the creation of a new Territory here had then become assured.

Our readers will probably agree with us that we have pursued far enough these details of the various and complicated pioneer affairs of Arapahoe county. It remains only to be said that the people managed to get through until relieved in 1861 by the Territorial organization of Colorado. Several members of the pioneer organizations under both jurisdictions continued to serve as best they could until succeeded by those elected in December, 1861. Those under the Kansas jurisdiction had commanded far more respect than the others; and they with the city Provisional Government really constituted the connecting links between the pioneer "county governments" and the first one under the Territory of Colorado. Subsequent legislation, as we have elsewhere mentioned, confirmed much that had been done under the several more or less irregular organizations we have here been considering. Some account of Arapahoe county's judicial organization together with some further consideration of our pioneer Courts appear in another chapter in connection with what is related of our Bench and Bar.

Governor Gilpin's attention was first given to organizing his Territorial government, and this, with the time necessary to the election of a Legislative Assembly, and also with the exigencies of that first year of the civil war, left the old county establishment without a reorganization of its machinery—or, to be more exact, without being made over and equipped with a new outfit of officers—until late in the year 1861. The first Legislative Assembly met in Denver, in its first session, on September 9, 1861. By an act approved November 1, 1861, it divided the new Territory of Colorado into seventeen new counties, viz.: Arapahoe, Boulder, Clear Creek, Costilla, Douglas, El Paso, Fremont, Gilpin, Guadaloupe, Huerfano, Jefferson, Lake, Larimer, Park, Pueblo, Summit, and Weld. The act defined the boundaries of Arapahoe as follows, and they have not since been changed:

> "Commencing at a point on the base line [parallel Forty] where the range line between the ranges sixty-eight (68) and sixty-nine (69) intersects said base line; thence south on said line to where said line intersects the first correction line south; thence east to the eastern boundary of the Territory; thence north on said eastern boundary to the base line; thence west to the place of beginning."

The act authorized and directed the Governor to appoint for each of the counties a Board of three Commissioners to take charge of and direct affairs preliminary to the election of county officers. For Arapahoe county Governor Gilpin appointed

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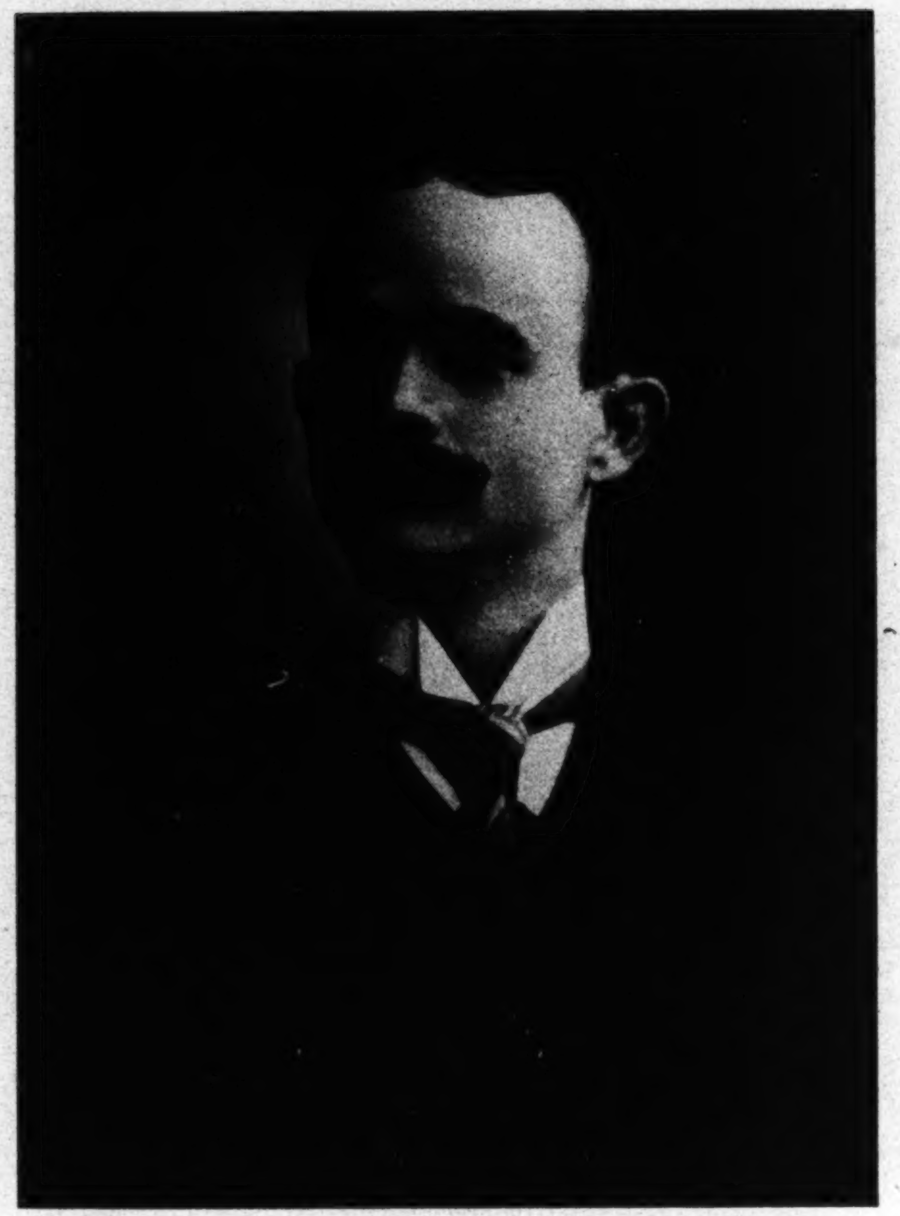
Benjamin Barr Lindsey, County Judge for Arapahoe county, was born in Jackson, Tenn., November 25, 1869; the son of L. T. and Letitia (Barr) Lindsey. His father located in Denver in 1878, the family following about a year later. When twelve years of age he was sent to Notre Dame University near South Bend, Ind., where he remained two years, and where, at the age of thirteen, he had won a gold medal for superiority in public speaking. In 1884 he went thence to his birth-place, lived on his grandfather's farm, and attended the Southwestern University at Jackson. There he won a second gold medal for superiority in public speaking; all the other contestants having been his seniors by from five to eight years. In 1887, when seventeen years old, the business reverses and ill-health of his father required him to leave the University and return to Denver where, soon after, his father died. Having been the elder of four children, though yet a mere boy, the burden of responsibility for and support of the family then devolved upon him.

Notwithstanding this termination of his University course, Judge Lindsey, having resolved to fulfill his intention to become a lawyer, entered the law office of Hon. R. D. Thompson in the capacity of office-boy, and devoted all his spare time to the study of law. His earnings during that period were increased by employment in the mornings as a route carrier of newspapers for one of the Denver dailies, and in the evenings at janitor work in one of the large office buildings. With the help of a younger brother aged fifteen, the family was thus provided for and he was enabled to prepare for admission to the Bar.

Immediately after his admission in 1893, Judge Lindsey engaged in practice of his profession. In 1896 he formed a partnership with Senator Fred W. Parks, under the firm name of Lindsey & Parks, and which soon became prominent among the law partnerships of younger members of the County Bar. This relation successfully continued until, in January, 1901, Judge Lindsey was appointed County Judge for Arapahoe county, to succeed Hon. R. W. Steele, who had resigned in consequence of his election in the preceding November to the Supreme Court of the State.

A Democrat in politics, Judge Lindsey became influential in the councils of his party in 1899, and soon won recognition of his merits. In that year Governor Thomas appointed him Public Administrator, a position he relinquished to accept the higher honor conferred by his party when he was appointed to the County Bench—generally regarded as the most important nisi prius Court in the State. In the Democratic convention in the autumn of 1900, and that consisted of over 800 delegates, he had, though but thirty years of age, come within fifteen votes of being nominated as a candidate for District Judge.

Judge Lindsey is now the youngest Judge in the State of Colorado. Unmarried, he resides with his mother and a younger brother, upon whom he continues to bestow the care and solicitude that have been his since boyhood.—J. C. S.



Benjamin B. Lindsey.

George W. Clayton, E. W. Cobb, and Dr. J. H. Morrison. They met on November 27th and divided the county into ten election precincts and appointed Judges of Elections, preparatory to holding the first duly and properly authorized county election in Arapahoe under unquestioned and unquestionable auspices. The ten precincts were the Island, with H. O. Goodrich's house at Henderson's island, as the polling place; the Platte, with E. McLaughlin's house down on the Platte, as polling place; Clear Creek, polling place at James Baker's house on that creek; Box Elder, with polling place at James B. Conant's ranche; Bijou, with polling place at the stage station on that creek; Upper Cherry Creek, polling place at Steele's ranche; Bear Creek, polling place at Joseph McBrown's ranche; Highland (town), polling place at A. Chaplain's dwelling; West Denver (for the city proper), polling place at A. C. Hunt's; Camp Weld, polling place at Camp headquarters. On November 19th the Commissioners appointed Augustus Wildman Clerk of the Board, and changed the Platte precinct-polling place from McLaughlin's to Sloane's.

The election was held on December 2nd, and resulted in the choice of Samuel Howe for Sheriff; Charles G. Chever, Clerk and Recorder; J. N. Odell, Probate (or County) Judge; C. L. Bartlett, Treasurer; Lewis B. France, County Attorney; W. T. Shortridge, Assessor; Freeman B. Crocker, Coroner; O. J. Goldrick, Superintendent of Schools; George L. Moody, Surveyor; Samuel T. Hawkins, James Brantner, and James W. Weir, Commissioners; and Phillip P. Wilcox and John Wanless, Justices of the Peace. These men started the wheels of the new county organization immediately, and by the middle of December the machinery was all in motion and Arapahoe county was finally a legally and fully established fact.

Some of these officers served the people long and faithfully. Charles G. Chever was kept in his office six years. L. B. France served as County Attorney five years; and as clerk to the House Judicial Committee of the First Territorial Legislature, framed the general practice laws enacted at that session, beside attending to the duties of his office, which were many and onerous; a large amount of business having been precipitated upon it at the outset. Freeman B. Crocker became successively Superintendent of Schools, member of the Denver City Council, chairman of the Board of County Commissioners, member of the Denver Board of Education, and President of the Board of Public Works. His record is that of one of the ablest, most conscientious, honest and straightforward men whose services have ever been at the command of this community.

The names of all the men who have been elected to the various county offices since 1861 would constitute a long list, the appearance here of which would not serve a purpose sufficiently important to warrant us in devoting to it the several pages it would require.

The transition from Territory to State brought no changes of importance to the organization of Arapahoe county, aside from those relating to the judicial system. At the session of 1874 the Territorial Legislature had by law increased the number of County Commissioners from three to six; but the first State Legislature reduced it to five, as it now stands. At the last county election under the Territorial government, held in September, 1875, officers were chosen as follows: David J. Cook, Sheriff; Wilbur C. Lothrop, Clerk and Recorder; Amos Steck, Probate Judge; James M. Strickler, Treasurer; George C. Roberts, Assessor; Dr. Charles Denison, Coroner; W. A. Donaldson, Superintendent of Schools; Joseph M. Brown and A. M. Stansbury Commissioners. At the first county election under the State organization, held in October, 1876, the officers chosen were Waldo Corbett, Assessor; E. H. Kellogg, Surveyor; O. D. F. Webb, Coroner; and Freeman B. Crocker, Commissioner. As will be seen, a majority of the county officers held over and completed their terms under the State government, among them having been Commissioners Steele, Williams and Batchellor; provision for them doing so having been made by the organic law of the State.

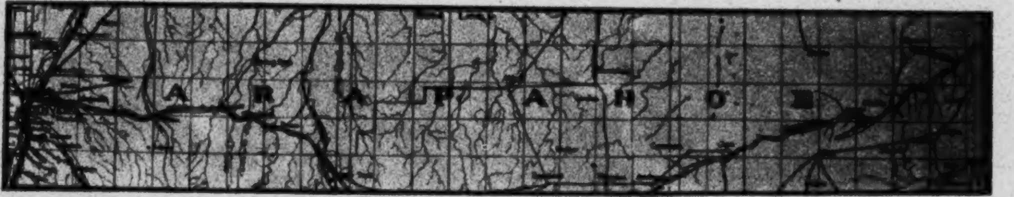
As we have mentioned, Arapahoe county still retains the area and boundaries designated for it by the first Legislative Assembly of Colorado Territory. Section 1 of Article XIV of the State constitution says: "The several counties of the Territory of Colorado, as they now exist, are hereby declared to be the counties of the State;" and Arapahoe still exists as it then existed.

In the pioneer times the expenses of maintaining the Arapahoe county organization were upon a very modest scale, as they had to be when resources were so limited. A few figures indicating both will doubtless be of interest. The property valuations for taxation in 1862 aggregated $1,047,370, and the tax levy was $17,491. The county's expenditures during the fiscal year ended September 1, 1862, its first one, were $10,842. In 1863 the valuation was $1,365,054, and the tax levy $22,080. In 1864, valuation $2,007,298, tax levy $31,277, and county expenses for year ended September 1, $18,338. In 1864-65, on account of extraordinary expenses due to the Indian troubles, special county taxes amounting to $31,09[illegible] were collected to assist in maintaining the volunteer troops called into service to protect the people. Under the rule of martial law, when the District of Colorado was under command of Colonel Thomas Moonlight, the county was compelled to supply stores and other necessaries for the soldiers. In 1865 the county valuation was $2,804,402, tax levy $44,309, and county expenditures $22,051. In 1866, valuation $3,991,151, tax levy $58,515, and county expenditures

$39,861. During the next four years valuations increased in greater ratio under the influence of prospective railway communications, and in 1871, when the lines of the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific were first included in the assessment, the county's valuation rose to $12,115,347. Under the shrinkage of values in 1873 the valuation was reduced to $11,871,908. As valuations in subsequent years are mentioned elsewhere we need not repeat them here.

For more than twenty years the Arapahoe county offices and Courts occupied rented quarters here and there over town, and it was not until 1883 that it had a Court House of its own for its officers, business, and archives. The records of the Auraria City and Denver City Town Companies contain some references to "the Court House," each town appearing to have had a building they called by that name; but there is nothing definite concerning them in the records, nor do any of the pioneers of 1859 recall what or where they were. The Auraria record refers to "the Court House" and to "the public square" in connection with donations of lots in 1859; yet, the plat of their town shows no "public square" nor does it indicate the location of "the Court House." In the Denver City record an entry states that some lots "near the Court House" were given away; another entry in the minutes of a meeting of the Directors held July 18, 1859, sets forth that "the contractors of the Court House were given until the first of September to complete the building." But the record is silent as to who the contractors were, when they were authorized to begin it, where "the Court House" was to be built, and what kind of a building it was to have been; and none of the "old-timers" knows anything about it. So, it would seem that these pioneer "Court Houses" were somewhat mythical propositions.

On December 13, 1861, a few days after the first county officers under Colorado Territory had been elected, the County Commissioners leased from R. E. Whitsitt for the accommodation of some of the county business, a small building that stood on or near the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets at a rental of forty dollars monthly. Whitsitt had occupied the building while he was Recorder of Arapahoe county, Kansas Territory, and general manager of the Denver Town Company's affairs. On December 18th the Commissioners instructed Sheriff Howe to find a place for and to construct a jail. A log cabin in the first alley between Market and Blake streets on the west side of Cherry creek, was converted into a jail; but in 1862 a new prison was provided on the south side of Larimer street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, which remained in use some ten years or more. The Whitsitt building was occupied by some of the county officers until 1863, rooms for the others and for the Courts having been rented elsewhere. In 1863 a building owned by Asa Middaugh, built for commercial purposes, on the north side of Larimer street between Tenth and Eleventh streets, was leased for county purposes. It had been used for school purposes, as we have elsewhere narrated, and the Legislature held one of its sessions in it. The Middaugh building thus became really the first "Court House" of the county, for all the county business was assembled in it. It was so used until 1873 when the upper part of the Hughes building still standing on the northwest corner of Lawrence and Fifteenth streets, was leased for county uses and the Courts and county officers installed there. The Hughes building was continued to be used as a "Court House" until the erection, and occupation in the spring of 1883 of the present real one.



Arapahoe County, 1900

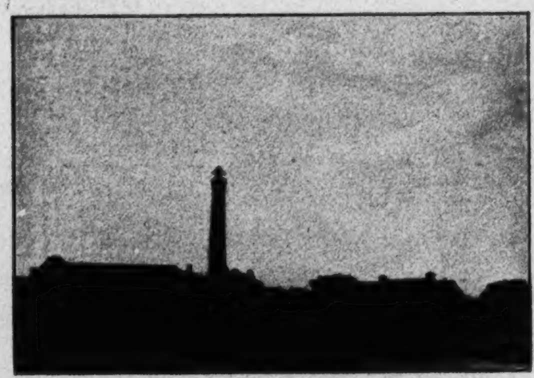
Arapahoe county has been a rather heavy investor in railway stocks, and from one standpoint a heavy loser in them. But, in the broader sense her railway investments repaid her many times, the first one having been the principal means of bringing salvation to the city and county in the construction of the Denver Pacific railway. In 1868 the county, after an overwhelmingly favorable vote, issued $500,000 of bonds (for which it ultimately received $1,000,000 of stock in that company), and thus assured the road's construction. Additional particulars of this transaction appear in our historical accounts of the Denver railways.

In 1872 the county was called on to aid in the construction of another railway. On October 10th a petition was presented to the County Commissioners praying them to submit to a vote of the people a proposition providing for the county taking $100,000 in stock of the Denver, Georgetown & Utah Railway Company and paying for it in bonds of the county. The question was voted on

November 11th of that year and approved by a majority of 520. The bonds were prepared but afterward cancelled for reasons also stated in our historical accounts of our railways.

In 1873, came yet another railroad aid proposition to the county. On June 18th the Commissioners were petitioned to authorize a vote on the question of assisting the Denver, South Park & Pacific Railway Company to the extent of $300,000, on the basis of exchanging county bonds for that amount for an equal nominal amount of the railway company's stock. The petition was withdrawn on June 19th, and again presented on June 25th. The Commissioners ordered an election to be held July 28th, at which time a majority of 1,302 was given the proposition, and the bonds were subsequently issued.

The county retained its railroad stock until late in 1879. In November of that year the Commissioners took action with relation to it as indicated in the following:



Arapahoe County Hospital.

> Whereas, In 1868 the county of Arapahoe issued bonds to the amount of $500,000 in payment for stock in the Denver Pacific Railway & Telegraph Company, of which the county now holds 10,000 shares of stock of the par value of $1,000,000; and
>
> Whereas, In 1873 the county issued bonds to the amount of $300,000 in payment for stock in the Denver, South Park & Pacific Railroad Company, of which the county holds 3,000 shares;
>
> Resolved, That the county sell its interest in the Denver Pacific for $100,000, and in the Denver & South Park for $150,000.

The proposition was approved by the people and the stock was transferred on December 9, 1879, to Jay Gould, who was then preparing for consolidating the various roads that later constituted the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system. The $250,000 received in cash for the stock was prudently invested in United States bonds to await the time when it would be needed for a county building. The interest received and the advance in the market value of the bonds added between $50,000 and $75,000 to the county's cash resources. As the stocks yielded no income, the transaction was regarded as a most advantageous one for the county; and the two railroads had been worth to the community many times the amount of the bonds issued to aid, and really assure, their construction.

It was not until 1873 that Arapahoe county erected its first public building—which was one of the several now constituting the County Hospital, though at that time it was commonly known as "the poor-house." It was not, however, the first "poor-house" owned by the county. In October, 1866, a "poor-farm" embracing something like forty acres, then some distance south of the city and east of the present line of Broadway, but now far within the city limits, was purchased by the county. A small house stood on the land, and for several years it was used for Infirmary purposes. In later years the land of that "poor-farm" was sold to the corporation of the National Mining and Industrial Exposition, and the large building for the Expositions of 1882-83-84 was erected on it. The land is now occupied by dwellings. Early in 1873 the county bought from R. E. Whitsitt for $1,250 about three acres of land now the site of the County Hospital; and on May 5th, of that year, contracted for a building to be erected there at a cost of $4,900, and which was completed before the close of the year. As we have stated, it was at that time called "the Poor-house," but later, when the county had acquired another "poor-farm," north of the city, and in deference to the feelings of those who temporarily became public charges, yet shrank from the thought of being inmates of a "poor-house," the institution was given the name it now bears—the County Hospital.

The other county public building decided on in 1873, and the second on land owned by the county, was a Jail. On June 3rd, of that year, by direction of the Commissioners, the people voted on a proposition to issue $50,000 of bonds to provide money for building the Jail, and rejected it. On July 28th the question was again submitted, and approved by a majority of 1,527. On September 13th George W. Smith contracted with the Commissioners to erect the Jail building, proper, for $26,023. The $50,000 worth of Jail bonds were not sold until February 3, 1874. On the 14th of that month the Commissioners bought from former Governor A. C. Hunt the block of land bounded by Colfax, Santa Fe, and West Fourteenth Avenues and South Eleventh street, for the Jail site, paying $8,500 for it. The present fine Jail Building also stands on that block; this part of the story applying to the "old Jail." Contractor Smith began work on the building and then assigned his contract to Hallack & Brother who satisfactorily completed it and turned it over to the Commissioners September 5, 1874. The old structure is still there and now affords quarters for the Criminal Division of our District Court, for offices, and so forth.

An Infirmary and a Jail having been provided, the next proposition was to prepare for building a Court House, and the location of the proposed structure became a bone of contention that was fought over from the spring until the autumn of 1875. Each proposed site was opposed by a strong faction, and the entire project was condemned by a considerable number of people on account of the expense it would entail. Most of the contention grew out of purely selfish motives, while the downright opposition was divided between "conservatism" and stupid indifference to the actual necessity for an appropriate county Capitol.

The matter had been taken up by the County Commissioners early in the spring of 1875, and on May 5th they bargained with George W. Brown and John J. Reithmann for eight lots at the northwest corner of Larimer and Fourteenth streets, (the City Hall site,) at a purchase price of $10,000, a reduction of $3,250 from what the owners had declared was their lowest possible selling price. This action and the proposed location of the Court House instantly caused howls of protest in which the newspapers joined with great vigor. But the most uproarious of the remonstrances came from or were inspired by real estate owners and dealers interested in property in other parts of the town. The Commissioners were petitioned, and personally appealed to, from every hand to undo their action, and were threatened with injunctions and pelted with protests. Various other sites were recommended and urged, and the owners of several offered them at low prices. One party of about thirty citizens and real estate owners urged the purchase of the block, then on the outskirts, bounded by Court Place, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Tremont streets—the site finally bought—and pledged a donation of near $2,000 toward paying for it. For a couple of days the Court House storm swept the city, and the Commissioners found official life a great personal burden.

The Board at that time consisted of Freeman B. Crocker, Joseph W. Bowles, H. D. Steele, A. J. Williams, I. H. Batchellor and A. M. Stanbury. They were men of high standing, and their personal integrity was in no way involved in the uproar by which they were beset. The site for which they had bargained, although it was conveniently located in what was then the business center of the city, was undeniably very bad—or it appears so now; but the price agreed upon for it was undeniably very reasonable. On May 7th Commissioner Steele proposed by resolution to cancel the purchase agreement with Brown and Reithmann. On this the Board evenly divided; Crocker and Batchellor voting with Steele in favor of the resolution, while the other three voted against it. This official deadlock continued through that summer.

Early in July came a petition asking the Commissioners to buy the then new Arapahoe street school house for a Court House. On July 9th a committee from the Board of Education of District Number 1 offered that property to the Commissioners for $60,000. The building was deemed unsuitable, the premises too small, and the price too high; so the proposition was declined.

The contention over and opposition to the Brown-Reithmann site afforded steady employment for many and equally steady pastime for many others all summer, the Commissioners remaining divided in the meantime. But, on September 7th the resolution to cancel the purchase agreement was again taken up, and passed. Then it was decided to purchase the block on which the Court House now stands. That property, as stated elsewhere in this volume, was donated to the Roman Catholic church in 1860 by the Denver Town Company in pursuance of its policy to encourage the establishment of churches in the pioneer town. In 1875 the title to it was in Bishop J. P. Machebeuf, of this Diocese. The unalterable price placed upon it by the Bishop was $18,000; the price proposed by the Commissioners was $16,000. The citizens who had previously petitioned for that site and pledged a donation toward paying for it, came forward with $2,000, the trade was closed and title to the property passed to the county.

While there was undoubtedly a very large majority of the people utterly opposed to the Brown-Reithmann site, almost, if not quite, a majority were equally opposed to the one taken. It was too far out; it was a half-mile from the business section of which Larimer, Market and Blake streets were then the great thoroughfares; it was out in the country; it was out on the back streets; and it was many other things undesirable, and few commendable. However, as matters have turned out, it was a most fortunate selection, and as wise an investment of public money as public officers ever made anywhere. The property probably could now be sold for upward of a half million dollars.

Nearly five years elapsed before preparations were begun to put a building on the site. The county had become somewhat cramped in its resources chiefly in consequence of having issued railway aid bonds to the amount of $800,000 bearing a rather high rate of interest. But in 1879, as we have related, it disposed of its railway stock received for the bonds, and came into possession of a quarter-million dollars in cash.

Early in 1880 the Commissioners invited from architects plans for a new Court House to be built on the full block of ground bought in 1875. From several designs submitted, those of E. E. Myers, of Detroit, Michigan, and who later became the architect of the State Capitol, were adopted on March 31st. On August 30, 1880, a contract was made with George Kunmacher for erecting the building at his bid of $178,112. Kunmacher could not, or did not, furnish proper bond, and two weeks later the contract was given to Lester Fillmore and Peter Gumry upon their bid of $185,000. These men gave proper bond and immediately began work on the foundations.

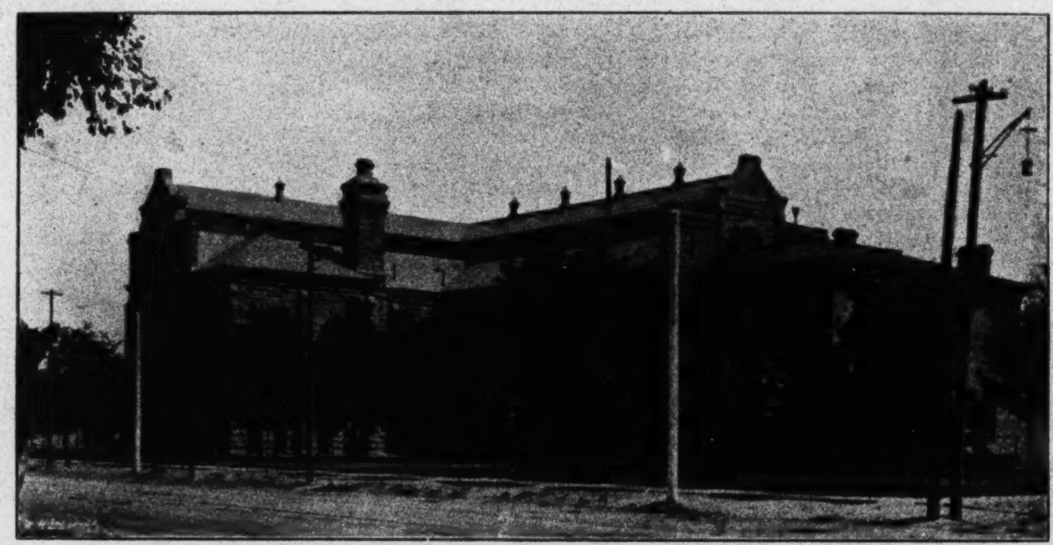
The Colorado Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., of which L. N. Greenleaf was then Grand Master, laid the corner stone on June 24, 1881, with appropriate ceremonies, to which were added a masterly address by Governor F. W. Pitkin. The contractors met with no delay in their work, and by April, 1883, had completed the large building. On Tuesday, April 17th, it was dedicated to the uses for which it had been built, upon which occasion there were more ceremonies and many congratulatory speeches in the presence of a large concourse of citizens. Those who had condemned the site chosen for it and those who had opposed its erection anywhere, were, when the building was finished about as well pleased by it as were the most ardent friends of the improvement. No bonds were issued to provide means for its construction; the funds derived from the sale of the county's railroad stocks, with some added from regular income sources, having constituted the building fund.

The Court House was built of fine-grained, light-colored sandstone quarried near Canon City, and as completed in 1883 was of three stories and a basement. As finished at that time, with furniture, and with paving, coping, foundations and other improvements on the ground, architect's fees and all incidentals, it involved an expenditure of $311,602.74. The ground, exclusive of the donation of $2,000, cost $16,000, thus bringing the total public outlay at that time up to $327,602.74. In July, 1892, the Commissioners decided to add another story to the building, the county's business having outgrown the capacity of the original structure. In June, 1893, a contract for the work was made with Frank Anderson at his lowest bid of $105,000, and by the close of December of that year the fourth story was completed, its cost having been met by funds on hand. This made the Court House as it now stands represent an outlay of $432,602.74.

While the Court House is not such an edifice as would now be built for public purposes, it is a handsome, commodious and well-arranged building, conspicuous, in its spacious surroundings, among the prominent structures in the city; its dome ranking next in height to that of the State Capitol. Its construction was a thoroughly honest transaction. There was not the suspicion of jobbery or neglect or deception associated with it; and the people were more than satisfied with the management of the trust confided to their Commissioners. Those who served as members of the Board during the original construction period were Joseph Bates, Joseph M. Brown, F. B. Crocker, John C. Kuner, Wolfe Londoner, J. A. Shreve, H. D. Steele and Peter Winne.

The early construction on the southward side of the Court House of a fire-proof "Hall of Records" in which to more safely keep the large accumulation of county records, is now under consideration upon plans that contemplate the ultimate erection of another and similar structure on the northward side, which would then make the thus greatly enlarged Court House cruciform in ground plan.

In 1887 it was determined to build a new jail on the jail property at South Eleventh street, Colfax and Fourteenth Avenues, the old one by that time



Arapahoe County Jail, Old Jail Building, now used for Criminal Court purposes, on the right.

having been unable to accommodate the increasing business offered it. On July 6, 1889, a contract for the building, proper, was made with the E. F. Hallack Lumber & Manufacturing Company; and later with the Pauly Jail and Manufacturing Company for the jail and other iron work. The building was completed in June, 1891, at a cost, including all incidentals, of about $400,000. It can accommodate 350 persons under restraint, but its capacity could easily be increased to 500. Built of Colorado red sandstone, it is an admirable structure of its kind, standing in a large and well-kept park. As a public building it is more than creditable to the county, and for its purposes, its architectural appearance is quite unusual. No bonds were issued on account of it, its cost having been defrayed out of surplus money in the general fund.

The County Hospital, owned and maintained by Arapahoe county, is now a large and excellent charitable institution, though its location on Sixth Avenue, between Evans and South Fourteenth streets, is not the most desirable one. There are several good buildings, the older one having, as we have heretofore stated, been erected in 1873. The "nurses' home" was added in 1889, and the "surgical building" in 1892; the three representing an outlay of about $75,000. In the summer of 1900 a fourth building was put under way, to cost about $65,000; and upon its completion the institution will accommodate upward of 200 patients.

The county also has a large Infirmary Farm near Henderson, fifteen miles northeast of the city and on the Platte river. For many years the county had such a farm northeast of the Globe smelter, but the present one of 260 acres was bought in 1898. It is well improved, has good buildings, and for land and improvements represents an outlay of about $50,000. The average number of inmates is near 125. The old farm is still owned by the county.

Technically our public schools may be said to rank as county institutions, and the school statistics of Arapahoe county are chiefly those of the Denver schools, of which full historical accounts appear in subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, and considering the relatively sparse population in the greater part of the county, excellent provisions for education elsewhere exist. The country schoolhouse is a prominent object in every hamlet, and also in the remoter districts wherever there are people with children of school age. In the county, including the towns, and the city of Denver, there are ninety-six organized school districts, and in the year 1900 schools were maintained in all but two. A first-class district is one having a school population of 1,000 or more; a second-class, one having 350 but less than 1,000; a third-class, one having less than 350. The law provides for organizing a district for a minimum of ten children. Boards of Education in first-class districts consist of five members; in the other districts, of three members. The Denver districts Numbers 1, 2, 7, 17 and 21 are of the first-class; the Globeville district is now the only one of the second-class; and all the others are of the third-class. The larger third-class districts are those of Littleton, Harman, Valverde, Montclair and Brighton. According to the last enumeration, made in April, 1900, there were 41,458 children of school age in the county, of which 20,613 were males and 20,845 females. The number outside the city of Denver was 3,365. Of that enumerated number, 32,496 were of school enrollment—15,720 males and 16,776 females, the average daily attendance having been 21,010. Of the enumeration of April, 1900, there were, of the compulsory school-age, eight to fourteen years, 9,889 males and 9,949 females; a total of 19,833; and of these, 8,270 males and 8,439 females, a total of 16,709, were enrolled in the public schools. There were, also, 1,707 pupils enrolled in private schools. In the several High Schools there were 950 males and 1,375 females, a total of 2,325, enrolled in 1900. Among those in attendance at Arapahoe county public schools in 1900 were fourteen deaf mutes and seven blind children. In 1899 the enumeration of children in the county, of school age, was 38,369, of which 18,858 were males and 19,511 females.

Arapahoe County Court House as completed in 1883.

In 1900 there were forty-six male and forty-four female teachers, a total of ninety, in the High Schools in the county; thirty-two male and 544 female teachers, a total of 626, in the graded schools; and fifteen male and ninety-eight female teachers, a total of 113, in the rural schools; a grand total of 829 teachers in all the schools of the county. During that year $532,652.89 were paid in salaries to teachers. The average monthly salary paid to male teachers in graded schools was $103.79; to female teachers, $68.24. The average in the rural schools was, to male teachers, $44.42; to females, $35.82.

The present estimated value of school property in the county is $3,001,791. There are 176 buildings, of which eighty-two are brick, sixty-six frame, twenty-seven of sod, and one of stone. These have 697 rooms and afford 28,487 desks or sittings, and have school libraries aggregating 29,618 volumes exclusive of text books. Text books are supplied free to all unable to provide them. The county's total school expenditures during the year ended June 30, 1900, were $930,844.59, the larger item of which respresented teachers' salaries. $165,166.55 went for fuel, rents, insurance and various miscellaneous purposes; $125,938.95 for sites, new buildings, and other permanent improvements; $6,849.23 for library purposes; $7,304.72 for rebate taxes and fees; $52,404.49 for temporary loans and interest thereon; and $40,527.76 for bond redemption and interest. But thirteen of the districts now have a bonded indebtedness, the aggregate amount of which was on June 30, 1900, $586,100. The general school tax levy by the County Commissioners for the year ended June 30, 1900, was five mills which producted $307,058.81. All the Districts made a special levy of their own, the highest in any having been twenty-one mills; and the average of special levies, eight mills. These special levies produced $551,660.21; and the county had during that year miscellaneous school-fund receipts aggregating $71,136.92.

The domain of Arapahoe county is large enough for a fair-sized State and is larger than some of the Atlantic seaboard States. It stretches in its peculiar, elongated form from within twelve miles of the base of the Rocky Mountains eastward to the Kansas line, being one hundred and seventy-four miles long by thirty miles wide, and embraces 5,220 square miles; all in the plains district. Its area is nearly five times that of the State of Rhode Island, nearly three times that of Delaware, considerably more than that of Connecticut, and about two-thirds that of New Jersey. In form the county is a parallelogram, and its lines as surveyed by United States Surveyor-General Francis M. Case, in 1861, have remained unchanged. Under the first division there were two or three other counties larger than Arapahoe; Weld county having been more than twice as large. The present Routt county in the northwestern part of the State is one-sixth larger, but practically undeveloped. Originally, the Arapahoe county of Kansas Territory was potentially probably the richest county in the United States, for it embraced nearly all the region in which Colorado's mining districts were subsequently developed. But the present county is not now a mining county. Aside from the pioneer placer work along the Platte river and Cherry creek, the gold production of the county, all from placers, has been of trifling importance, and in recent years has ceased to be anything.

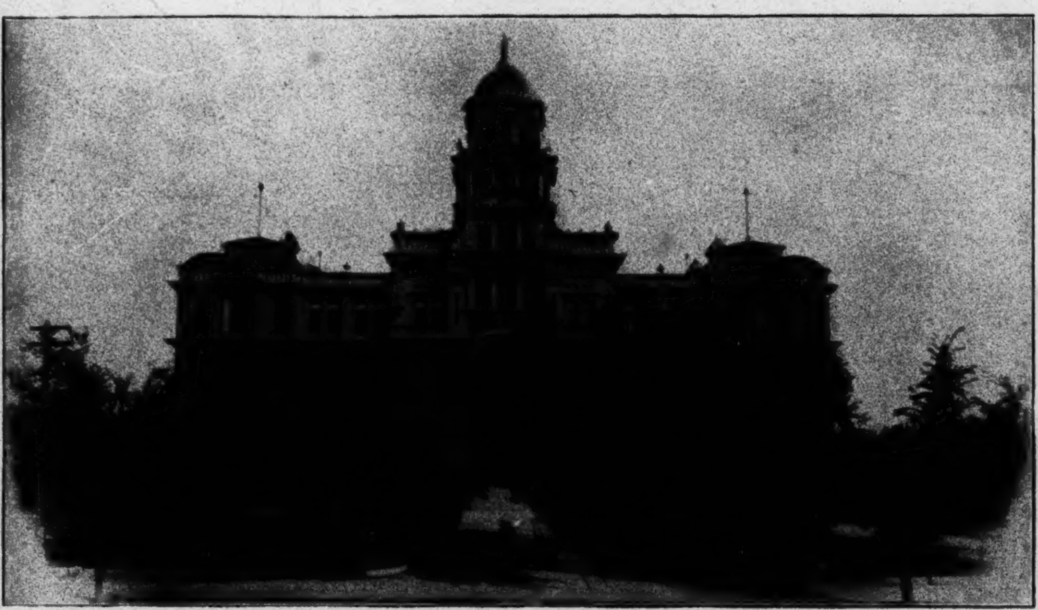
To a very large extent in one sense, Denver, the county seat, is Arapahoe county. The great mass of the county's population is concentrated in its extreme western end—in and near Denver; and, of course, the great bulk of the county's taxable property in valuation is also in and adjacent to the city. The assessed valuation for taxation of all property in the county, in 1899, approximated $70,000,000; and in 1900 approximated $78,000,000; of which Denver's portion was about three-fourths. The highest valuation for taxation was that immediately preceding "panic times," when it reached about $103,000,000. The tax levy fixed in December, 1900, (for 1901) was, for school purposes, five mills; for general county purposes eight mills; to which is added the State's poll-tax of $1.00 on each male inhabitant of lawful age. The rate fixed in 1899, including school tax, was twelve mills; and in 1898, 1897, and 1896, it was eight mills each year, including school-tax. From the small annual expenses of pioneer times, county expenditures have increased with the growth of population and needs until, in 1900, they approximated, all told, $545,000, exclusive of expenditures for public schools.

The population of Arapahoe county, by the census of 1900, was 153,017, an increase of 15.8 per cent. over the enumeration of 1890, which made it 132,135. The total vote in Arapahoe county in November, 1900, was 59,261, of which forty-two per cent. was cast by women.

Outside of Denver and its immediate environs Arapahoe county contains few important towns in all its vast area. Littleton and Brighton are the only ones much above mere hamlets, and the former might be considered a suburb of Denver, as it is only eight and one-quarter miles south of the State Capitol and three and one-quarter south of the city's south boundary. It was founded by Richard S. Little, a native of New Hampshire (1829), a civil engineer who had been engaged in railway construction in the States, and who came to Colorado in 1860, and settled on the site of the town, where he engaged in farming. In 1867 he, L. A. Cole, John G. Lilley and Jesse Estabrook built the "Rough and Ready" flouring-mill there, and the mill soon became the nucleus of a town. Little platted the town in June, 1872, when it was named for him. The mill became a noted one in Colorado and still retains its fame. It was burned in January, 1872, with a loss of $40,000, and was rebuilt. In 1874 the new one was burned. The third structure was one of stone and still endures. Littleton is situated in a rich agricultural section and by the census of 1900 had a population of 738. It is a tidy town with several churches, good schools, and a newspaper—the "Littleton Independent." In many respects the place has the air and quaintness of a new England village. Its founder died at his home in the town on December 22, 1899.

Brighton, a smaller and less important place on the right bank of the South Platte river, nineteen miles by rail northeast of Denver, was founded by D. F. Carmichael, who platted it in February, 1882. Carmichael was a native of Canada, but of New York parentage and, like Little, was a civil engineer and railroad constructor. He was engaged on the Union Pacific, and later in the construction of the Julesburg-LaSalle branch; and still later with the operation of roads leading out of Denver. Brighton is a growing town, and by the census of 1900 had a population of 366. It is at the junction of the old Denver Pacific division of the Union Pacific Railroad and the branch line to Boulder, in an excellent agricultural and dairying district, is well provided with churches and schools, and has an "opera house," and a newspaper—the "Brighton Register."

Beyond these there are no towns in Arapahoe county, out of sight of Denver, of any consequence. The others are mere hamlet way-stations and shipping points on the railways, or small post-office settlements in the interior barely of sufficient importance to appear on the county map. The railroads appear to have as much as possible avoided traversing the Arapahoe county area to the eastward of Denver. The Kansas Pacific division of the Union Pacific Railroad, extending southeastward from the city, has about sixty miles of road in the county; but the others have no more than required to take them out of it by the shortest desirable routes.


Arapahoe County Court House, 1900.

About four-fifths of the area of Arapahoe county is arid and beyond the reach of the present means of irrigation; therefore, it can not be said to be an agricultural county. The problem of generally irrigating the arid area is a difficult one, and at present no solution is at hand. The South Platte river flowing across the extreme western end of the county intercepts all the mountain-fed streams and deprives the remainder of the county of their benefits. Irrigation by artesian wells has not proved expedient or resultful. Only a general system of artificial reservoirs will ever bring extensive districts in the arid area under cultivation. Still, the growth of fruit trees has in some instances flourished without artificial irrigation. A large orchard on the summit of a hill east of Littleton is a noted example. It has thrived by the persistent cultivation of the soil between the rows of trees.

In the general central part of the county are numerous stream-beds but most of them are dry the greater portion of the year. A few, such as the Box Elder, Kiowa, Bijou, Badger, and Beaver creeks usually do better.

In the eastern end of the county, embracing an area of about twenty by thirty miles—say six hundred square miles, the conditions are different, that part of the county being within the so-called "rain-belt" region in which there is sufficient rainfall for agricultural purposes; and is less thinly settled and approaching a fair development. The rain-fall in that belt is accounted for by the cold currents of air from the mountains meeting warm currents from the southern and southeastern plains, the moisture carried by them condensing in the union and being precipitated. The soil in that section is a deep, rich sandy loam, and highly productive, wheat and corn being the principal crops and each yielding well. The soil in the vast central arid region is also excellent, and sometime, by irrigation, it may be brought under cultivation. At present the land can only be utilized as a grazing country for cattle and sheep.

The western end of the county in and near the immediate valley of the Platte is exceedingly favorable for agriculture and is highly improved, being thoroughly irrigated by ditches supplied from the river. All the country in the vicinity of Denver is cut up into ranches, orchards and gardens. Denver affords a ready market for the products of farms, gardens, orchards and dairies, at excellent prices. Dairying has grown to large proportions.

The officers of Arapahoe county at the close of our record and including those elected in November, 1900, were: Benjamin B. Lindsey, Judge of the County Court (appointed to succeed R. W. Steele elected to the State Supreme Court, November, 1900); Frederick P. Watts, Frank L. Bishop, E. E. Goodale, D. A. Rankin, and Thomas Phillipps, Commissioners; R. J. Jones, Sheriff; Julius Aichele, Clerk and Recorder; C. S. Elder, Treasurer; Cass E. Herrington, Attorney; S. H. Alexander, Assessor; Miss Emma M. Herey, Superintendent of Schools; H. C. Brown, Physician; J. W. McGregor, Health Officer; W. D. Richardson, Surveyor; E. P. McGovern, Coroner; W. A. Rice and W. F. Hynes, Justices of the Peace.

CHAPTER LIII.

MINING AND SMELTING—PERIOD OF THEIR GREAT DEVELOPMENT—BEGINNING OF SILVER MINING—PIONEER SMELTERS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SMELTER PROCESSES—DENVER SMELTERS—VARIOUS REDUCTION PROCESSES—COLORADO'S OUTPUT OF PRECIOUS METALS—UNITED STATES "MINT" AND ITS PROCESSES—GOLD VALUES—CRIPPLE CREEK DISTRICT—ITS OUTPUT, GREAT MINE DISCOVERY, DIVIDENDS, AND GEOLOGICAL CHARACTER—RAILROAD AND SMELTER CHARGES—MINING CASUALTIES—LARGE "NUGGETS"—MINING ROMANCES AND TRADITIONS—ELEMENT OF "LUCK" IN MINING—MINING EXCHANGES—MINING STOCKS AND DEALINGS IN THEM—COLORADO GOLD DISTRICT—POSSIBILITIES AND FUTURE OF COLORADO MINING—MINING AS AN INDUSTRY.

Mines and mining have already figured conspicuously in our Story of Denver but, it would seem, not unduly so. Denver may be fairly said to be a consequence, one of the direct outgrowths, of that great industry; and, while we will not revert here to that industry's pioneer aspects, character and conditions, there remains more to be said concerning it, and from what we may term the modern point of view.

It was not until after Colorado became a State that mining in its domain really attained a commanding importance; and it was not until comparatively recent times, as the reader will have seen, that values of enormous proportions were produced. Popular conceptions of results in the pioneer years and in the Territorial period involve many exaggerated notions. As late as 1875 far the greater part of all the mining going on in the Territory was confined to Boulder, Gilpin, and Clear Creek counties. Some placers in Summit county, the South Park, and in a few other localities were being worked, but those in California Gulch had been cleaned out early in the "Sixties," the Gulch deserted and left to await re-discovery of its riches. The whole ore output of the lode mines in 1873—and they supplied the bulk of the gold production then—was only about 150 tons daily. The little Boston & Colorado Smelter at Black Hawk was then the only one worthy the name in the Territory, and its processes were far from the present highly-improved practices. Down to 1876, according to the reports of the United States Mint, all the gold and silver that had been produced in Colorado had aggregated only about $50,000,000. This represented the work of seventeen years, and gave an average of less than $3,000,000 per year. But, as it is probable that one-fifth of that total was produced in 1859 and 1860 in the palmy days of placer work and of the easy operations on and near the surface of the lodes, the average in the fifteen years between 1860 and 1876 was somewhere near two and three-quarter millions a year. The total for gold and silver in 1870 was only $2,650,000. In those fifteen years Colorado lacked a good deal of living upon her own resources, for agriculture and stockraising were not sufficiently advanced to make up the difference. The chief interest now attached to these matters is in the strong light they throw upon the faith, courage, fortitude and determination of the founders and foundation-makers of Denver and of Colorado, who so persistently clung to the conviction that Nature had endowed this region with inestimable resources for the making of a great commonwealth, and that such an one would arise here amid their proper development.

It was not until 1870 that silver mining became an established industry in Colorado and caused some excitement in mining circles. In 1859 the miners had found a little silver mixed with their yellow metal, and some of them not recognizing it, took it to be a different kind of gold—"white gold," a name by which it became commonly known in the summer of that year by the amateur miners. However, the more experienced men knew it to be silver, but regarded it only as a troublesome intruder in their mining operations, and in its then known quantities, not worth bothering with.

Hollister, in his "Mines of Colorado," thus refers to the appearance of native silver in Colorado mining operations just after the close of the civil war:

> "Native silver containing a small percentage of gold, has been found in the Fulton Company's mine on the Crystal Lode in Virginia Kanyon. It occurs in the form of very fine wires and in branches or 'snarls,' in cavities about 90 feet below the surface. This is the only mine in Colorado, within the writer's knowledge, in which native silver has been found."

By that time "silver glance"—sulphuret of silver; and "brittle silver ore"—sulphuret of silver and antimony, had become somewhat familiar to the miners in many of the districts on Clear creek and its tributaries, but they attached no importance to them and made no attempt at that time to add silver mining to the industries in the mountains.

As will be seen in the tabulated statement of gold and silver production in Colorado, the total at coinage value of both in any year up to 1879 did not reach ten million dollars. The increase in 1878 of nearly fifty per cent. above that of 1877 was due to the extraordinary developments at Leadville. From that time until 1893 the gold production increased very slowly, even receding in some years; but the silver output went upward by leaps and bounds. The silver development had been slow in coming. In the early years of smelting the smelter made little account or returns to the miners, of silver extracted from the treated ores. As our statement shows, the entire Colorado production of silver in the eleven years—1859-69, inclusive—aggregated but $330,000 in value.

Of the $27,213,081 worth of gold credited to the period from 1859 to 1870, inclusive, much the larger part of it was taken from placers; probably more than sixty per cent. of it. Placer gold is widely distributed over the plains and in the mountain valleys of Colorado. It can be found almost everywhere but, of course, not in profitable quantities. The metal is known to exist in forty of the counties, and a pan-full of soil taken at random from most localities in either of them would show, chemically at least, a trace of gold.

We have heretofore recounted at length the difficulties in reducing refractory ores that beset the miners through the "Sixties." The efforts and expedients for their removal were many before successful smelting processes were applied, and which took several years to develop. In 1862 Professor Caleb Burdsall built a small smelting furnace in the Nevada district, that promised fairly for a while, but it did not prove successful in its practical operations. Several other small furnaces were built elsewhere in the Clear creek districts soon afterward, and all of them failed to profitably do the work required. The crude stamp mills, and many that were supposed not to be crude, had likewise failed. In the attempts to find a way out of the trouble all sorts of processes had been and were being introduced, and hundreds of thousands of dollars expended on them and for their mechanical appliances; the latter soon becoming worth only their value as scrap iron. So, the prospects for Colorado, and for Denver especially, wore a rather darkish blue.

In 1864, Nathaniel P. Hill, previous to that time a Professor of Chemistry in Brown University at Providence, R. I., came to Colorado to inquire into the mines and mining interests then very much depressed, as stated at length in a preceding chapter, in consequence of failure of all existing processes for extracting gold from the refractory ores. Mr. Hill attacked the problem and after two or three years' work solved it—an event of tremendous importance to the mining interests. In 1867 he organized the Boston & Colorado Smelting Company with a capital of $275,000, and in June began building at Black Hawk the first smelter adapted to scientific and economical methods, in the State. The fires were lighted in January, 1868, and burned continuously, day and night, during the ten years the smelter was in operation at Black Hawk and until its removal to Denver.

This event marked an epoch in the economic history of Colorado and in the fortunes of this city; and it was of inestimable value and importance. The successful operation of the smelter warranted the company, in 1873, in increasing its capital to a half million dollars and in doubling the plant's capacity. Provisions were also made for refining the gross metal produced. The "matte"—a combination of all the metals carried by the ores, and of other substances—had earlier been sent to Swansea, Wales, for final treatment; but later the company had erected a small refinery at Boston, to which it was sent for a while. Then came Professor Richard Pearce, a trained metallurgist, direct from Swansea to Denver, who took up the problem of treating the "matte" at Black Hawk; and soon thereafter bars of pure silver were being produced. For a brief period longer the copper product containing the gold was sent to Boston for treatment. This continued until arrangements could be made at Black Hawk for separating the gold from the copper; then all shipments of base bullion from Black Hawk ceased. This resulted in abandonment of the Boston refinery and concentration here of all the company's business; and also in larger returns to the miners.

Boston & Colorado Smelter at Black Hawk.

These events were followed by a great revival of mining industry. They imparted new and vigorous life to the Clear creek districts; new mines were opened and old ones re-occupied; and a ready-cash market was afforded for their output. It may be said that mining in Colorado then began on the permanent basis that enabled it to reach its present magnitude and importance.

The original Black Hawk plant consisted of one reverberatory furnace, and one calcining furnace, with necessary machinery for crushing and pulverizing the ore. Its construction was an expensive undertaking. Every fire-brick used had to be wagoned across the plains from the Missouri river and cost about one dollar; iron cost twenty-two cents a pound; skilled labor. eight dollars a day, and unskilled four dollars. Correspondingly high prices had to be charged for smelting; the rate being from $20 to $45 per ton, according to the character of the ore. Still the smelter was the salvation of the mining interests. The nearest railroad was not then far this side of the Missouri river and was absorbed in hauling its construction material; wagon transportation was excessive in cost, and all the necessaries of life were high. During half the period in which the "matte" product was sent to Wales it had to be wagoned to the Missouri river, thence taken by rail to New York and thence sea-shipped; all at a heavy expense.

Ore values here in Colorado had been greatly exaggerated or over-estimated by most of the miners, and a general erroneous public estimation of them also existed. Soon after the Black Hawk Smelter went into operation a spirit of great hostility to it was aroused among the miners. Over-estimating the value of their ore, and decrying the prices for treating it, they complained bitterly because their returns were not larger; some proclaiming that they were not getting proper returns even after allowance for treatment. But when they began to understand what it cost to build and operate the smelter, and to ascertain by actual and thorough tests the true values in their ores, the hostility to the agency that enabled them to get anything from their output, soon disappeared.

The development of Professor Hill's processes had involved much labor on his part. After having thoroughly investigated all the difficulties presented in the Clear creek districts, he took a large quantity of the ore to Swansea, Wales, for treatment by the smelters there, and remained at Swansea through the winter of 1865-66 studying their processes; which, however, were not perfectly adapted to managing the Colorado mineral. He returned to Colorado in the spring of 1867—and the rest has already been told.

Early in 1869, after the success of the Black Hawk Smelter had been thoroughly demonstrated, and desiring to make Denver the seat of a similar establishment, the late John W. Smith, a man of much enterprise and public spirit, endeavored to organize a company to build the Denver Smelting & Refining Works, with $50,000 capital. He designed locating the plant in "West Denver" on land he proposed to donate. Some progress was made toward organization, but the project was finally abandoned. Some time afterward the late E. F. Hallack tried to organize a corporation to build a smelter in Denver, but failed.

Upon the completion of the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific roads to Denver a demand arose for the erection of a smelter here to operate on the successful methods followed by the smelter at Black Hawk. A company was later organized and a large tract of land acquired near the junction of the two railroads, where the "Swansea Smelting Works" were built and the town of Swansea established. Through mismanagement, or ignorance of applying the processes, the smelter proved a failure after a short period of operation, was shut down and subsequently abandoned.

Soon after Colorado was admitted as a State, the Boston & Colorado Company decided to remove its smelter and refinery from its cramped quarters in the gulch at Black Hawk to a point near Denver, where it could have plenty of room, be near to sources of cheaper fuel supply, and in more direct connection with railways to other mining sections. A large tract of land was acquired a mile or so north of the then northern limits of the city. In 1878, a new smelter was built there, and around it the suburban town of Argo was laid out. The city and town now run together. The new plant was a large and completely equipped one at the start, and since that time extensive additions have been made to its capacity. The results of the first year's operations at Black Hawk had been comparatively small, $270,886; but increased each succeeding year until, in 1872, the value of produced bullion was $1,000,000. The increase continued after removal to Denver, until, after the twenty-two years of operation ended with 1889, the total amount had risen to about $45,000,000. Since that time the total product has advanced to about $75,000,000; lead not being one of its products. In 1880 the company again increased its capital stock, making it $1,000,000, at which it now stands.

After the Boston & Colorado establishment began operations at Argo several small experimental smelting concerns were built here, but were not very successsful in their work, not important in magnitude, and not of permanent duration. Two others of that general period were of greater consequence. The lesser of these was the Bailey, or Tabor, Smelter up the Platte in the southern part of the city, and with which the late Senator H. A. W. Tabor experimented for several years. The other was the Holden Smelter built in 1885-86 by Edward R. Holden and his associates. The Holden concern was a relatively small establishment, and was the predecessor on the ground of the present great Globe Smelter; the latter being in one sense an outgrowth of the Holden which, however, had not been very successful. Upon these various more or less experimental concerns much labor and large sums of money were expended.

The Argo establishment remained the only large one here until 1883, when the Omaha & Grant Smelter was constructed. This one was in one sense, an outgrowth of the Grant Smelter built at Leadville in 1878 when that place first became an ore-producing camp of importance, and which was badly damaged by fire in May, 1882. Its name was derived from that of its manager and principal owner, later Governor James B. Grant, who is, and has been from its beginning, identified with the control and management of this great industrial institution at Denver. After the misfortune to the Leadville Grant Smelter there was an union of interests between its owners and the Omaha Smelting Company at Omaha, Nebraska, which resulted in the reconstruction of the Leadville smelter, and the erection in 1883 of the Omaha & Grant at Denver. The numerous buildings, furnaces and other structures of these works occupy nearly fifty acres of land on the right bank of the Platte river, in the northern part of the city, and from them rises to a lofty height a chimney that ranks among the tall ones of the country and is a land-mark visible for many miles. Since its fires were started in 1883 the Omaha & Grant had produced, up to the close of 1900, about $130,000,000 worth of gold, silver, lead and copper.

The Globe Smelter, the younger of Denver's three giant smelting concerns, was the successor of the Holden Smelter built in 1885-86, though the successorship was more in theory than in physical fact. An association of Denver men headed by Dennis Sheedy, having acquired the Holden Smelter that had been continued in rather unsuccessful operation, on January 16, 1889, incorporated the Globe Smelting & Refining Company. The new organization took over the Holden property that was situated on an easy elevation on the left bank of the Platte river and to the northward of the Argo and the Omaha & Grant establishments. In the spring of 1889 additional and adjoining land sufficient to make a tract of 140 acres was purchased, that afforded room for a greatly enlarged smelting plant. Upon land south of this, the suburban town

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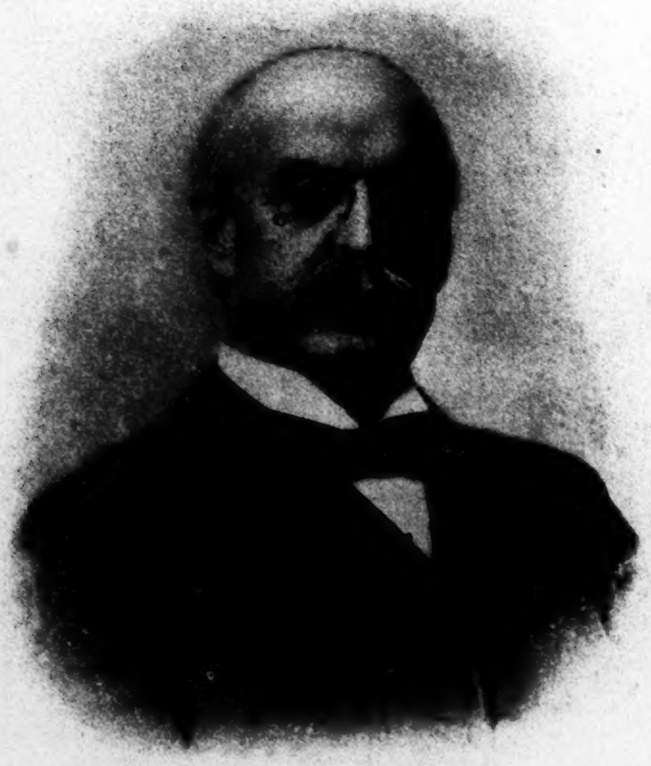
Nathaniel P. Hill was born in Orange County, N. Y., February 18, 1832. The son of a farmer of the same name and who had served several terms in the New York Legislature, the death of the father in 1842 soon placed unusual responsibilities upon the boy; for, at the age of sixteen, he assumed charge and active management of the family estate. After several years' attendance at the Montgomery, N. Y., Academy, young Hill, at the age of twenty-one, entered Brown University at Providence, R. I., where he was graduated. After graduation he became a member of the University's faculty; in 1858 was appointed Instructor in Chemistry; and in 1859 was advanced to the Chair of Chemistry which he filled nearly five years and demonstrated his ability as a man of great scientific attainments. Of his coming to Colorado in 1864, of his attack upon the vital and most difficult problem of reducing our refractory ores, of his success in dealing with them after so many others had failed, and of the founding of the Black Hawk Smelter out of which later grew the great Boston and Colorado Smelter at Denver, the circumstances are related in detail on these pages. His solution of the then most grave and menacing problem of successfully dealing with our ores marked an epoch in the affairs of Colorado, and made him one of the most conspicuous two men among those who rank as builders of our Commonwealth.

Professor Hill's first home in Colorado was at Black Hawk. In 1871 he was elected Mayor of that town, as which he served two years. In 1871 he was also elected the Gilpin county member of the upper branch of the Ninth Legislative Assembly (Territorial). When the Black Hawk Smelter was removed to Denver in 1878, Professor Hill transferred his residence to this city where it remained until his death. A Republican in politics, his election to the United States Senate was urged by some of his friends, in 1876; and in January, 1879, he was chosen to succeed Jerome B. Chaffee in that high office for a term of six years by the Second General Assembly of the State. As a Senator his services were brilliant and secured enactment of several laws of commanding importance to his State. In the debates upon the great public questions of that time—especially those of public financial policies—he became a leader where leadership is attained by but few, and made a record for ability that is not an obscure part of our National history. One consequence of this was his appointment by President Harrison in January, 1891, a member of the International American Monetary Commission, the object of which was to secure uniform coinage by all the nations of the American continent.

In July, 1887, soon after his retirement from the Senate, Senator Hill became interested in operations in the Colorado oil field at and around Florence, and united under the corporate name "United Oil Company" several struggling concerns that had been operating there. The new company, of which he became President, with its abundant capital was the instrument with which that oil field was given its present important development. In December, 1887, as related more particularly in another chapter, he purchased a controlling interest in the Denver Republican, of which newspaper he was the guiding spirit until his death.

But it was his relation to the great mining industry, and the inestimable value of his technical knowledge and practical services to that industry, that made Senator Hill a commanding figure in the history of our city and State. To the close of his career his chief pride was in the results of his hard and industriously prolonged work as a mineralogist as exemplified in the Argo Smelter. These and his other labors justly brought him a very large fortune.

Senator Hill, after two years of steadily declining health, died at his Denver home on May 22, 1900, leaving a widow, one son and two daughters. He was a good man in everything implied by that term, and the end of his busy, well-spent life, came peacefully.—J. C. S.



Nathaniel P. Hill

of Globeville—to which additions were later made—was laid out, after the example set by the Argo company; and like Argo, Globeville has been reached by the growth of the city, proper, but retains its village government. The Globe Smelter was built in the spring, summer, and early autumn of 1889, and in these proceedings little was left of the Holden concern; and the fires of the new establishment were first lighted on October 1st of that year. 1890 may be said to have been its first year of operation with everything completed and in thorough working order at full capacity. In that year the value of its metal production was, in round numbers, four and one-half millions of dollars, operating almost exclusively on silver ores; the silver values having been upward of $3,000,000, the lead more than $1,000,000, the gold about $280,000, and the remainder copper. The value of the total output of the Globe to the close of 1900 was about $145,000,000.

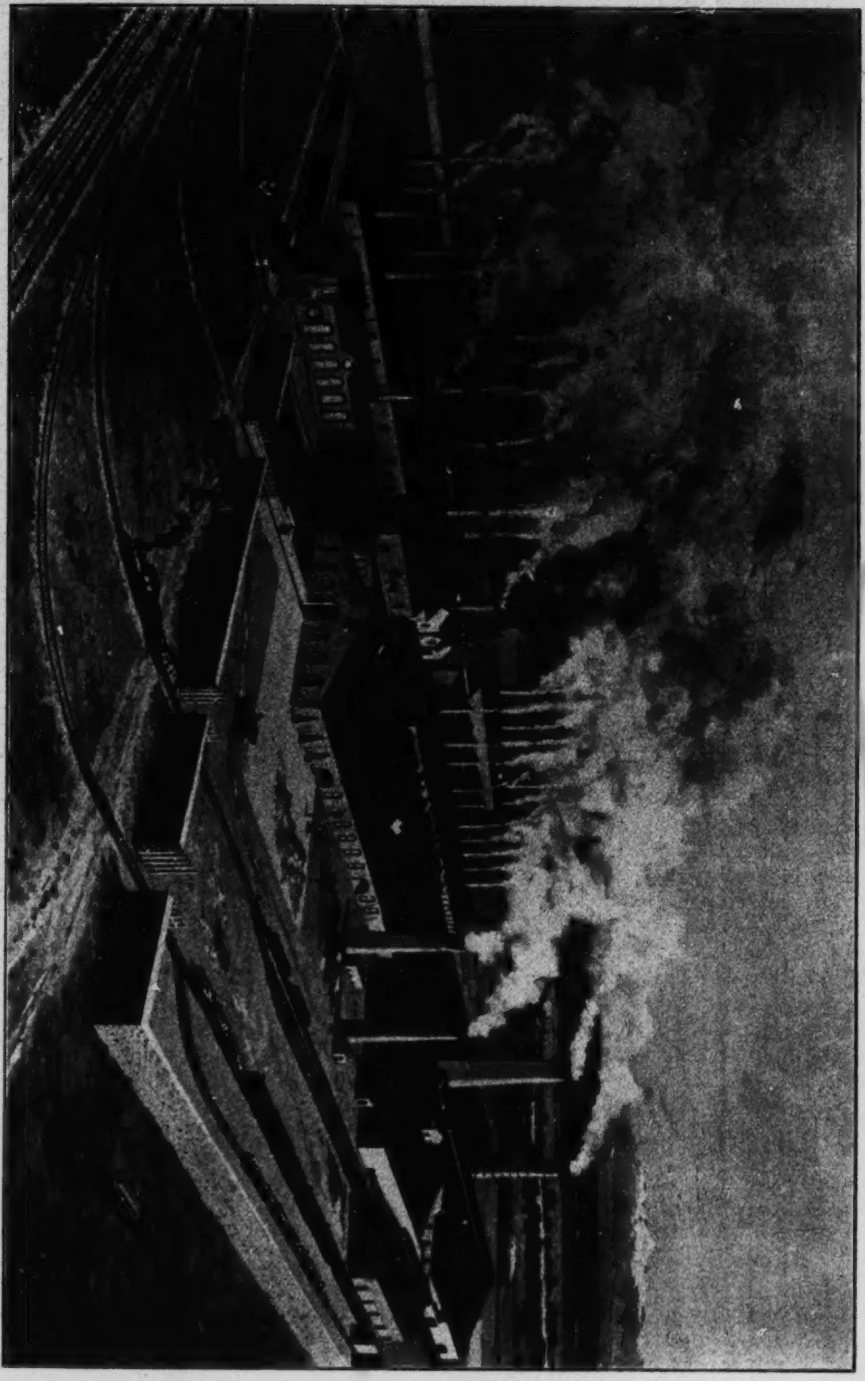
Denver with these three great smelting establishments representing a vast amount of invested capital, is the foremost smelting center in the world; and from the beginning of smelting operations here to the close of 1899 these smelters have produced gold, silver, lead, and copper exceeding $350,000,000 in value. Everything connected with their operations must be represented by large figures, a few of which pertaining to the last three years may be admissible here. In 1898 the Argo Smelter produced $1,304,720 worth of gold, $436,736 of silver, and $195,252 of copper—that smelter producing no lead; a total of $1,936,708. The Globe produced $3,872,146 of gold, $4,260,424 of silver, $137,065 of copper, and $821,085 of lead; a total of $9,090,720. The Omaha & Grant produced $3,697,563 of gold, $2,545,424 of silver, $261,357 of copper, and $846,708 of lead; a total of $7,351,052. These items make grand totals for the three smelters in 1898 of $8,874,429 of gold, $7,242,584 of silver, $593,674 of copper, and $1,667,793 of lead; aggregating for the year $18,378,480 of metal values.

In 1899 the output, owing to the protracted labor troubles, was somewhat less. The Argo, not having been involved in the troubles, increased its production; which was $1,505,702 of gold, $396,733 of silver, and $384,821 of copper; a total of $2,287,256. The Globe produced $4,536,565 of gold, $2,638,371 of silver, $73,472 of copper, and $1,333,322 of lead; a total of $8,581,730. The Omaha & Grant produced $1,570,899 of gold, $2,094,560 of silver, $4,783 of copper, and $1,085,055 of lead; a total of $4,755,297. These items make grand totals for 1899 of $7,613,166 of gold, $5,129,664 of silver, $463,076 of copper, and $2,418,377 of lead; aggregating for the year $15,624,283.

In 1900 the Argo Smelter produced $1,428,406.55 of gold, $352,441.85 of silver, and $629,928.00 of copper; a total of $2,410,776.40. The Omaha & Grant produced $2,096,000 of gold, $2,103,000 of silver, $83,000 of copper, and $1,591,000 of lead; a total of $5,873,000. The Globe produced $5,139,615.47 of gold, $3,476,442.03 of silver, $112,237.16 of copper, and $2,117,303.60 of lead; a total of $10,845,598.26. These items make grand totals for 1900 for the three smelters of $8,664,022 for gold, $5,931,883 for silver, $825,165 for copper and $3,708,303 for lead; aggregating for the year $19,129,374. All these figures stand for the market values of the several products, which were in the main from Colorado ores, though some from Idaho, Utah, California, New Mexico, Nevada, South Dakota, Arizona, Montana, and Old Mexico were among those treated.

The decrease of upward of $3,000,000 in the combined output of the Omaha & Grant, and the Globe, in 1899, from that of 1898, was due to a strike of their workmen in May and continued until about the close of July, during which time the output not only ceased, but large quantities of ore were sent elsewhere for treatment. The strike did not involve rates of wages, but was precipitated by an act of the Legislature of 1899, attempting to limit the number of hours in a day a workman might labor in certain enumerated employments held to be prejudicial to health, one of which was the smelter industry; regardless of the fact that smeltermen, as a rule, are a healthy set of men of unusual physical development. One construction of the law actually made it a misdemeanor, punishable by fine, for a man to work more than eight hours in a day, regardless of his desire or need to do so. This example of vicious legislation, of which we have had a burdensome load in recent years, was, of course, held to be unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court as soon as it could be reached; but it served to wholly suspend industrial operations at the two smelters for nearly three months. No other serious "labor trouble" ever occurred at the Denver smelters since they first began operations.

In the early mining operations silver, as we have said, was but little known or sought for; yet lead and copper were still less so, as they are, practically, exclusively the products of smelter processes. In 1872 the lead output of the State was only of $5,000 value. By rapid annual increase in later years it became $5,000,000 in 1888, there having been up to the close of that year a total of $37,345,000 worth of lead produced. Since then the annual output has steadily increased, until in 1899 its value was $6,051,156; and in 1900, $6,788,232. In 1870 $20,000 worth of copper was produced in Colorado; in 1888 the copper values were $900,000, and up to the close of that year the total Colorado copper product had risen to $6,750,000, covering a period of about twenty years. In 1899 the value of the Colorado copper output was $1,975,518; and in 1900, $1,543,820. In the early years of copper production little of the values were in metallic copper.



Present Boston & Colorado Smelter at Argo (Denver).

It was converted into sulphate and marketed in that form.

In recent years zinc has become a Colorado product of importance approaching that of copper; its value in 1899 having been nearly $1,000,000, and in 1900 about $1,200,000.

The three Denver smelters treat about two-fifths of all the ore mined in Colorado, and disburse for wages to their employees upward of $100,000 monthly. In one sense they are manufacturing establishments; that is, somewhat in the sense that pig-iron blast furnaces are such. But their operations, by custom, have always been regarded as part of the mining industry—certainly a very large and vitally important part of it—and, therefore, they are to be considered in connection with mining instead of as manufactories.

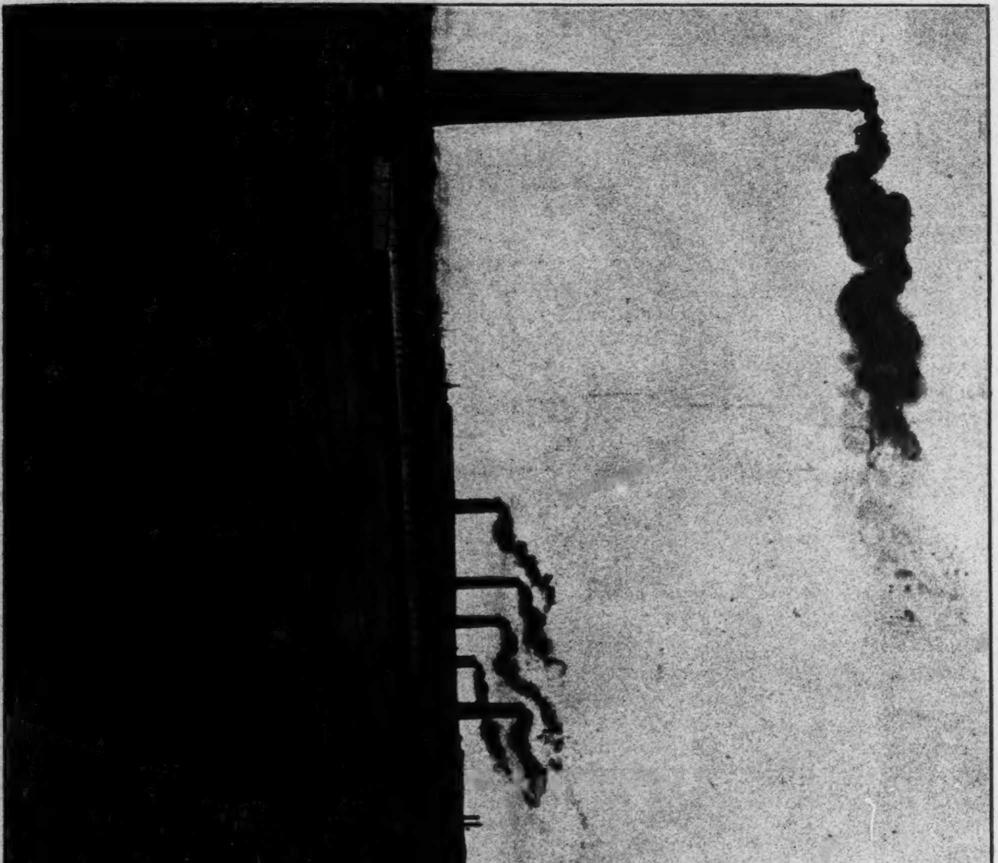
Their economic value to the city of Denver far exceeds that of any other industry; indeed, it may be said that it overshadows that of all other industries. The three establishments employ a small army of workmen, the nature of their processes calling for a relatively large proportion of manual labor and attention, and the character of much of the work precluding the substitution of machinery for the brawn and brain of man. Furthermore, the nature of the work requires that it go on unceasingly, day and night, the year round; so and correspondingly the outflow of money for wages goes on unceasingly, day and night the year round. The wage-rate for smeltermen is a good one; averaging somewhat higher than that paid in other industries for equal experience, skill and knowledge, with the additional advantage of continuous employment throughout the year. Indirectly the smelters bring employment to many additional men. Their operations afford an enormous traffic to the railways in hauling ores, fuel and fluxes; many trains of such freightage figuring in each day's transactions. As this goes on every day, the importance of the smelters to the railways may be conjectured. The Denver smelters by no means confine their operations to Colorado ores. They receive and treat ores from British Columbia, Idaho, Montana, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and some from Mexico. But the fast increasing products of Colorado mines will have a tendency to place the home product nearer a monopoly of home smelters' attention. It is to be said, also, that the methods followed by the Denver and other Colorado smelters enable the ore-producers to realize somewhat better net returns than are received from others. So, the reader will see how difficult it would be to trace in detail the far-reaching benefits to city and State arising from the operations of these great industrial establishments.

Early in 1899 the property and business of twenty-three smelters in the United States were consolidated for more economical operation, under the general ownership of the American Smelting and Refining Company, with a capital of $55,000,000. The Omaha & Grant, and the Globe, at Denver, with seven others elsewhere in Colorado participated in this union; the Boston & Colorado remaining in its independent position. The consolidation has resulted in still more effective methods and an advance toward successfully treating lower grades of ore than have hitherto been susceptible to manipulation on a basis of profit to both miner and refiner.

In addition to the Denver smelters there are large establishments at Pueblo, Canon City, Leadville and Durango, a few less important ones at other points in the State, and some new ones building, including one at Golden. The treatment charges on gold-and-silver-bearing ores are now lower in Colorado than those at the old-established smelters at Swansea and other places in Great Britain where it is generally supposed cheaper labor and fuel render possible a greater economy in all the operations.

The methods of extracting the precious metals by the smelting process are so technical that it is quite difficult for the lay mind to grasp their multifarious details; yet, not all of the details are made public, as some are regarded as trade secrets. In a general way much of the work in all the Denver smelters is similar, but in the final processes they differ; more so in the Boston & Colorado plant than in the other two; those of the Boston & Colorado being rather close trade secrets. Furthermore, the methods differ for each of the metals, the processes for gold extraction being in many respects unlike those applied to silver; and both, also, unlike those applied to the baser metals carried by the ores. Colorado ores are naturally comparatively rich in positive deposits, but they have, withal, very vexing combinations of sulphur and bismuth, copper and antimony, lead, zinc, and many other elements besides the silver and gold contained in them. To free the precious metals from the various and changing conditions of complicated metallic fusion with all these refractory elements, requires many successive treatments and expensive processes which, it may well be said, constitute a distinct technical division of science. The present advanced stage of this advancing art of arts is the result of years of scientific study and experiment and, therefore, the writer confesses that an undertaking on his part to convey to other laymen an intelligible description or outline of the varied processes, would be rather too much like the blind trying to lead the blind for the attempt to find reasonable justification.

Much of the gold product of Colorado comes direct from the stamp-mills, the operations of which are a mechanical pulverizing of richer ores, the gold being recovered from the powdered material as it is carried by water over deposits of quicksilver with which it amalgamates, and is recovered by



Omaha & Grant Smelter at Denver.

comparatively simple methods of retorting. The cyanide, and the chlorination mills, of which there are none in Denver, handle low-grade ores and recover a good proportion of the total product. Their processes may be said to be chemical in their general features, and also to a great degree technical. The product of these classes of reduction works usually comes direct to the Denver Mint. In addition to these are the concentrating mills in or near the mining camps, which treat lower grades of ore for rejection of much of the worthless material, after which the concentrated mineral is sent to the smelter; the process resulting in economy in freights and in final treatment charges.

The Boston & Colorado Smelter refines its product, sending its gold to the Denver Mint, the silver to the best available market, and the copper to eastern consumers. The Omaha & Grant Smelter ships its product in the form of base bullion to its associated plant at Omaha where it is refined, the gold usually being sent back to the Denver Mint, and the silver and baser metals disposed of in the most favorable market. The Globe refines all its product, the gold going to the Denver Mint, much of its silver being sent to the Orient, and its baser metals finding their way into the general markets. Since 1893 silver has, in one sense, practically been a by-product of the Denver smelters, as it has been in all reduction works in Colorado; the great bulk of the silver yield coming from ores carrying both gold and silver, the gold being the primary object of treatment.

The following statement, prepared at the Denver Mint, shows the values of all the precious metals mined in Colorado from 1858 to the close of 1900; those of the period, 1859-70, being estimates, though accepted as close approximations; and those of the subsequent years being of record:

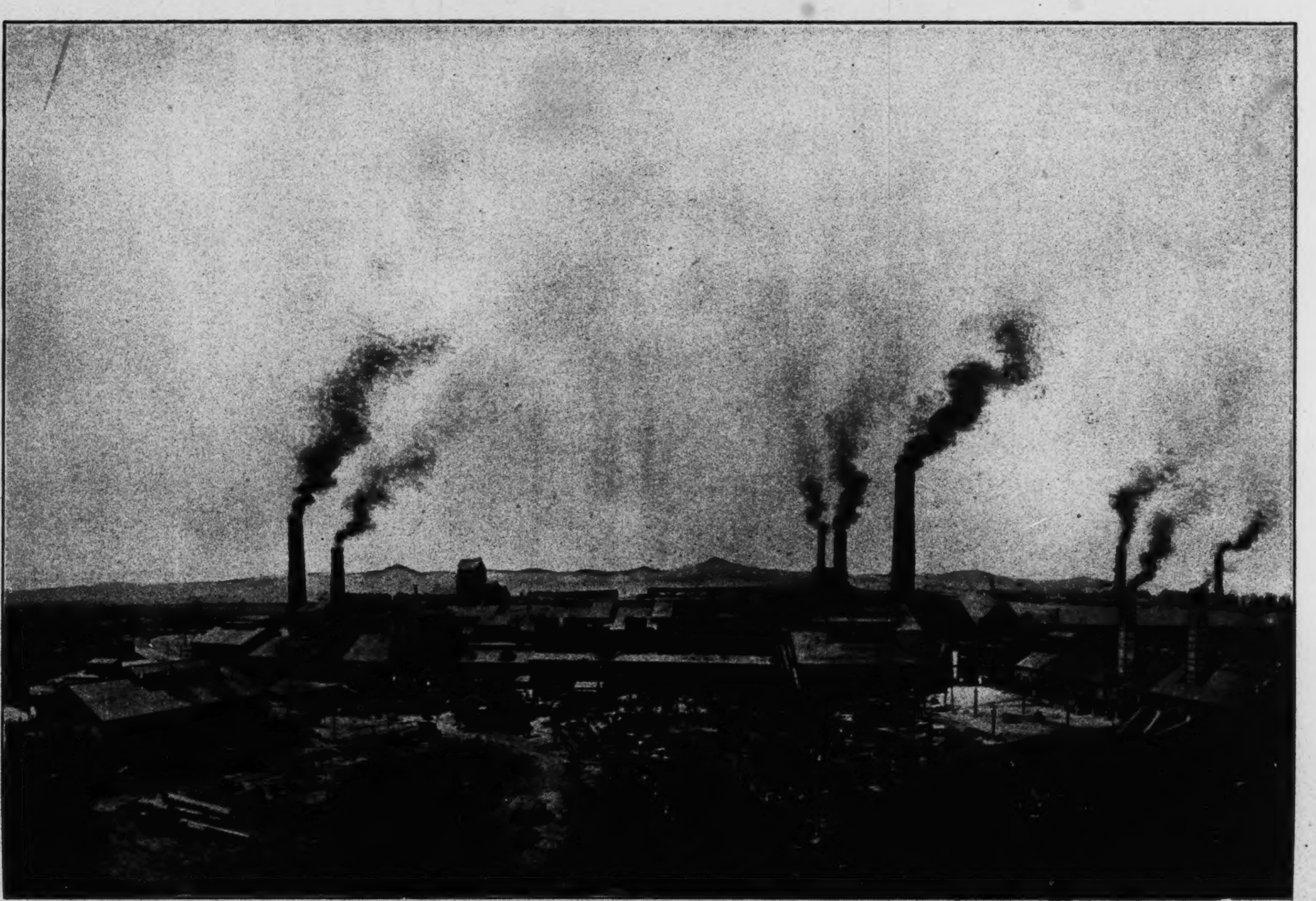
COIN VALUE OF THE GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCED IN COLORADO.

Year.	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
1859-70	$ 27,213,081.00	$ 330,000.00	$ 27,543,081.00
1870	2,000,000.00	650,000.00	2,650,000.00
1871	2,000,000.00	1,029,046.34	3,029,046.34
1872	1,725,000.00	2,015,000.00	3,740,000.00
1873	1,750,000.00	2,185,000.00	3,935,000.00
1874	2,002,487.00	3,096,023.00	5,098,510.00
1875	2,161,475.02	3,122,912.00	5,284,387.02
1876	2,726,315.82	3,315,592.00	6,014,907.82
1877	3,148,707.56	3,726,379.33	6,875,086.89
1878	3,240,384.36	6,041,807.81	9,282,192.17
1879	2,920,326.43	12,068,930.27	14,989,256.70
1880	3,206,500.00	18,615,000.00	21,821,500.00
1881	3,300,000.00	17,160,000.00	20,460,000.00
1882	3,360,000.00	16,500,000.00	19,860,000.00
1883	4,100,000.00	17,370,000.00	21,470,000.00
1884	4,300,000.00	16,000,000.00	20,300,000.00
1885	4.165,794.00	15,824,557.00	19,990,351.00
1886	4,446,417.07	18,209,406.40	22,655,823.47
1887	4,874,387.66	15,668,236.65	20,542,624.31
1888	3,758,098.46	24,347,777.44	28,105,875.90
1889	3,636,218.00	26,559,058.00	30,195,276.00
1890	4,016,229.00	25,788,819.00	29,805,048.00
1891	4,767,880.00	27,295,093.00	32,062,973.00
1892	5,539,021.00	31,478,972.00	37,017,993.00
1893	7,487,071.00	29,482,882.00	36,969,953.00
1894	10,616,463.00	30,704,375.00	41,320,838.00
1895	15,012,434.00	31,075,314.00	46,087,748.00
1896	15,110,960.00	27,859,042.00	42,970,002.00
1897	19,572,137.00	27,178,475.00	46,750,612.00
1898	23,512,819.00	29,971,830.00	53,484,649.00
1899	26,265,487.00	29,679,706.00	55,945,193.00
1900	28,869,392.00	26,998,928.00	55,868,320.00
Grand Totals	$250,806,065.38	$541,291,162.24	$792,097,247,62

These enormous values in precious metals have flowed like a great stream from the mountains of Colorado to stimulate and invigorate commerce and industry throughout the wide world. It should be stated, however, that amounts given in this statement are, after mint practices, based on the coinage values of the metals. That of gold being $20.67 per ounce; that of silver, $1.2929 per ounce—a fraction over one dollar and twenty-nine cents. But, since 1893, the "coinage value" of silver has been a rasping mockery to the silver miner. Instead of receiving the "coinage value" for his output, he gets the "market value" which is a quite different proposition. The depreciation of silver in recent years, and the effects thereof in Colorado, are too well known to call for any consideration here. Silver found its lowest market price, a shade over 54½ cents per ounce, in February, 1898; making the bullion value of a silver dollar about 47 cents. But in 1900 the price hovered around sixty-two cents per ounce; the monthly average in 1900 having been 61.15, with 64.25 in December as the highest price. Therefore, the market value of the silver production of the State in recent times has been about nine-twentieths—less than half—of the coinage value; and that is what the miner now receives, less the expense of production, freight and smelter charges; and that, also, is why so large a proportion of Colorado silver mines that ten years ago were being profitably worked—many of them opulently—are now idle and deserted.

Yet, the Mint's official figures contradict the somewhat prevalent belief that the quantity, in ounces, pounds or tons, of silver produced in Colorado has rapidly diminished since 1893, and is now down to an unimportant level. The money returns, and not the quantity, have greatly decreased. The figures show that the production in 1899 was less than two million short of that of 1892 when the State's silver product reached its highest point; the output being measured by the "coinage value" in both instances. As will be seen in the preceding table of Colorado's precious metals output, the production of silver was near three millions less in 1900 than in 1899.

But the most remarkable thing connected with mining in Colorado is the astonishing increase in the production of gold in recent years. Prior to 1893 the importance and value of gold-mining was heavily overshadowed by the operations and results in silver. In 1892 the silver product in value was nearly six times that of the gold. The gold product of 1894 was almost double that of 1892, and it has kept on climbing upward, until the total production in the seven years, 1894-1900, inclusive, constitutes far more than one-half of all the gold that has ever been mined in Colorado; and has far more than made up for what is termed "the slump in silver." Of course, a different story would probably be told had not Cripple Creek arisen at the opportune



Globe Smelter at Globeville (Denver).

period. Its vast stores of the yellow metal were fully revealed just at the time when silver values took their headlong plunge into the depths. There are those who say: "Blin', blin' maun they be who see not the finger o' God in this."

The history of Denver's old Mint—a "mint" by courtesy rather than of fact—appears elsewhere in this volume. For a short time after the government acquired the property from Clark, Gruber & Company and, by additions to that firm's building, gave the structure its present size and appearance, it ranked as a mint, though the government coined no money there. But, soon afterward the establishment was officially reduced to an assay office and "branch receiving Mint;" and at that it has stood down to the present time. The structure has undergone few changes in the intervening period, and appears now just about as it did thirty-five years ago. Its career has been uneventful, and for a long time the business transacted in it was of comparatively modest proportions. Its principal dealings are with gold, but little silver being handled; and it was not until the gold production of recent years reached its vast proportions that the transactions at the Denver Mint attained great magnitude. The following figures covering the period 1890-1900, inclusive, indicate the volume of the Mint's business—a business quite out of proportion to anything the modest-appearing old establishment itself would suggest—and show the percentage of the Colorado gold production it handles:

Year.	Colorado Production of Gold.	Gold Receipts at Denver Mint.
1890	$ 4,016,229.00	$ 1,197,387.00
1891	4,767,880.00	1,304,912.00
1892	5,539,021.00	1,368,867.00
1893	7,487,071.00	1,814,604.00
1894	10,616,463.00	5,637,148.00
1895	15,013,434.00	4,306,214.00
1896	15,110,960.00	4,246,235.00
1897	19,572,137.00	12,223,451.00
1898	23,512,819.00	19,456,594.00
1899	26,265,487.00	16,840,761.00
1900	28,869,392.00	17,254,326.00
Totals	$160,770,893.00	$85,650,499.00

These figures are for the calendar years. They show that above 53 per cent. of all the gold mined in Colorado in the eleven years specified was treated at the Denver Mint. The falling off in receipts in 1895 and 1896 was owing to large quantities of gold having been sold directly to eastern brokers, practically at a premium, instead of to the local Mint.

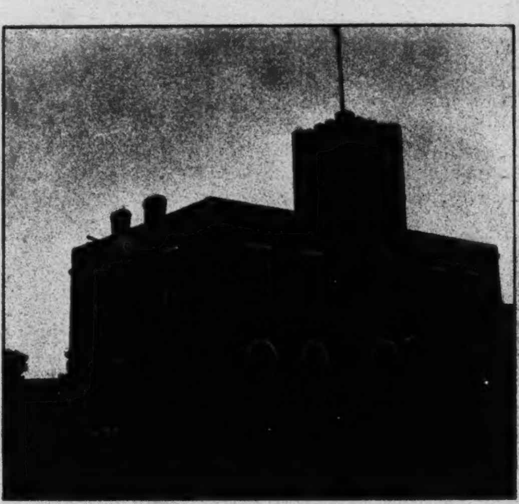
With a few more figures we will end the statistics. During the calendar years 1898, 1899, and 1900, the Mint's business in bullion treated was as follows:

1898—Colorado out-put, new gold, $19,456,594.70; silver, $22,826.51; total, $19,479,421.21. Miscellaneous gold $36,753.38; miscellaneous silver $330.88; total, $37,084.26. Foreign to Colorado, new gold, $674,625.64; silver, $4,864.58; total, $679,490.17. Grand total of the Mint's business for the year, $20,195,995.26.

1899—Colorado out-put, new gold, $16,840,761.58; silver, $25,783.61; total, $16,866,545.19. Miscellaneous gold, etc., $34,718.18; silver, $335.40; total $35,153.58. Foreign to Colorado, new gold, $928,744.62; silver, $9,430.45; total, $938,175.07. Grand total of the mint's business for the year $17,839,773.84.

1900—Colorado output, new gold, $17,254,326.33; silver, $33,372.29; total $17,287,698.62. Miscellaneous gold, etc., $23,295.00; silver, $195.14; total $23,490.14. Foreign to Colorado, new gold, $1,008,574.33; silver, $11,025.17; total $1,019,599.50. Grand total of the Mint's business for the year, $18,330,788.26.

The shrinkage in the business of 1899 from that of 1898 reflects an effect of the smeltermen's strike in the summer of 1899; but the fact that the value of bullion treated at the Mint does not appear to increase in ratio to the annual increase of the Colorado output, is due to the growing tendency to ship bullion directly east from some of the various reduction works without passing it through the Denver Mint.


Old "Mint" Building, from a photograph made in 1868.

In 1895 Congress authorized the construction of a new Mint building at Denver, and appropriated $500,000 to its building fund. There was some delay in deciding upon and acquiring a suitable site, the choice finally resting upon a half-block of land on the south side of Colfax Avenue, between South Thirteenth and South Evans streets, and three blocks west of the Capitol building park. Work upon the building was begun in 1897, and at the close of our record is approaching completion with prospects of being finished early in 1902. The structure is a fine one of granite and steel, and would seem to be designed to endure forever. It is probable that the new mint will become a Sub-

Treasury of the United States from which all disbursements by the government for the central west will be made. It is anticipated that the total cost of the establishment with its machinery and outfit complete, will approximate $800,000.

Of the processes, methods and practices in handling bullion at the Denver Mint, Mr. Thomas Tonge, in a recent issue of "Mines and Minerals," gave the following specific and comprehensive description, which will afford the reader an intelligent understanding of them:

The increased supply of gold from the cyanide and chlorination plants in Colorado is very large. They are treating ore of much lower grade than the smelters can touch and a large portion of the increase, during the past few years, in the Colorado gold production is due to this fact. The cyanide and chlorination plants handling Cripple Creek ore exclusively, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, turned into the Denver mint over $4,000,000 worth of gold, irrespective of the large amount of Cripple Creek ore treated at the smelters and stamp mills.

The crude gold bullion received at this (Denver) mint therefore consists of: (1) gold dust and nuggets from the placers running from .750 to .800 fine and from $16 to $17 per ounce in value; (2) retorts from the stamp mills averaging from .800 to .850 fine, containing all kinds of impurities; (3) gold bars from the Denver smelters, more or less pure, running as high as .997 fine; (4) gold bars from the cyanide and chlorination plants, averaging from .800 to over .900 fine, one plant occasionally sending in bars .993 fine. Each lot from the time of its arrival at the mint, is kept separate and distinguished by a serial number.

It is first weighed by the weigh clerk and again by the melter to whom it goes, and who has charge of it until it comes back to be weighed by the weigh clerk after melting, the loss of weight in melting being carefully noted. If the loss amounts to 2½ per cent., the melter who treats it makes a memorandum, at the time, of the character of the base materials, and also saves the slag for the information of the person who brought the gold. The loss is usually greater in the retorts than in the other classes of crude bullion.

In the basement of the building there are four melting furnaces, operated by gas fuel, with a strong air blast generated by a Baker blower, operated by a dynamo of about 2½ horsepower. The gold is melted at over 2,000° F. in large graphite crucibles.

From long practice, the melter, on splitting open a "retort" from the stamp mill prior to melting, can tell approximately what base metal predominates, and what flux is most suitable for the removal of that particular base metal. The principal fluxes used are borax, nitre, bicarbonate of soda, cyanide, and charcoal. In the molten mass, the gold being heavier sinks to the bottom of the crucible, and the flux brings the base metal to the top, which is constantly skimmed off by the melter by means of a plumbago stirrer. When all the impurities have been so removed, the remainder, consisting of almost pure gold, is poured into a mold to cool off and becomes a "gold bar." Bars that have a poor appearance, due more or less to sulphide coating, are treated in a bath of diluted nitric acid and cleaned with a wire brush. All bars are stamped by the melter with original number.

The bar is then returned to the weigh room and weighed to discover the amount, if any, of base metal that has been removed.

The assayer then receives the bar, takes small portions from diagonally opposite corners by clipping, or drills samples from both top and bottom; then reweighs the bar (the third time of weighing) to discover the amount of metal with which he is charged as having taken for assaying purposes.

The clippings are taken to the assay laboratory, rolled, certain amounts weighed out, wrapped in zinc covering and, in a bone-ash receptacle known as a 'cupel,' put into a highly heated 'muffle' furnace. The functions of the 'cupel,' are to absorb the base metal contained in the gold clipping, leaving what is known as a "total button," composed of gold and usually a minute quantity of silver.

The record of the fineness of this "total button" is kept by the assayer, who then dissolves the silver therefrom, by means of nitric acid, leaving the pure gold. Subtracting the fineness of this gold from the fineness of the original "total button" determines the proportion of parts of silver contained in the gold bar from which the sample was clipped.

The assayer next records this fineness upon an assay certificate, which goes to the calculating department, where the exact value of the original "deposit" of crude gold bullion represented on each certificate is determined, and the person who made such "deposit" is then promptly paid by check upon one of the local banks, or, if it is a very large deposit, by check upon the U. S. Assistant Treasurer at Chicago. In this way the Denver Bank Clearing House does not get the full amount of the business actually done in Denver, much of it being credited to Chicago.

The refined gold product at the Denver mint as above described, consists of bars of various sizes ranging from 100 ounces, worth about $2.000 up to about 1,200 ounces, worth about $25,000. They are piled up, as nearly as possible in a cube, and a strong case built to hold and fit it closely, so as to avoid abrasion in transit. It is shipped to the U. S. Coinage Mint at Philadelphia, where each individual bar is again tested and an official return thereupon made to the Denver mint, as if for an ordinary private depositor, the result being that the weight and fineness of each individual bar, after being so carefully tested and checked, as above described, at Denver, is again equally carefully tested and checked in Philadelphia, as against the Denver mint. Such is the remarkable exactitude that in a business for the last fiscal year aggregating over $12,000,000, the difference in valuations on the entire year's business, between the two mints, was only $33.40, the Philadelphia coinage mint crediting the Denver receiving mint with $33.40 more than the Denver mint had paid the individual depositors for the crude gold, and the Denver mint at once paid this small balance to the Treasurer of the United States.

Over 90 per cent. of the gold received at the Denver mint is of Colorado origin, but there is at least $5,000,000 worth of Colorado gold which does not go to the Denver mint at all, going in various forms of base bullion or matte from the Pueblo and Leadville smelters to eastern refineries, not being suitable for treatment at the Denver mint.

It will readily be understood from the foregoing that in advance of the completion of the $500,000 coinage mint, now well under way in Denver, the present Denver receiving mint is the third point in importance in the United States, in the item of gold purchases. It is, of course, exceeded by the United States Assay Office in New York, which receives the output of two of Colorado's large smelters and also much of the gold bars and coin imported from abroad. Heavy imports of gold from Australia and other countries, together with the bulk of the Alaska product, give the San Francisco mint the second place.

Recognizing the fact that Denver is the eastern gateway of the great gold producing districts of Colorado and the whole Rocky Mountain region, the United States Government is now building at Denver a coinage mint to cost $500,000, which will furnish local employment to a large number of people. The gold mining country tributary to Denver, including Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada will then send all or most of its gold to Denver.

The values of pure gold, in troy, avoirdupois, and metric weights are as follows:

One ounce, troy	$ 20.67
One pennyweight	1.03
One grain	.04⅓
One ounce, avoirdupois	18.84
One pound, avoirdupois	301.37
One ton (2,000 pounds)..............	602,737.20
One metric gramme	.66⅓
One metric ton	663,289.00

One dollar's worth of gold, United States standard, is equal to .0484 troy ounce; or .0531 avoirdupois ounce; or 1.508 grammes. In Germany one gramme of gold is worth 2.60 marks; in France one gramme is worth 3.20 francs; in England one troy ounce of gold is worth four pounds, five shillings.

In recent years the Cripple Creek district has surpassed all others in the State in annual value of precious metals output. In 1899 Teller county, in which it is situated, was credited with nearly $16,000,000 worth; in 1900 with about $22,500,000. Since Stratton's discovery there in 1891, the district has had an estimated total output of gold exceeding $90,000,000. In 1899 the Leadville district (Lake County) produced about $11,000,000 of gold and silver, "coinage values," and in 1900 about $12,000,000; largely silver in both years. During its history of twenty-two years that district has yielded a total of more than $260,000,000 worth of precious metals, far the greater part of which was silver at the old-time values. In 1899 Gilpin county produced about $2,500,000 of gold; and in 1900 upward of $3,000,000, omitting fractions. It is estimated that since Gregory discovered his great lode there in 1859, the area within that county and its immediate environs has produced nearly $100,000,000 of gold.

The great mine of the Cripple Creek district is Stratton's "Independence" which, early in the sum-

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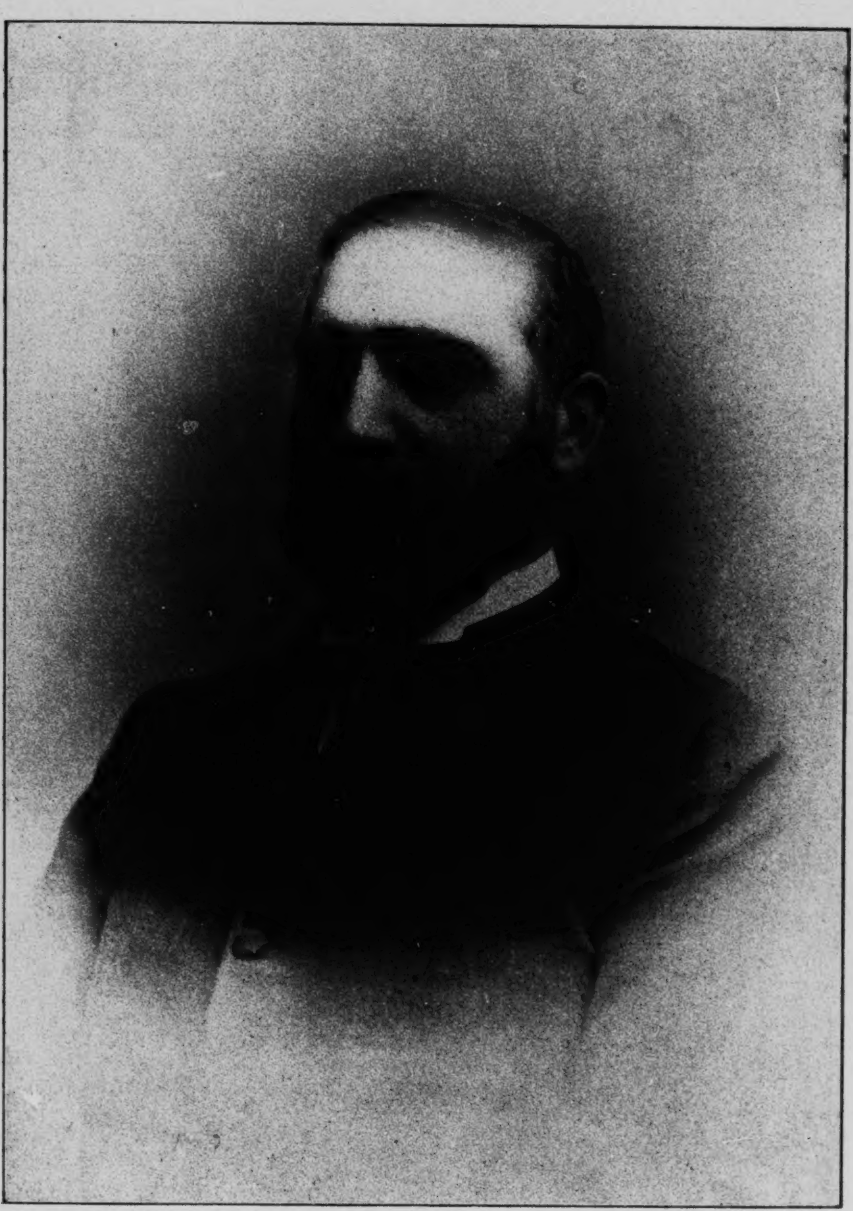
Dennis Sheedy, who personifies the development of the great Globe Smelter in this city, was born in Ireland, September 26, 1846, and when a child came to this country with his parents. His father, John Sheedy, a farmer in moderate circumstances, first settled in Massachusetts, but in 1858 removed to Iowa where he died soon afterward. The son was then early thrown upon his own resources, and quickly developed unusual capability. Attending school in the winter months, the remainder of his time was fully employed in a general store where he earned a modest salary and acquired a practical knowledge of business.

In the spring of 1863, when in his seventeenth year, he crossed the plains to Denver and at once found employment here as a clerk in one of the general merchandising stores of that period. He then remained here but a year when he went to Montana Territory where he successfully engaged on his own account in merchandising and in mining. By the spring of 1868, with his accumulating capital, he had become a wholesale grocer doing at Helena a large business that extended over much of Montana and Idaho Territories, and in the autumn of that year had begun his dealings in cattle which he later developed into an enormous business and to which he soon gave his exclusive attention.

During the years in which he was so extensively engaged in the cattle business, Mr. Sheedy acquired an intimate knowledge of the Great West possessed by but few men. He traversed it afoot and on horseback many thousands of miles, and his undertakings led him into almost every section of it. In doing so he encountered many vicissitudes, braved the storms and blizzards of winter and the hardships of arid regions in summer, and was not infrequently in danger of losing his life at the hands of the Indians. Though still comparatively a young man, his experiences place him among the pioneers of the west—among the men who have witnessed and aided in an empire's development the like of which will never be seen again.

Mr. Sheedy's operations in cattle as a business to which he devoted his entire attention began in Texas and was later transferred to Kansas and afterward to Nevada. Then, after a season of travel in California and Old Mexico, he purchased large herds in Arizona. Another season of travel, in the eastern and southern States, followed, and he next bought several large herds in Texas. In the autumn of 1870 he established his headquarters in Kansas City, where they remained until 1881; and from that base his transactions extended over nearly all the western States and Territories. At various times in his operations he had ranges and ranches in Texas, Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Nevada and Arizona; and it was through these States and Territories that he made repeated journeys, often alone, looking after his interests. His cattle were numbered by thousands.

Mr. Sheedy continued his dealings in cattle until 1881, when, having deservedly won a fortune by them, he returned to Denver and here permanently established his home. Acquiring large interests in the Colorado National Bank of Denver, he became one of its Directors, and in January, 1886, was elected its Vice President, a position he still fills. About that time he bought an interest in the old Holden Smelter and became President and General Manager of the company owning it. It had theretofore proved not very successful, but under Mr. Sheedy's management new methods and new processes were introduced. In 1889 the Holden company



Dennis Sheedy.

mer of 1899, was transferred to an English corporation for a consideration reported to have been ten millions of dollars. It then ranked as the most valuable mine in Colorado. It is situated on the south slope of Battle Mountain, and was discovered by W. S. Stratton in July, 1891—the first mine in the Cripple Creek district. Up to the time of its sale it was the individual property of its discoverer. Its underground development at that time consisted of two shafts, and a total aggregate length of 34,450 feet of workings, or a little more than six and one-half miles. From the time of its discovery to the close of 1898, there had been taken from the mine 41,694 tons of ore, the gross value of which was $3,837,360—an average of $92.03 per ton. After deducting the cost of development, buildings, machinery, and the current expenses of working the mine and treating the ore, there remained a net profit in the period indicated of $2,402,164, which was sixty-two per cent. of the gross value of the ore hoisted out of the mine. According to official reports made late in 1900, the English company's methods of operating the mine had much reduced its known value, inasmuch as the known ore-bodies had been greatly depleted, while development work to open new bodies had been suspended by the new proprietary company.

Few gold mines in the world have had a record comparable with this one's. Several accounts, most of them fanciful, have been given of the circumstances attending its discovery and the consequent development of the Cripple Creek district. In March, 1899, Mr. T. A. Rickard, of Denver, State Geologist of Colorado, made a report on the "Independence," as one of the preliminaries to its transfer to its new owners, in which he relates the discovery circumstances. His account, which may be accepted as accurate, is as follows:

"When gold was discovered in the Cripple Creek district, early in 1891, it was a cattle range, which had been the scene of more than one unsuccessful mining excitement. It had suffered in reputation, and became neglected by the gold-seekers of Colorado. Among the herdsmen were several who did a little prospecting, at odd times, so a certain amount of desultory digging was done. This led finally to a discovery of some importance made by a man named Robert Womack, who found a rich vein in Poverty Gulch, and went to the neighboring town of Colorado Springs with samples of the ore. He was aided in his work by others, who incidentally spoke to W. S. Stratton about the discovery. Stratton was at that time a house-builder by trade, and had been prospecting for twenty years in the intervals of his business; he had learned the use of the blow-pipe, and was familiar with the outlines of mineralogy and geology; in fact, an energetic,

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was reorganized as the Globe Smelting and Refining Company, of which Mr. Sheedy became President and General Manager. Out of these circumstances and changes has grown in our suburb of Globeville one of the world's great smelting establishments, and of which, as remarked at the beginning of this note, Mr. Sheedy is the personification. The responsibility for its successful management and the credit for its great development and enormous increase of capacity were his. Many of the new devices and methods introduced in the Globe and now in use, and that have greatly increased the refinements of smelting processes, are of his invention. He continued as the executive head of the Globe Smelter until the spring of 1899 when a union of interests resulted in the consolidated American Smelting and Refining Company. Since then he has been an officer of the new organization and General Manager of the Globe.

After Mr. Sheedy became interested in smelting, he personally made arrangements with the railroads for shipment of lead ores from the Coeur d'Alene mines in Idaho to Denver where the smelters stood in great need of them. A short time later he had an experience at Washington in connection with lead that was unusual to a private citizen. The tariff bill of President Harrison's administration was pending report, and by some means the Ways and Means Committee had been persuaded to reduce, in the bill, the lead tariff to one-half cent a pound. Through Mr. Sheedy's active and forceful interposition the rate was restored to one and one-half cents only a few hours before the bill was reported to the House. In the debate that followed, Representative Hopkins, of Illinois, who was an advocate of practically "free lead," and who had supposed the nominal duty of a half-cent had been fixed to stay, stormed and raved over the change. In his speech he paused and, pointing out Mr. Sheedy who sat in the gallery, vociferously charged him with responsibility for the restored rate. This is said to have been the only instance to this day in the history of the United States Congress in which a member speaking on the floor of either house so transgressed the rules as to single out a private citizen in the gallery and reproach him. However, the Sheedy lead-tariff became law and was of vital importance to the mining and smelting industries of the west.

In 1894 when the Denver Dry Goods Company was organized and in which he became largely interested, Mr. Sheedy was elected President of that great commercial corporation; and he still continues that relation to it. He has been and is identified with several semi-public associations for the advancement of the city's interests, and a good friend to the various charitable organizations. On February 15, 1882, Mr. Sheedy married Miss Catherine V. Ryan, daughter of Matthew Ryan, a prominent business man and pioneer of Leavenworth, Kan. Mrs. Sheedy died June 22, 1895, leaving two children. On November 25, 1898, he married Mary Teresa Burke (his present wife), of Chicago, and who is a niece of Bishop Burke of the Catholic diocese of St. Joseph, Mo.

The foregoing contains but the outlines of the business career of a man who started as a boy upon his own resources which were only those of a clear and honest head and a good and brave heart. It has been one of successive triumphs achieved without at any time lowering a high standard of personal and business integrity, or repressing the instincts of a nature filled with kindness and consideration for his fellow-men.—J. C. S.

well-informed man, well-equipped for prospecting work of any kind. At the time above mentioned he had been searching for cryolite, a mineral from which the metal aluminium is obtained, and had been camping on the Cripple Creek side of Pike's Peak. This was in May, 1891. After hearing about Womack's discovery, which, by the way, subsequently became a rich mine (now known as the Gold King), Stratton went up to Cripple Creek, and began an investigation of the district. Nothing of importance occurred until the 5th of June, when he crossed over to the eastern part of the district, and began prospecting on what is now Legal Tender Hill, close to the town of Goldfield. An old ranchman, Billy Fernay, came along one day and asked Stratton what he thought of a piece of float (surface ore) which he had found on a neighboring hill, now known as Battle Mountain. Stratton went over to see the locality, and in following the ridge southward he came upon a big outcrop of granite. It was the Independence vein, which had already been seen by many, including nearly all the prospectors and ranchmen then in the district, but it had been condemned by all of them as worthless granite. Stratton did as the others had done, chiefly because he could not detect the presence of any metallic mineral, and from this fact inferred that it was not gold ore. His previous experience in the southwestern Colorado, more especially in the San Juan region, led him to associate valuable ores with the sulphides of lead and copper and an encasement of quartz, not with this, apparently common granite."

"It may be well to state that the outcrop was indeed granite, decomposed assuredly, especially as to the mica, but nevertheless wholly unlike the ordinary gold ores of other districts, and therefore misleading to the most veteran prospector. In after years, when car loads of this ore was sent to the smelters, the managers of the works thought at first that loads of ballast had been consigned to them in error, and it required a keen eye to detect that the mica of the granite had been decomposed, leaving iron-stain spots amid which free gold was distinguishable."

"So Stratton overlooked it too—but not irretrievably—for when he went to Colorado Springs a few days later it occurred to him that that outcrop must be a lode. He had taken five samples to Colorado Springs for assay, and they all gave poor results, but he had, by panning, found gold in the loose fragments of porphyry covering the south face of Battle Mountain, without, however, being able to trace the gold to any vein in the porphyry itself. It came to him in a flash that the granite outcrop must be the lode which had shed the gold."

"Acting on the impulse of the moment, he took a horse and rode to the camp, and on arrival immediately staked out two claims, the "Washington" and "Independence." It happened to be the Fourth of July, hence the names."

"He broke some pieces from the granite outcrop, and sent a man to Colorado Springs, thirty miles distant, to have them assayed, while he awaited the result. The assay certificate arrived next day, and proved that the granite contained nineteen ounces of gold per ton."

"I doubt if any man ever celebrated the Glorious Fourth to better advantage. From that day to this the great value of the mine has never been in doubt."

The total gold production of Colorado in 1899 and 1900 was about forty-one per cent. of the entire output of the United States. Of the Colorado output in 1899 the Cripple Creek district contributed about three-fifths; of that of 1900 it contributed considerably more than two-thirds.

The proved gold bearing territory of the Cripple Creek district embraces an area of about ten square miles. Its development dates from the discovery of the "Independence" mine in 1891, and from that time the yield has steadily increased at the rate of something like fifty per cent. per annum. In 1898 the Cripple Creek district paid in dividends to shareholders in its mining properties $2,596,144; in 1899, $4,322,000; and in 1900 more than $6,000,000; yet these sums do not include the profits of lessees of certain mines in the district which would add several hundred thousand dollars to the aggregate for the three years. Roughly estimated, the profits in the district are about 28 per cent. of the gross yield of all its mines.

Of the geology of the district Mr. Rickard says:

"The geology of the Cripple Creek district, and of Battle Mountain (where the Independence is situated) in particular, is of unusual interest and exhibits the close relation between the structure of the rocks and the occurrence of bodies of gold ore. The mines are situated in a complex of volcanic rocks, which, during different periods, were extruded through the granite. The principal rock is andesite-breccia. Andesite is derived from Andes, the mountains where the rock is specially prevalent. Breccia is a word of Italian origin, and means "broken;" it is a term applied to rocks which are made up of fragmentary material. The very nature of the breccia suggests the violence of the volcanic action which brought it to the surface of the granite. The andesite-breccia, together with finer material of the same character called "tuff" (from the Italian word "tufa." Vesuvius is responsible for the Italian nomenclature of many volcanic products), now lies in the uneven hollows of the ancient surface of the granite, and has a thickness which has been proved by the mine workings, to at least exceed a thousand feet. * * * Long after the deposits of the breccia, it became penetrated by dykes of material having an allied composition, chiefly phonolite. Phonolite comes from the two Greek words: phone, sound—and lithos, stone. It derives this name from the fact that when struck by a hammer it rings. This is due to its hardness and close texture. Phonolite is a rare rock, and its association with great mineral wealth is a new fact, which has been one of the most notable features of Cripple Creek's development. It occurs in dykes; that is to say, in approximately vertical sheets, which traverse the older rocks, the granite and breccia, in various directions, and are probably united at depths far beyond the reach of human exploration, to larger masses of rock having a similar composition, just as the cracks in ice are filled with a liquid similar to that beneath.

"The Phonolite dykes followed lines of weakness in the older rocks, which developed into fractures during those periods when the rocks underwent readjustment in obedience to slow movements due to the shrinkage of the crust over the earth's cooling interior. The phonolite rose in a mobile if not molten condition, through the fractures thus formed, much as water rises in the cracks of the overlying ice."

"These lines of weakness, thus developed, gave a direction to the fracturing along which underground waters subsequently circulated, and eventually deposited the gold which they carried in solution. This is the modern philosophy of ore deposition, stated briefly and crudely. * * *"

"The ores are tellurides, that is, the gold does not, except in the upper oxidized zone, occur free, but is combined in definite proportions with the element tellurium. The principal minerals are sylvanite and calaverite, the former containing 28 and the latter 44 per cent. of gold."

As a rule the men who dig the ore from the depths of the mountains do not extract the precious metals from it; mining being one line of business, and smelting or reducing the ores another. In treating them the usual practice is to divide the ores into two classes or grades, according to their gold contents. Ores containing two or more ounces of the yellow metal per ton are sent to the smelters, while the lower grades go to the chlorination, or to the cyanide process, mills.

The Colorado railroads are important factors in the mining industry, and the transportation of ore forms a conspicuous part of their freight earnings. A peculiar system of freight charges on ore is in vogue—one quite different from that attaching to freight transportation elsewhere in the country, and different, also, from that which applies to other freight here at home. The railroads practically share some of the uncertainties of mining, their proportion of the proceeds being determined by the values obtained from the ore by the mills and smelters. For example, the present (1900) freight on ore from the Cripple Creek district to the Denver smelters is five dollars per ton on all from which one hundred dollars or more of gold values

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Winfield Scott Stratton, of Colorado Springs, who has been and continues to be the more conspicuous figure in the development of the Cripple Creek gold-mining district, is a native of Indiana. He was born at Jeffersonville, July 22, 1848; his father, Myron Stratton, having been a contractor and boat-builder there. After young Stratton had been graduated in the Jeffersonville High School at the age of seventeen, he began learning the trade of a carpenter, and at the end of three years had become skilled in draughting, and a competent craftsman. He then came west and worked at his trade successively in Sioux City, Omaha, and Lincoln; remaining in the last-named place about a year.

Mr. Stratton came from Lincoln to Colorado Springs in the summer of 1872, soon after that city had been established, and has ever since made it his home. Having a small sum of his savings, he continued work at his trade, later became a contractor, and erected many buildings in the Pike's Peak city. Early while thus employed, the fascination of the mining industry exerted its influence upon him and at intervals he engaged in prospecting, though devoting most of his time to his regular business. Thus his affairs went on through a good many years without results of much consequence arising from his prospecting. In 1884, having realized his need for both technical and practical training in mineralogy, a course in Colorado College made him a fairly competent assayer. He then learned the practical side of dealing with ores by employment in a reduction mill at Breckenridge, Summit county; after which he continued to divide his time between his business at Colorado Springs and prospecting in the Colorado mountains.

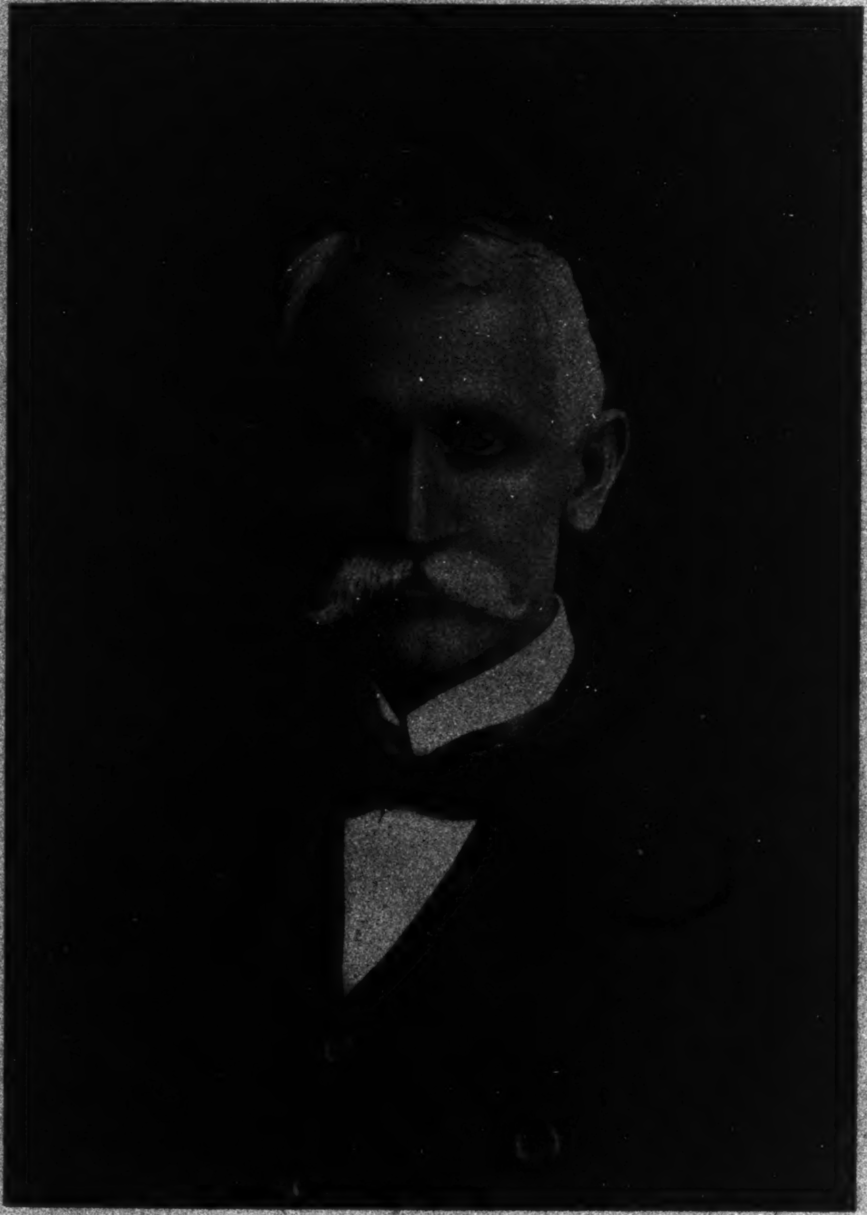
During all the years in which he was thus engaged his surplus earnings from his trade were used to pay the expenses of his prospecting. One of his earlier experiences was the loss of $3,000, (about all the ready money he had), in the winter of 1873-74, by investing it in an unproductive claim in the San Juan country. Still, he kept on.

After seventeen years of hard work and during which he had found little but disappointment and had often been on the verge of privation, his reward came in his discovery, as related in these pages, of his famous and opulent Independence Mine. The results of that discovery after those years of patient toil and unwavering hope, have made Mr. Stratton a commanding personality in the romance of Colorado mining. At the time of the discovery his financial resources were very slender, and to obtain means with which to develop his claims he had to bond one of them—a transaction that encountered not a few denials and discouragements before it was accomplished. The rest of the story is related elsewhere in this chapter.

Since the sale of his great mine Mr. Stratton has continued an active interest in the Cripple Creek district. An owner of, and in, several large and rich mining properties there, he has entered upon a system of development contemplating far deeper workings than have yet been reached in Colorado mining, and calling for expenditure of large sums of money. As elsewhere mentioned, it is the belief of many miners that ores from deeper workings would prove richer, and therefore the results of this new development will be awaited with much public interest.

After Fortune smiled upon him, Mr. Stratton began acquiring real estate in Colorado Springs, and has continued doing so until he is now the owner of much valuable and finely improved business property in that city. Recently he has made large investments in real estate in the business section of Denver and become directly identified with the city and her welfare. The first of his improvements of these properties is seen in the Coronado Building at Fifteenth and Stout streets.

Appreciating through his own experience the importance of having young men properly trained in all that pertains to mineralogy, and the value to the State of having such training available to its young men, the State School of Mines at Golden has received from Mr. Stratton very substantial financial evidence of his interest in its welfare. Aside from this he has for several years filled his present position as a member of the School's Board of Trustees.—J. C. S.



Winfield S. Stratton.

are obtained from each ton of ore; four dollars per ton on all yielding from thirty to one hundred dollars per ton; and three dollars on that producing less than thirty dollars per ton. It cost the roads as much to haul one kind as another, yet they do not know what they are to receive for their cargoes until the mills, or smelters, or sampling works have determined their values.

The chlorination, and the cyanide process, mills also have a sliding scale of charges for treating the ore consigned to them. At this time these charges including freight, are as follows:

$7.00 per ton on ores carrying up to ½ oz. of gold per ton.

$7.75 per ton on ores carrying up to ¾ oz. of gold per ton.

$8.50 per ton on ores carrying up to 1 oz. of gold per ton.

$9.00 per ton on ores carrying up to 1¼ oz. of gold per ton.

$10.00 per ton on ores carrying up to 1½ oz. of gold per ton.

$10.50 per ton on ores carrying up to 2 oz. of gold per ton.

As we have stated, ores containing more than two ounces of gold to the ton, are usually sent to the smelters, where the charge for treatment is practically uniform per ton, though frequently the mills receive ores yielding more than two ounces. In such cases they charge the smelter rate which is now six dollars and fifty cents per ton, including freight. In 1894 the smelter charge for the same service was fifteen dollars per ton, the reduction having been made possible by improved methods, greater skill of the workmen, larger capacities, and lower freight rates.

As several parties thus become interested in the value of the stuff, it is a frequent practice to have the ore sampled at one of the several public sampling works while it is in transit from the mine to the mill or smelter. For this service, which determines the value of the ore earlier than it would be by the mills and smelters, a charge of seventy-five cents per ton is made. This sampling is usually near enough to accuracy to be satisfactory to the miner, the railroads, and the mills and smelters, and settlements are made accordingly, the miner

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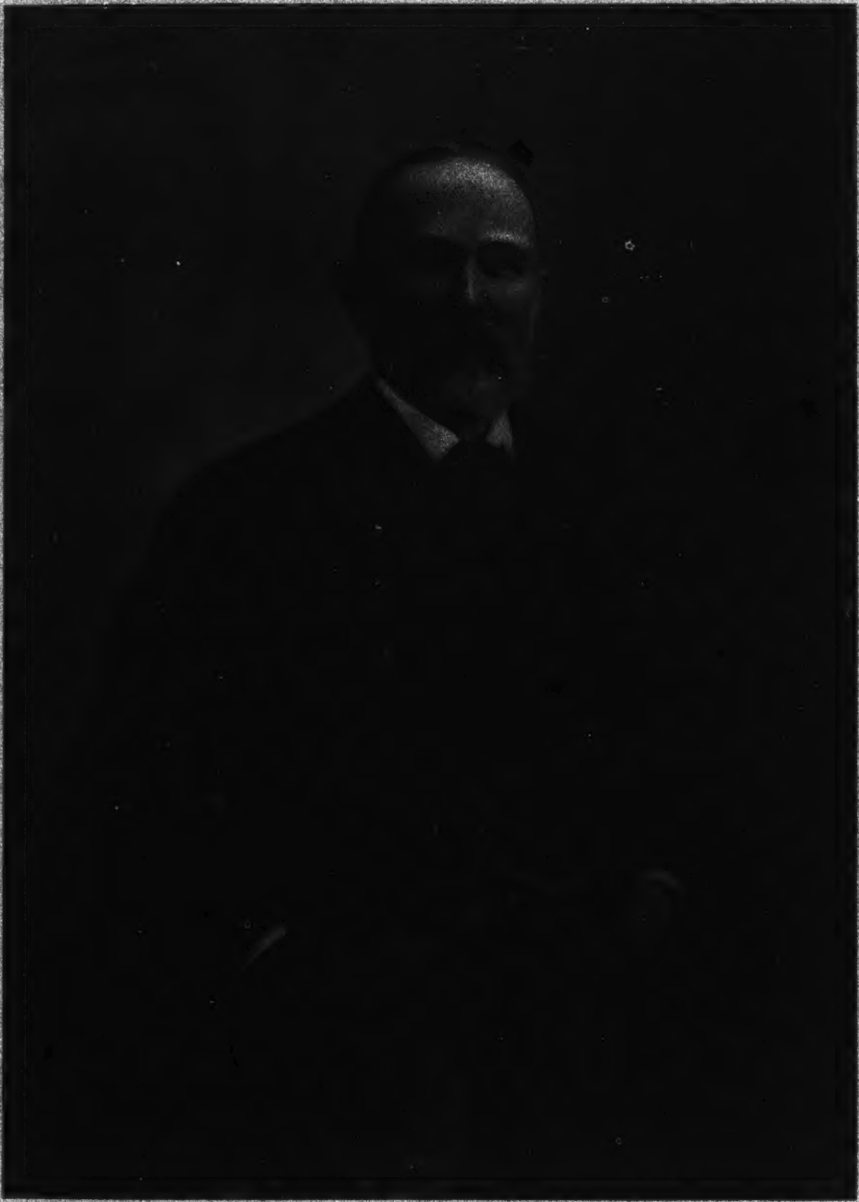
Richard Pearce, manager of the Boston and Colorado Smelter, is a native of the village of Barripps, near Camborne, Cornwall, England, where he was born June 29, 1837. The place of his nativity is in the midst of England's old and prolific tin-mining region that has been worked for many generations; and where his father for more than fifty years was identified with tin-mining, and for a long time one of the managers of the old and famous Dolcoath mine. Reared amid such surroundings Mr. Pearce early became deeply interested in mining and the problems involved in it; and resolved to make their study his life profession. With this purpose in view he entered the Truro Mining School in Cornwall and soon became assistant to the principal, in which capacity he served three years. The school was then closed for a season after which it was reopened through the instrumentality of Mr. Pearce who also devoted a large part of his time to lecturing on science as applied to mining throughout the Cornwall districts. In 1859 he went to London where he entered the Royal School of Mines as an advanced student, under the most capable instructors in England, and where he completed his collegiate training. In 1865 he became manager of the silver and copper reduction works of Williams, Foster & Company at Swansea, Wales, where he remained until he came to America and entered upon his brilliant career as Colorado's foremost metallurgist.

Mr. Pearce first visited Colorado in 1871 to investigate for English investors the silver mines in the Georgetown district, upon which he made a favorable report. Upon that visit he became so thoroughly convinced of the greatness and value of Colorado's mineral resources that he decided to permanently establish himself here and assist in their development. In 1872 he left England with his family and located at Empire where he took charge of a small smelter near that camp. His thorough attainments as a metallurgist and his fine executive abilities made him a conspicuous man in the Clear creek mining districts, and in 1873 he accepted an invitation to become the metallurgist for the Black Hawk Smelter of the Boston and Colorado Smelting Company. From that time to this he has been identified as an executive with the development of the Boston and Colorado Company's great establishment. When the smelter was removed from Black Hawk to Argo Mr. Pearce brought his family to Denver and made this city his home. In 1887 he became the manager of the smelter, a position he has continuously filled since that time.

Mr. Pearce is an authority on the technicalities of mining and ore reduction. A large part of the difficult but successful work that won the victories over the refractory substances composing Colorado ores has been his. In a large measure the step by step advances that have been made in profitably treating lower and lower grades of the output of our mines have been due to his well-trained genius and remarkable intuition. To a degree outside the limits of practical computation the prosperous condition of Colorado's mining interests reflects the value of his services to the people and to the State.

Mr. Pearce is a member of many scientific and technical societies in this country and in England, and is the author of papers on metallurgy and kindred subjects sufficient to constitute a valuable metallurgical literature. In 1890 Columbia College of the city of New York conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in recognition, as stated by Professor Eggleston, "of the very distinguished position which Professor Pearce holds and the large number of additions which he has made to metallurgical science. * * * We here regard Professor Pearce as one of the first, if not the first, gold and silver metallurgists of the present time, and by honoring him we feel that we have not only done justice to him, but have done honor to ourselves." In 1889 Mr. Pearce was also made President of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. Since 1885 he has most acceptably served as British Vice Consul at Denver, a position for the duties of which he finds recompense in the opportunities it affords him to be of service to his countrymen here in the west.—J. C. S.



Richard Pearce.

getting what is left after the others have taken their shares, which are always preferred claims.

Sometimes there is little or nothing left for the miner, as much "low-grade" ore is taken out and the assay of a few pounds of it, which, from circumstances that appear fond of association with the business, are pretty sure to consist of the most promising pieces in the heap, and, therefore, do not hold out when applied proportionately to a carload. In such instances the miner receives the unfavorable report with complacency, and continues his development work until he finds something better, or else tries his luck in another place.

But this uncertainty rarely attaches to shipments from well developed mines, the values and extent of their ore bodies, whatever the grade may be, being pretty definitely known, and the gold contents of every shipment closely approximated before it is hoisted to the surface. It is the hopeful prospector who is always expecting to "strike it rich," or the ever sanguine owner of a partly developed mine, who thinks he has so struck it, who receives an "Irish dividend" from a premature consignment of rock which, through no fault of its own, inspires hopes in its owner's mind that the smelters or mills can find no way to fulfill.

The mines of Colorado provide employment for about 40,000 men, who receive good wages; the average pay being about $2.50 per day. The work does not in a general way require what would elsewhere be termed skilled labor, yet many of the men who make mining their business rise above the grade of laborers and become craftsmen in their calling. It is a dangerous occupation, the casualties approaching those among an equal number of soldiers in war service. According to the report of the State Bureau of Mines there were, in 1899 and 1900, 1,200 men injured in mine accidents—about 200 of them with fatal results.

No very large "nugget" or mass of gold has ever been found in Colorado; that is to say, not large enough to rank with "nuggets" of world-wide fame. The largest individual mass was taken out of the Gold-Flake Mine, at Farncomb Hill, Summit county, July 23, 1887. It weighed 156 ounces, 7 pennyweights—a value of nearly $3,700. It is known as "Tom's Baby," and with several other but smaller ones, was sold to the Chicago World's Fair Commissioners for $15,000. The largest placer gold "nugget" was found in McNulty Gulch, early in the "Seventies," and weighed 13 ounces—a value of $268. The largest mass of comparatively pure silver yet found in Colorado was taken from the Smuggler mine at Aspen in 1894. It weighed 1,840 pounds, was 90 per cent. pure, and worth about $38,000. Silver does not so often reveal itself to the eye, as gold, and to the uninitiated very rich silver-bearing ore is usually rock of a most unpromising appearance—a slatish colored mass that gives no optical indications of the great values it carries, which have been as high as 94 per cent. of its gross weight. Occasionally, in the "wire" or "horn" form, silver is found pure.

The gold found in and along Cherry creek in pioneer times, and at other points where the ancient flow of the creek deposited silt and gravel, such as those where the Russell party mined along the Platte in the present southern outskirts of the city, in 1858, was of a different color, finer in particles, and nearer pure than that found in the mountains and in the streams leading directly from them. Much of this Cherry creek gold was extremely fine—as fine as flour, if not finer. A pinch of it would disappear under a puff of the breath, and would float in the air like dust, or like a bit of gold-leaf. It was so easily dissipated that much of it could not be handled or preserved by the pioneer miners. This Cherry creek gold evidently came from the Palmer Lake divide, a general district that has not yet been thoroughly explored in search of the mother lode from which has drifted the vagrant gold scattered far and wide by Cherry creek. There are those who believe, and of whom the writer is one, that the great discovery of gold in Colorado is yet to be made; and that when the time comes it will have been made in the region drained by the headwaters of Cherry creek.

Mining in Colorado already has its romances and traditions. In the one are involved the stories of great wealth suddenly pouring in upon poor and obscure prospectors; of vast fortunes being heaped upon discoverers who developed and operated their mines, such as Tabor, Stratton, and Walsh; and of those who found mines of opulence but allowed them to slip from their control. In the other are stories of lost mines—lodes of tremendous values having been discovered by wandering prospectors who, when they returned with means of developing them, could not again find their locality; of lonely prospectors who met death in some form, and upon whose bodies when discovered were found ores of fabulous richness, the sources of which have been long but vainly sought by others. Routt county enjoys a tradition of a lost mine surpassing the wealth of the Indies; and the Glenwood Springs country has another. With a silver mine that was never found, though it is not in Colorado, the late Senator H. A. W. Tabor had some experience. A few weeks before his death, he took from his safe and handed to the writer of these lines, a dark brown mass which looked like clay but was nearly as heavy as iron. In explanation of its character and history he said:

> "That is sulphide of silver and is one of the most wonderful pieces of ore I have ever seen. It is eight per cent. pure silver, and one of the most remarkable of mining mysteries is connected with it. It was picked up on the plains of Arizona, near a placed called Kingston, and probably one thousand pounds were found in the immediate vicinity.

> A curious fact is that it was all found lying loose on top of the ground, and where it came from is a mystery I spent over $10,000 in trying to solve, but was not successful. There were no high hills anywhere around the place where the ore was found, so it could not have rolled off the side of the mountain; and how it came to be lying around on top of the ground was more than I could find out. I employed experts and, as I have said, spent $10,000 in wasted efforts to locate the vein."

A popular but quite mistaken belief is that the discovery of valuable mines does not call for the services of experienced men with minds trained in technicalities; that men ignorant of mineralogy and geology are, as prospectors, just as likely to make the discoveries as the "expert" who is prowling along the hill on the other side of the gulch; and that as a rule all the great discoveries have been made by such men, to the humiliating discomfiture of the man with book-learning, or practical experience, or both.

This common impression—that is to say, more common among people at a distance from mining districts—is chiefly due to imaginative writers whose regard for facts is subordinated to the inclination for romancing. An example of this interesting but, unfortunately, visionary literature, recently appearing in an eastern publication, begins thus:

> "It is a curious fact that the discoveries of rich gold and silver deposits in Colorado have been made, with few exceptions, by men who had little or no knowledge of mining or mineralogy. Rank tenderfeet have stumbled upon fortunes which experienced prospectors had trodden upon for years and neglected in their wisdom."

If this statement were true, it certainly would be "a curious fact." The writer of the article to which the foregoing is the introductory then goes on, after the fashion of his kind, to recount some half-dozen instances of "lucky finds" and to hold them up as examples of the usual methods of locating profitable mines in Colorado.

It was just such notions as these, elaborated in mining stories manufactured for popular consumption, that led thousands of misguided souls to the Pike's Peak country in 1859-60, and to the most bitter disappointment and disastrous loss. Our reader has seen that the only men who located gold-bearing lodes in 1859 were experienced men, and that the so-called "tenderfoot"—a term, by the way, rarely used in Colorado except by passing visitors—was practically helpless in his ignorance and with his "luck."

It would, of course, be another "curious fact" if, among the thousands of men who have since carefully searched every hill, slope, gulch, nook and cranny of Colorado for "prospects," there had not been a few instances of "luck." But for every such instance there have been fifty discoveries made as the direct results of intelligent search, and practical knowledge of geology and mineralogy. If, in the cases of the "lucky finds" the "expert" miner had trodden upon them for years and neglected them in his wisdom, it was because there was nothing visible to indicate their presence and he had not gone beneath the surface in that particular spot. The theory of "lucky finds" takes no account of the aimless, fruitless, wasted efforts of thousands of ignorant men who have wandered around through these mountains, toilsomely burrowing here into rocky material that would not assay a trace of metal in a thousand tons; there laboriously drilling shafts down into vertically standing strata that never did and never could carry a grain of gold or silver. The intelligent and experienced men have made such mistakes a-plenty, but the ignorant ones have made them a hundred-fold more. They constituted the rule with the ignorant men; the exception with the experienced.

The uncertainties of mining are quite sufficient in themselves, without imaginative embellishments. But it is not a mere game of chance in which intelligence, training, experience, and technical knowledge give their possessor no advantage over the inexperienced, the ignorant, or the fool. Year by year the uncertainties are being eliminated, the "chances" reduced, and the occupation brought nearer an understood and enduring basis. Only the trained men, the "experts," are instrumental in this important work. It would, indeed, be "a curious fact" if here we had before us one of Nature's problems in the solution of which human knowledge would be wholly impotent.

The case of W. S. Stratton in his discovery of the Independence, is one which the romancers are fond of exploiting as an average example of the way mines are located in Colorado; and the "curious fact" of it is paraded in a way calculated to lead the uninformed to believe that others may do what he did. Stratton is usually presented as a poor carpenter who knew nothing of mining until he found his famous mine. The reader has seen what Mr. Rickard has said of that. Stratton was poor, and a carpenter, and these are about the only facts stated in the stories as usually told. It is not told that, while being a carpenter, he was also an intelligent, long-experienced, practical prospector of considerable geological knowledge. With a few, a very few, exceptions the facts concerning the discovery of the Independence will apply to the other so-called "lucky finds" of valuable mining properties in Colorado.

While there are, from the inherent general character of the occupation, many uncertainties in mining for the precious metals, the business is not a lottery. Intelligence, skill, experience and capital are as essential in it as in other undertakings. The time when any man owning a pick, shovel, pan, and a few weeks' supply of "grub," and possessing wit enough to use his simple tools, could go out along the streams and in the gulches and become a gold-miner, has gone forever. Even where placer work is still carried on, the old methods are discarded, because placer gold is no longer found in quantities sufficient to warrant efforts at its recovery by mere hand labor. Extensive mechanical appliances—large "plants"—are necessary, for enormous quantities of material must be handled to recover profitable amounts of the gold still left in the gulches, bars, and creek beds.

However, this kind of work in Colorado is now of almost insignificant proportions. At present everybody understands "mining" to mean workings in the rocky masses of the mountains by means of shafts, drifts, tunnels, and other excavations; and it is in this sort of work that intelligence, skill, experience, and capital must be combined if good results be attained; and it is, also, in this kind of work that money is consumed in what often appears to be amazing amounts. It has been almost a fixed rule in the history of every mining camp in the State that mines are made by development, rather than merely found; though the latter is, of course, an important part of the preliminary proceedings. In every mining camp, also, there are profitable mines that in some period of their history were unsuccessfully operated by novices in mining and in business management, who could find surface indications, locate the vein and make the beginning of a mine, but failed in the supreme test of properly and judiciously expending their capital. Then came failure and abandonment, to be followed by the operations of men who knew how, and who made a mine out of what the others had made only a bankrupting failure. Skill, good judgment and experience in developing a mine, and economy in its operation are of most vital importance in the average producing mine in Colorado; in many instances they alone stand between fair profits and ruinous losses. Nevertheless, the uncertainties of mining, while not of the mere chances of a lottery, are great; every fair prospect at the surface does not mean a profitable mine farther down; every shaft or tunnel into the bowels of the mountains, even if directed by skill, intelligence and experience, and close by successful workings, does not bring rewards. Perhaps the proposition may be made plainer by an illustration: there is laid down for us an elaborate system of rules for spelling and pronouncing the English language; but, though the rules are good, sound, and necessary to a fair understanding of the tongue, we find appended to them a rather surprising number of exceptions. So it is with mining: starting with a fair surface prospect, developing under the guidance of intelligence, skill and experience supplied with sufficient capital, the rule is that such operations will result in a profitable mine; but there is a surprising number of exceptions.

Out of mining operations and mining exploitations have arisen permanently established mining stock exchanges in Denver, Colorado Springs, and Cripple Creek, the business of which reaches very large amounts annually, notwithstanding that many of the transactions are on a basis of nominal stock-values.

The first movement toward organizing a Mining Stock Exchange in Denver was made in February, 1875. On the 6th of that month a meeting of those who had become interested in the proposed Exchange, was held at the office of Job A. Cooper and Peter Winne, who were then insurance agents. W. J. Barker was made President of the meeting, and Fred Z. Salomon Secretary. After some dis-

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Simon Guggenheim, General Manager of the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company, is a native of Philadelphia, Pa., where he was born December 30th, 1867, the son of Meyer and Barbara Guggenheim. He was educated at Philadelphia, Pa., and spent several years traveling in Europe, after leaving college and before entering business.

Mr. Guggenheim is actively and prominently identified with the business life of Colorado. The firm of M. Guggenheim's Sons, of New York, of which he is a member and the representative in Colorado, have interests of vast magnitude identified with the mining industry. They are the sole owners of the Philadelphia Smelting & Refining Co. at Pueblo, Colo., the Guggenheim Smelting Co. at Perth Amboy, N. J.; the Great National Mexican Smelting Co. at Monterey, Mexico, and the Great Central Mexican Smelting Co. at Aguascalientes, Mexico; beside many mining properties in Colorado and Mexico.

In January, 1889, Mr. Guggenheim came to Colorado to become connected with the Philadelphia Smelting & Refining Company which has contributed so much to the industrial development and prosperity of the State. In his successful business career he has had the advantage of a winning personality and a generous nature, with means to give effect to their benevolent impulses.

In the autumn of 1898 a political distinction that rarely comes to so young a man, was conferred upon Mr. Guggenheim, undesired and unsought by him. On September 9th the Silver Republican State Convention in session at Colorado Springs nominated him as that party's candidate for Governor of Colorado. Owing to the demands of his personal and business interests, and to his reluctance to engage in political strife, he requested the party's executive committee to subsitute another in his place and withdrew, much against the wishes of many of his fellow-citizens. Though barely within the constitutional age-limit, there can be no doubt that he would have given Colorado a most creditable administration.

On Thanksgiving Day (November 24th) 1898, Mr. Guggenheim and Miss Olga, daughter of Mr. Henry Hirsh, of the city of New York, were married at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in that city, by Rabbi William S. Friedman, of Denver. After a wedding journey to Japan they established their home at Colfax and Washington Avenues, in Denver.—J. C. S.

Simon Guggenheim.

cussion, Daniel Witter, Amos Steck, C. B. Kountze, John W. Smith, L. C. Elsworth, R. R. McCormick, and Henry Crow were appointed a committee to confer with mining men and others and to generally consider the prospects for the success of such an institution. The meeting then adjourned to March 19th.

On that date the second meeting was held at Cooper and Winne's office; the attendance was larger than at the first, several more men having in the meantime become identified with the movement. Chairman Witter on behalf of his committee reported that the encouragement received had not been so great as had been anticipated, but that this was partly due to lack of thorough understanding of the utility and importance of a Mining Exchange. After hearing the report the meeting decided to proceed with the organization. A committee to formulate a plan of organization, draft by-laws and rules of government for the exchange was appointed after which the meeting adjourned to re-assemble when the committee should be ready to report.

On May 10, 1875, the promoters of the enterprise met, their committee reported, and "The Colorado Stock & Exchange Board" was organized, with a membership limited to sixty. Officers were then chosen as follows: Daniel Witter, President; Dr. A. B. Robbins, First Vice President; William D. Todd, Second Vice President and "caller;" E. W. Cobb, Secretary; George E. Snider, Treasurer; E. M. Ashley, Chairman Executive Committee; Owen E. LeFevre, Chairman Stock List Committee. Walter S. Cheesman, Chairman Arbitration Committee.

Quarters for the new institution were secured in Henry C. Brown's building at the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets, which also then sheltered the Daily Tribune of that era. The Exchange was formally opened on June 1st. The first transaction was the sale of one share of stock in the Marshall Tunnel at Georgetown. To give the institution a becoming start that share had been presented by General F. J. Marshall projector of the tunnel with instructions that the proceeds of its sale be donated to the Ladies' Relief Society. After spirited bidding which advanced it from ten to one hundred dollars, it became the property of Daniel Witter, who immediately gave it back to the Exchange. It was again sold to Jeremiah Kershaw, for sixty dollars; and Jeremiah also gave it back. It was then offered for the third time, and sold to Owen E. Le Fevre for one hundred and five dollars, and the Relief Society received two hundred and sixty-five dollars from these initial transactions of Denver's first Mining Exchange. The institution

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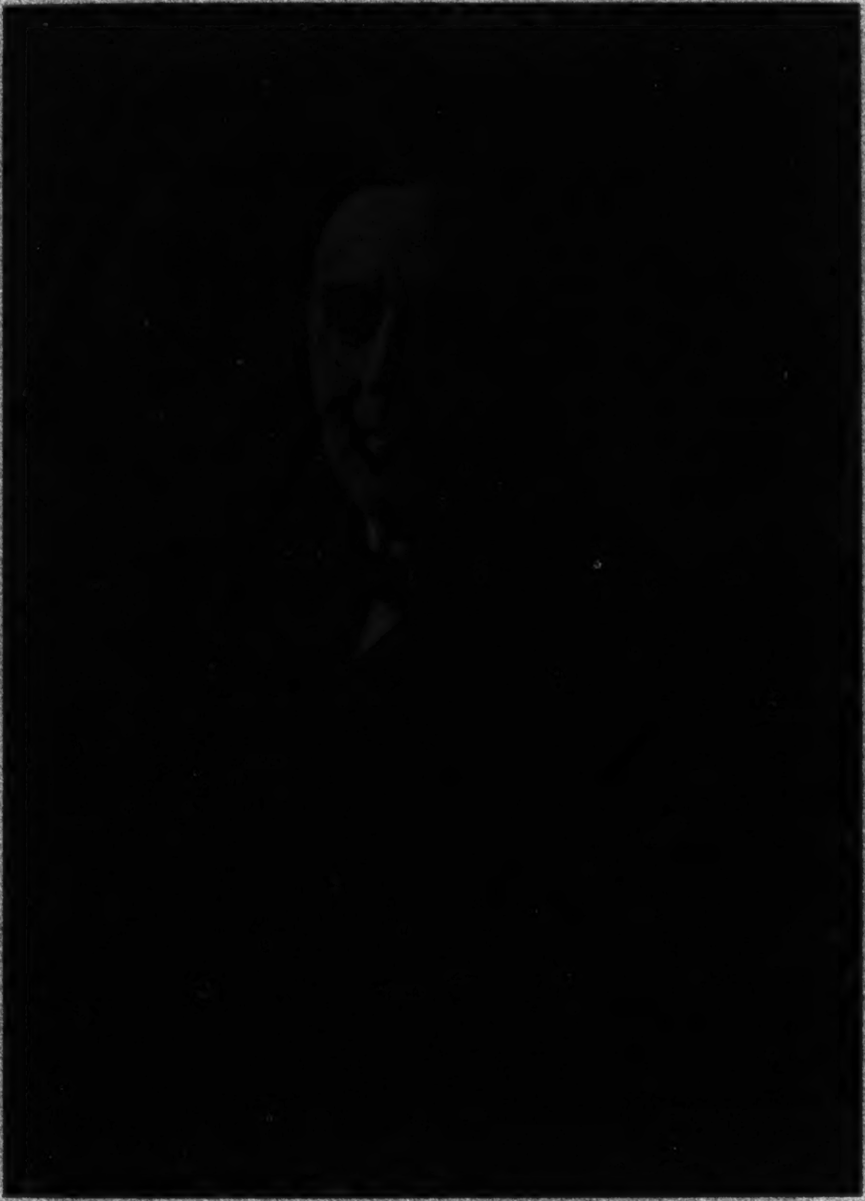
Samuel Newhouse, who has for many years been actively, usefully and successfully identified with the mining interests of Colorado, was born in the city of New York, October 14, 1853, his parents removing to Pennsylvania soon afterward. He received a thorough academic education and was graduated in the schools of Philadelphia, after which he began the study of law.

He was preparing for admission to the bar when the fame of the great carbonate discoveries at Leadville in the late Seventies spread over the country. Abandoning his plans for a legal career, Mr. Newhouse came to Colorado in 1879 and located in Leadville, where his first undertaking was the organization and operation of a freight transfer company for the transportation of supplies, machinery and merchandise into that camp, from the nearest railroad point. This company transacted a large business until the railroads built into Leadville. In the meantime he had acquired valuable mining interests in the Leadville district, and to these he then devoted his attention with characteristic energy.

In 1886 he became interested in mining properties in the San Juan country in the vicinity of Ouray, and removed thither where he remained for several years. He next turned his attention to Denver and its vicinity and was identified with several important mining enterprises in the Clear Creek district, for the active prosecution of which, upon a visit to London, England, he enlisted the co-operation of English capitalists. He made large investments in the Denver, Lakewood & Golden Railroad, is its President, and was instrumental in pushing that line through to completion. The Newhouse Tunnel at Idaho Springs was projected by him and he is now the largest stockholder in the company owning the property. The tunnel begins at a point on South Clear Creek about half a mile below Idaho Springs and runs in a general northerly direction, its ultimate destination being a point below Central City in Gilpin County. It is now in about 9,000 feet and its length when completed will be about four and a half miles. The country which the tunnel traverses is filled with a net work of veins and many of these veins have been opened and developed into mines from the surface. All of these mines are more or less troubled with water. The tunnel will cut the veins at depths far below any point yet reached from the surface, it will drain the mines, and will enable the owners to work their properties and ship their ores to market much more cheaply and effectively. The tunnel is one of the greatest mining enterprises of the State and will always stand as a monument to the energy and industry of Mr. Newhouse and of his steadfast belief in the mining resources of Clear Creek and Gilpin counties. More recently Mr. Newhouse has acquired extensive mining interests in Utah, which have proved exceedingly profitable. Recently he made large investments on Broadway in New York, which make him a prominent owner of real estate in that city.

Mr. Newhouse is still a young man and his success in life has been won upon broad lines. His operations have been upon a large scale, his views are wide, and his generosities are many and lavish. Notwithstanding the fact that his diversified interests take him away from the city much of his time, Denver still claims him as one of her useful and loyal citizens who have aided in making her what she is. In 1883 Mr. Newhouse married Miss Ida H. Stingley of Denver.—J. C. S.



Samuel Newhouse.

did not long exist, as it was premature in the mining world. For a few months it did considerable business, but after a career of a little more than a year it disintegrated, and wound up its affairs.

After the demise of the "Colorado Stock & Exchange Board" Denver was without a mining exchange for several years. Sundry propositions and attempts to organize another one were made within a year or two afterward, but nothing was accomplished until the autumn of 1879; and the one at that time instituted hardly deserved the distinction attaching to such a name. It was an organization of men principally engaged in dealing in Leadville mining stocks. Upon the completion of the Windsor Hotel early in 1880, a room in it was fitted up as headquarters for the Exchange; but the organization continued only a year or so longer, when it passed out of existence.

Denver then remained without one until after the great "boom" had set in. In July, 1889, a large meeting of Denver men interested in mines and mining stocks was held for the purpose of organizing an exchange on an enduring basis. This resulted in incorporating the Colorado Mining Stock Exchange, which was organized by the election of George F. Batchelder, President; C. E. Taylor, Vice President; W. C. Wynkoop Secretary; and John L. McNeil, Treasurer; and which began business on July 18th, of that year.

Quarters for the transaction of business were found in the basement of the earlier "Times Building," on Lawrence street, and then a three-and-one-half-story structure, and the new organization started off under favorable auspices and with good prospects. Its business developed with such rapidity that in 1890 more room was required, and a removal was made to the exchange hall in the Chamber of Commerce building, where the Exchange remained a short time and was then transferred to a building on the north side of Curtis street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, which was its home until the Mining Exchange building was completed.

Early in 1891 when Charles E. Taylor was its President; Charles N. Perkins, Vice President; Dennis Sheedy, Treasurer; and Oney Carstarphen, Secretary, the Exchange corporation began the erection of the fine stone and pressed brick Mining Exchange Building on the southwest corner of Arapahoe and Fifteenth streets; Frank A. Miller having been chairman of the building committee. The edifice was completed late in 1891 and "dedicated" on November 18th. About that time, however, financial complications arose and which resulted in title to the property passing to other interests and in which it is now vested. But the Mining Exchange since that time has retained its quarters in the building.

Notwithstanding that the Exchange has had, in one sense, a continuous existence since 1889, it has not been free from difficulties and embarrassments. All went fairly well until after the times of 1893, when a season of extreme depression ensued. As time went on these conditions either developed, or were made the pretext for, certain objectionable practices which gradually crept into transactions on the Exchange. These practices became influences asserting control, and the institution began to lose its standing among the business public, and fell into actual disrepute, many persons terminating all business relations with it. This state of affairs became intolerable to reputable men connected with it, and in the spring of 1899 it was determined to completely rehabilitate the institution by removing every vestige of these practices and of the management that permitted them. To do these things effectively it was decided to incorporate a new organization to succeed the old one, which was done in April. On May 1st the new corporation was brought into effective existence by electing a governing board consisting of John F. Campion, D. H. Dougan, James B. Grant, Crawford Hill, E. T. Jefferey, John L. Jerome, H. M. Joralmon, Harry H. Lee, John C. Mitchell, D. H. Moffat, George E. Ross-Lewin, Eben Smith, J. A. Thatcher, Charles H. Toll, and Henry R. Wolcott. On July 1st this board elected John F. Campion, President; Henry R. Wolcott, First Vice President; H. M. Joralmon, Second Vice President; D. H. Dougan, Treasurer; and Thomas A. Painter, Secretary.

While these proceedings were intended as the shortest and quickest way to crowd out the objectionable element and practices, they really constituted an entirely new corporation. The old one sold its effects to the new and formally ceased to exist, though the desirable membership was the same in both. Therefore, as a matter of fact, the present Mining Exchange is not the one organized in 1889; but the difference is rather more technical than actual aside from the disrepute into which the old one had fallen and the elimination from the new of the causes of that disrepute.

The corporate name of the new organization is "The Denver Stock Exchange," though it is commonly called the "Mining Exchange." Its primary purpose was to provide and sustain systematic methods of buying and selling mining stocks the character and standing of which are determined by the established rules or by the governing board; to assist those having meritorious mining properties to raise money for their development; to stand between the prospective investor and worthless mining schemes; and, in the language of its articles of incorporation to—"promote uniformity in the business, usages and customs of stock brokers and investors; to inculcate principles of justice and equity in the purchase and sale of stocks, securities and commodities; to facilitate the speedy adjustment of business disputes; to acquire and to disseminate valuable commercial economic, mining and statistical information, and generally to secure to the members and to the community at large the benefits and advantages of co-operation in the furtherance of their legitimate business pursuits."

Notwithstanding these very praiseworthy motives the reorganized Exchange has not prospered so well as its friends had hoped it would. After the reorganization business revived and prospects became fair. But, in the spring of 1900 dissension arose among the broker members, some of whom withdrew and organized in rivalry the Denver Consolidated Exchange which is now established at 1630 Stout street; and this was the Stock Exchange situation at the close of our record.

Mining Exchange Building.

There are many legitimate reasons for the existence of a properly conducted stock exchange. In times passed the Denver Exchange aided to a commendable extent in the development of mining properties, and in discrediting illegitimate and unworthy schemes; and it would seem that such an institution maintaining a high standard would be an influential factor in making Denver the center of transactions in Colorado mining stocks.

A very large proportion of the transactions on the Denver, Colorado Springs, and Cripple Creek Exchanges are speculative, for there are thousands of people who habitually "dabble" in mining stocks. It, also, is an uncertain business, but the "losses," or the "profits," are the mere shifting of the sums they represent from the pockets of one class of speculators to those of another. Many so-called "stocks" have no value whatever, as they represent illegitimate enterprises in the hands of unprincipled and unscrupulous men who exploit them solely for the purpose of fleecing the unwary. Another class of valueless "stocks" represents prospective enterprises of honest but inexperienced and incompetent men. People who part with their money in exchange for such "stocks" as those in these two classes may depend on losing it, no matter whether the deal is in the one or the other. However, the mining exchanges and reputable brokers do not tolerate the presence of such "stocks," and persistently expose the worthless character of all "wild-cat" mining companies. The worst of the schemes are not possible in Colorado, but are incorporated and exploited in the east solely for the purpose of selling very prettily printed certificates. In a recent article on this general subject, appearing in a mining journal, Mr. Thomas Tonge thus classified such mining stocks as are regarded as representing honest, legitimate enterprises:

> "There are three classes of mining stocks, viz.:
>
> 1. Higher priced dividend paying stocks, representing ore shipping properties, as a somewhat permanent investment, looking to dividends as interest thereon, and if bought at the right time, rise in price also.
>
> 2. Lower priced stocks, representing partially developed, not yet dividend properties, more as a speculation, looking for profit to the probable rise in the market value, as the property becomes more developed, and finally transformed into an ore shipper and dividend payer.
>
> 3. Another variety of lower priced stocks, viz., treasury stocks; that is, that portion of the capitalization of a company put into the treasury, the proceeds of sale being applied solely to developing the property, the shares enhancing in market value as the ore is opened up.
>
> Treasury stocks are not listed on the exchanges, and are only obtainable privately from the companies themselves, the money being used in developing the properties. It is largely by means of the proceeds of the sales of treasury stocks, utilized in developing embryo mining properties, that Colorado has become the greatest gold-producing State in the Union.

In frequent instances "treasury stock" of mines that are now on a profitable basis of development, was sold for a small fraction of its present market value. Such stock, of the "Gold Coin" mine, sold at ten cents, advanced to two dollars after the mine's development; of the "Victor," at forty cents, the dividends on which have equalled three times that sum; of the "Isabella," at twelve cents, that advanced more than twelve-fold. Nevertheless, all, and more of the uncertainties that hang around physical mining attach to "speculative mining."

The gold-district of Colorado, that is, the region in which gold is found in its original place in the rocks, is about three hundred miles long by one hundred wide, all in the center and western, mountainous part, of the State. Twenty counties rank as regular gold-producers. The silver distribution is all within the same area but is not so general over it as the gold, the white metal seeming to have had a disposition to concentrate in extraordinary richness in certain localities. Much of the gold and silver ore carries lead and copper in varying quantities, and these metals, as the reader has seen, constitute quite important by-products of the regular mining operations. Accepted estimates of the value of lead and copper thus produced in Colorado since 1859 make the total about $100,000,000. Estimates apply only to the earlier years, as accurate records have been kept in later times.

Some imaginations have been violently exercised in "estimating" the amounts and values of the precious metals Nature still has locked up in Colorado, and the results vary from enough to pay off the National debt of the United States, to enough to pay the debts of all the nations of the earth and have some left. Not satisfied with these exemplary statements, these metalliferous forecasters have also calculated the period of profitable employment the recovery of these vast stores of debt-paying wealth will afford to worthy and industrious miners, and find that it will extend to the end of the twenty-first century. These performances conflict with none of the Colorado statutes, but they do great violence to the common law of common-sense. Absolutely nothing is actually known of such matters, nor is there any present available way of finding out. The extent and thickness of coal measures may be approximately determined by boring; and geological science may make a stagger toward outlining deposits and quantities of iron. But the geological history of gold and silver is too profound a mystery to be explicitly dealt with in the present stage of human knowledge, and such "estimates" of duration for mining and of future production are the merest vaporings.

It would seem probable that vast, untouched deposits of precious metals lie in the ranges within sight of Denver, and it would also seem probable that all the mining that has been done is but a scratching of the surface as compared with the possibilities of future operations, if the situation of all the probable concealed treasures could be revealed. But this is theory, surmise; and the logic of probabilities is against any such general revelations, even if theory and surmise could be advanced to something more substantial. However, there is a suggestiveness in the somewhat general conclusion that the lodes appear to yield richer results as excavations progress downward. To what extent this increase is cumulative, there is not sufficient experience and established fact on which to base a statement. Deep mining, in the true sense of that term, has not yet been reached in Colorado, nor has the conclusion that the deeper ore is richer, prompted anyone to penetrate far down into the presumably still richer regions. Therefore, until something of this kind be done, and until other new light be thrown upon the geological mysteries associated with gold and silver, we may amuse ourselves with pleasing theories and opulent fancies, but for established facts must depend in patience upon what the day, the month, and the year may bring forth.

This is doubtless the more practical view to take of it, and from all present indications we may confidently depend upon the mining industry taking care of itself in the future. Whatever may be the increasing output of our mines as the years pass, and whatever may be the duration of mining, it is quite certain, however, that applied science will add to the former and prolong the latter. Methods of profitably extracting the precious metals from the ores are growing better and more exact every year. Old "dumps" of what was non-paying ore have been attacked in recent times and, under improved processes, the once rejected mineral has yielded good results. There are still thousands of these "dumps" in the mining districts, containing millions of tons of gold-bearing ore of a grade too low to leave any value after paying the expense of reduction by existing processes. It costs just as much to dislodge and raise to the surface barren rock and now worthless low-grade ore, as it does to bring out that which goes to the mills and smelters. The art and science of extraction will yet, in their increasing refinements, rescue much of this wasted effort and vastly augment the net results of every mining operation. Therefore, if national-debt-paying calculations are to remain in vogue, it would seem wiser to base them upon the certain development of processes for handling what we have in hand, rather than upon guesses at what there may be concealed over there in the depths of the ranges.

The mining industry carries with it one unique feature; and that is that its product, generally speaking, is not consumed. It is a permanent addition to the comparatively small number of concrete things that, through the store mankind sets by them, and because of the watchful care bestowed upon them, may be regarded as of permanent value; or, according to our ability to anticipate the preference of future generations, of value so long as mankind itself shall exist. Men may come and men may go, but the precious metals pass on to those who follow. No doubt there is metal in our current coins that served men in the same capacity thousands of years ago, and will be so serving men thousands of years hence, unless the millennium intervenes and brings with it that beatific condition in which values and selfishness shall find no harbor in the thoughts and motives of mankind. The miner is a true producer, and may enrich himself from Nature's treasure-house without encroaching to the worth of a penny upon any other man's possessions.

CHAPTER LIV.

DENVER'S PIONEER RAILROADS—EARLIER DISCUSSIONS OF A TRANS-CONTINENTAL ROAD—FIRST PROPOSED RAILROAD TO DENVER—CLEAR CREEK SURVEY—UNION PACIFIC AND KANSAS PACIFIC ROADS AUTHORIZED—DENVER'S DISAPPOINTMENT—GOLDEN'S PRIORITY IN RAILROAD PROJECTS—COLORADO CENTRAL & PACIFIC—UNCERTAINTIES OF THE RAILROAD SITUATION IN 1867—VARIOUS "RAILROAD MEETINGS"—ORGANIZATION, STRUGGLES, PROGRESS AND TRIUMPH OF THE DENVER PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY—OPERATIONS OF THE KANSAS PACIFIC—COMPLETION TO DENVER OF THE DENVER PACIFIC AND KANSAS PACIFIC—OTHER RAILROAD PLANS—GOVERNOR EVANS' RECOMPENSE TO ARAPAHOE COUNTY—EFFECT OF RAILROAD CONNECTIONS—HIGH RATES.

The history of Denver is unmistakably divided along a line marked out by the wheels of the first railway engine that entered her precincts. When that old locomotive, obtained from the Union Pacific road by the Denver Pacific company, rolled into the city over a not remarkably even track, on June 15, 1870, the pioneer era ended and a new order of things began.

Prior to 1870 Denver was distinctively a little frontier "city" presenting the aspects apparently inseparable from every community depending wholly on stage-coach communications. The town was crude, and after ten years of ups and downs had practically no greater population than that with which it had been credited in 1860. The pioneer manners, practices and customs still held sway, and something like the so-called "woolliness" certain people fancy still clings to western things and places, was undoubtedly visible here to keen observers. While we are accustomed to attributing the city's rise and progress to the great industry of mining, we should not overlook the tremendous influence wielded and services rendered by the railways in the mighty work of development and upbuilding, the results of which stand before us to-day.

Long before Denver had been founded, a railway from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast had been seriously discussed in the eastern part of the United States and had received the attention of Congress. The operations of the American Fur Company, and especially the reports of Marcus Whitman who, more than any other man, was instrumental in saving the Oregon country to the United States, had made the construction of such a road seem feasible to many people, but by a great majority and as late as 1850 it was regarded as impracticable if not wholly chimerical. The reasons for this adverse judgment have been indicated in our chapter dealing with the "Great American Desert." Fremont's expeditions were primarily for the purpose of officially determining the engineering practicability of constructing a railroad across the mountains, and his reports did much toward correcting popular misbeliefs of the general character of this western country. His reports also caused Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, to change his long-entertained opinions of the far west and to become an earnest advocate in Congress of the immediate construction by the United States government of a transcontinental railway. In 1846 such a proposition was first actually submitted to some of the voters in the country east of the Missouri river as a political issue, by James Burch who, in that year became an independent candidate for Congress in the old "St. Joe district" in northwestern Missouri. His "platform" had but one "plank"—the construction of a railroad to the Pacific. Burch was subjected to much ridicule, both in and out of his district, and was overwhelmingly defeated; but he stands in history as the first man who made a "race for Congress" as an advocate of a transcontinental railway.

Colonel John Doniphan, of St. Louis, a writer and commentator on western history of great care and ability, and an accepted authority on much of it that pertains to the country west of the Mississippi river, in a recently published article (1900) on the inception of a transcontinental railway, thus refers to a speech delivered in St. Louis in 1849 by Senator Benton:

> "Colonel Benton delivered a speech in favor of a line starting at St. Louis, going by Kansas City and up the valley of the Kansas river, and crossing the Rocky Mountains at the head of the Platte river. It was then that I heard him give utterance to the grand declaration: 'When this mighty work is completed and the commerce of the East is being brought over it, and the iron bands connect the oceans, a grateful country will carve out of the granite pillars of the Rocky Mountains a statue of Columbus pointing to the West and exclaiming—'There is the East! There! There is India!'

Senator Benton held in his left hand a scroll received by him from Colonel Fremont about the practicability of a road across the mountains, which he had just read, when he elevated his head from the reading, let his gold-rimmed glasses fall on his immaculate white vest, then, looking as if in retrospect at the horizon, pointing his hand and extending a finger to the West, turned partially round, as he had been facing the northwest, and deliberately uttered the words as though addressing the place indicated by the finger in the far distance; and doubtless many of his hearers, like myself, by the eye of faith, saw the blue waters of the Pacific and heard the murmur of its waves."

Colonel Doniphan, who is a nephew of Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan of the First Missouri Regiment of the Mexican war time and whose name is so intimately associated with our southwestern history of that period, goes on to say:

"On December 15, 1850, Colonel Benton introduced in the Senate a bill 'To locate and construct a great national highway from St. Louis to the bay of San Francisco on the Pacific ocean.' In his advocacy he said the bill conformed to all the ideas of a national highway. (1) It is central, as it begins and ends between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels. (2) It is national, as it combines a railroad, a graded wagon-road and a turnpike or paved roadway, and a telegraph line, all parallel, and to be built upon the right of way, of one mile in width, in the public domain. (3) It would have a branch to Santa Fe, one to Salt Lake, and one beyond to Oregon. (4) It would be national, as the work was to be done and owned by the government. And (5) to be paid for by the sale of public lands. The details had been worked out in his prolific brain, but the pigmies at home defeated Benton for re-election in 1851, and this magnificent project was suffered to sleep the sleep of death."

The reader will observe that the line of Senator Benton's proposed great transcontinental highway would have encountered the mountains not far from the site of Denver.

It is not within our province to further follow the discussion of a railway to the Pacific that soon afterward became general, both for and against it, in what was then the settled parts of the vast territory of the United States, and that eventually resulted in the construction, with government assistance, of the Union and the Central Pacific railroads which constituted the first transcontinental railroad. All that belongs to National history. But the fact that there are now a half-dozen or more of what may be termed transcontinental railroads emphasizes the almost incredible development of this country within the observation of men who are still in active business life.

To the sanguine and enthusiastic pioneers in this Denver region in 1859-60 the early construction of a railroad to the Pacific did not appear improbable, and in the event of its probable early undertaking it did not seem possible that it would be built anywhere except by way of this then embryo city. Assuming the completion of the long-talked-of road, to Denver, the Rocky Mountain News, in its issue of November 24, 1859, thus mapped out a route for it over the mountains to the Utah basin:

"From here westward the route may deflect a little to the northward, passing through the Cache-a-la-Poudre Pass of the Black Hills, crossing the Laramie Plains and entering the great basin through Bridger's Pass; or it may continue from here directly westward, entering the mountains by the Platte Canon, following up that stream to the junction of the North and South Forks; thence up the North Fork to the South Park, cross a low mountain summit, and thence down the waters of the Colorado into the heart of the great basin. This route we consider entirely practicable, presenting less obstacles—if we except the first fifteen miles after entering the Platte Canon, and even they are not at all unsurmountable—than have been overcome on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and traversing the gold field in the exact direction of the great leads, and its greatest known length, for a distance not less than five hundred miles."

Mr. Byers' experience as a topographical engineer and his intimate knowledge of the mountain country warranted him in laying down this route for a trans-montane road even in that early day; and his judgment was justified in later years by the construction of railroads on nearly every mile of the line he thus defined by way of the South Platte.

In the summer of 1860 it appeared to many Denver people that the construction of a railroad from the Missouri river to Denver was to be undertaken at once by private enterprise with some assistance from the United States government, to the extent, at least, of a land-grant. There had been organized at St. Joseph, Missouri, the "Missouri River & Pike's Peak Railroad Company," a corporation that proposed to build a railroad from St. Joseph to Denver. Its projectors solicited the co-operation and assistance of the Denver people, and the enterprise caused considerable commotion here and not a little enthusiasm. The Denver newspapers supported it with great vigor, and several public meetings were held to consider ways and means by which to aid the all-important undertaking; though the resources of the community for railroad building were then very slender, indeed. While it does not appear that any field-survey for the road had been made, or that its route was definitely located, it seemed to the people of Denver in that summer a rather tangible enterprise. At the Denver meetings estimates of the cost of construction, and of the business there would be for the road, were submitted and discussed and, altogether, the project was taken up with much earnestness.

But in the excitement, consternation and apprehension caused all over the country by the outbreak of the great civil war, the Missouri River & Pike's Peak Railroad became utterly lost and practically forgotten. This disappointment to Denver's early and hopefully cultivated railroad ambitions was a serious one. In 1861 her nearest railroad point was St. Joseph, the western terminus of the "Hannibal & St. Joe Railroad," cutting across northern Missouri from Hannibal, on the Mississippi. It was a long, tiresome distance across the plains from the Missouri. The probability of the government, menaced as it was by disruption, even considering the construction of a Pacific railroad, seemed hopelessly out of the question; and the possibility of private enterprise and capital undertaking to build in the time of such a war a railroad across that great and then uninhabited expanse was reluctantly admitted by the most sanguine of Denver's pioneers to be not worth talking about. So, the problem of providing Denver with railroad communications was abandoned to the then very great uncertainties of the future.

Yet, it was in the spring of 1861, at the time when the first crash of the civil war had been heard, that the first actual survey for a railroad out of Denver was made. At that time and at the instance of W. A. H. Loveland of Golden, F. J. Ebert of Denver, surveyed a line from this city to Golden and thence up the Clear creek canon to Central City. However, under the conditions then existing, that survey was regarded by nearly every Denver citizen as merely a waste of time and money upon a purely visionary enterprise, and it inspired hardly any confidence. The present division of the Colorado & Southern road, from Denver by way of Golden to Central City, is located nearly all the way upon the line of that survey.

But it happened that the civil war was the immediate cause of government action toward the construction of the long talked of railroad to the Pacific, and when Congress on July 1, 1862, passed the first Pacific railroad bill with its vast grants of land and subsidies of bonds, to aid corporations to construct the road or roads, it gave Denver its first really rational hope for railway communications. In addition to the early exploration surveys, several preliminary field-surveys had then been made, and while our town was not directly on the line of any of these affording what were believed to be the better passes through the mountains, the fact that our pioneers held it to be the only town of prominence and promise in the region, made it appear certain to them that if a Pacific railroad were really to be built it must be built by way of Denver.

So, hope and confidence encouraged anticipation; and both were needed. But the adversities of the dragging war caused the railroad enterprise from the Missouri river to the Pacific to be slow in getting started. Additional and even more liberal legislation by Congress was required and received, and in the meantime the days of waiting at Denver seemed as long as the distance to the nearest railroad track. Finally, in 1865, the beginning was made at Omaha, and the great iron trail later began taking form up the valley of the Platte. It then appeared to be only a matter of speed in railway building as to the day on which Denver would open her gates to the iron horse.

Moreover, it appeared early in 1865 that Denver would have two lines of railroad to the Missouri river within a comparatively short time, although the second one was not generally regarded as promising so nearly a certainty as the Union Pacific. In addition to providing assistance in the construction of the latter, Congress had also authorized the Kansas Pacific road with a land grant and a bond subsidy. The Kansas Pacific was the outgrowth of one of the pioneer railway projects west of the Missouri river—the "Pawnee & Western Railroad," that was organized in eastern Kansas before the civil war, and one of the early petitioners for a land grant. As the Kansas Pacific it was an enterprise in the interest of the city of St. Louis, and while Congress had provided that it should form a junction with the Union Pacific at the 100th meridian, its projectors intended and expected to have that Legislative requirement repealed by a substitute that would make the road a transcontinental line crossing the Rocky Mountains somewhere near the thirty-seventh parallel. But, as matters then stood its subsidies did not extend west beyond a point in western Kansas that later became known as Pond Creek and is now Monument station. Construction work upon the road began about the same time as upon the Union Pacific, and it was soon pushing the end of the tracks into the prairies of eastern Kansas. It was anticipated here that Congress would later provide aid by subsidies for the construction of the Kansas Pacific west of Kansas, and that if the main line did not come to Denver there would in any event be built a branch to the Colorado metropolis, which, with the expected coming hither of the Union Pacific, would more than fulfill the most sanguine ambitions of the "city."

However, the equanimity of Denver's citizens was seriously disturbed in 1865 by operations in progress at Golden that were intended to make that town the pioneer railroad center in Colorado, and of which we will presently give some particulars. Golden had an organized railroad company, it was then the Territorial capital, and had grown so arrogant that it professed not to regard the much larger town at the mouth of Cherry creek as a rival. The competition between the two places was very sharp, and while it did not seem probable that Denver's supremacy would yield, the railroad scheme that had been elaborated at Golden caused much uneasiness here.

Construction work on both Pacific roads was pushed with great activity through 1865 and 1866, with the greater progress on the Union Pacific. As the tracks of the latter advanced, the mountain-crossing point became of apparently vital impor-

Matthews' view of Fifteenth street, looking southward from Wazee street, in 1865.

tance to Denver. In the autumn of 1865 John Evans and others began laboring with the Directors of the Union Pacific to adopt a route through this way, up Clear creek canon, and thence by way of Berthoud Pass across western Colorado to Utah, but without having received definite encouragement. In 1866 these efforts were renewed, but about the middle of July came the evil tidings, in terms so definite as to cause profound dismay, that the Union Pacific could not or, at any rate, would not, be built by way of Denver and Berthoud Pass. With this information it was stated that there was some probability that a route up the canon of the Cache-a-la-Poudre would be adopted, and that in that event a branch road could probably be built to Denver, although the Union Pacific had then no authority to build branch lines on its own account. This intelligence, so incredible that some persistent souls insisted that it could not be true, paralyzed Denver's railroad expectations for a season. In November, 1866, General Grenville M. Dodge, after his engineers had made final examination of all proposed mountain-crossings, reported in favor of the Bridger Pass route and soon afterward the company conclusively adopted it—finally building the road upon it. This meant that the Union Pacific would pass west more than a hundred miles north of Denver.

In the spring of that year the Denver people had learned that the Kansas Pacific company was planning to continue its road, after it had reached the subsidy-terminal in western Kansas, in a southwesterly direction that would take it even a greater distance from them than the Union Pacific on its Bridger Pass route. But, as our people had given less attention to the Kansas Pacific than to the Union Pacific on which they had set their hearts, the proposed southwest route of the former had caused no grave public disappointment here, because all anticipations had been centered upon the Union Pacific. However, late in June, 1866, Congress by law constituted the Kansas Pacific the "Eastern Division" of the Union Pacific, although the two corporations had been, and were, otherwise, entirely independent of each other; and also required that the Eastern Division should change its westward route so as to connect with the Union Pacific at some point not farther west than fifty miles west of the longitude of Denver, instead of at the 100th meridian. The contemplated route of the Kansas Pacific under this change was up the Smoky Hill Fork of the Republican river, and while a land-grant was made, no additional bond subsidies were provided. Notwithstanding that this change made it seem practically a certainty that the Kansas Pacific would be built through Denver under the new legislation, the people here did not, in 1866, turn to that road for relief from the situation in which they found themselves after they learned that the Union Pacific would pass west a considerable distance to their northward.

Golden had been about three years ahead of Denver in making the first organized effort to locate and construct a railroad in Colorado. In this, W. A. H. Loveland was the tireless advocate and leader. We have already referred to the survey for a railroad from Denver by way of Golden to Central City he caused to be made in the spring of 1861. He was one of the founders of Golden in 1859, and even at that early time began in his energetic way to discuss the construction of a railway up the canon of Clear creek, notwithstanding the engineering difficulties presented by that route, and soon afterward proposed the seeming impossible work of its construction across the mountains, either as an independent line or as part of the railway he predicted would be built within a few years from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast. In the early years he was the business life and soul of the town of Golden, and a man whose foresight, energy, and ability as a Captain among men were unusual.

In 1861 the overland stage company had been seeking a shorter route across the mountains into Utah, and in the summer of that year an exploration survey by a party under Captain E. L. Berthoud, was made up Clear creek, crossing the range through Berthoud Pass, and locating a practicable route thence to Salt Lake City of 458 miles from Golden—some two hundred miles shorter than the one then traversed by the stage company. In 1863 Loveland and his associates obtained from the Territorial Legislature a charter to build a wagon road up Clear creek on the line of that survey. Some work was later done on the road but Loveland, with his railroad idea persistent in mind, procured from the Third Legislative Assembly (session of 1864) an amendment—or re-enactment, of his wagon road charter, creating the Colorado Central Railroad Company, and authorizing it to build a standard gauge road "from Golden City up Clear creek canon to Empire and Central City, and Golden City to Boulder, and via Denver to Bijou." In 1865 the Legislature amended this charter, changing the corporate name to that of the "Colorado Central & Pacific Railroad Company," and authorized the company to build a road from Golden by way of Clear creek canon to the west line of Colorado, and from Golden eastward to the east line of Colorado to meet and form a junction with either the Union Pacific or the Kansas Pacific; and also to build several branch lines. The incorporators named in the amended law were William A. H. Loveland, Henry M. Teller, John T. Lynch, John A. Nye, Thomas Mason, A. Gilbert, Milo Lee, and E. K. Baxter, of Colorado; James Mills, George A. Hoyt, John A. Dix, Ebenezer Cook, W. W. Wright, Thomas Small, L. C. Pollard, and William Bond, of New York; M. Laflin, of Chicago; A. McKinney, of Boston; Samuel Wheelwright, George B. Satterlee, W. V. Ogden, and Jonathan Cox. Loveland's plan was to make this proposed road a part of either the Union Pacific or Kansas Pacific transcontinental line, on the route by way of Golden, Clear creek and Berthoud Pass.

Loveland effected a formal organization of his company in New York, but had enlisted with him in the enterprise Jerome B. Chaffee, of Denver, who was one of the Directors of the Union Pacific and who, also, was made a Director in the Colorado Central, for the sake of his influence with the greater corporation. Loveland had originally expected to obtain capital for the construction of his road from foreign sources, but having found no encouragement in that direction he turned in the autumn of 1865 to the Union Pacific people for co-operative assistance. General John A. Dix, then President of the Union Pacific company, was inclined to look upon Loveland's project with much favor, and the latter was soon led to believe that negotiations had almost reached the point of closing an agreement for the Union Pacific adopting the Clear creek-Berthoud Pass route through the mountains, and making the Colorado Central & Pacific a part of the transcontinental line. But in this he either deceived himself or was deceived, for before the close of the winter of 1865-66 the life had departed from the negotiations. They had really never reached an advanced stage, and were all the time held subject to a survey of the Clear creek route by Union Pacific engineers. While they were pending, John Evans and other citizens of Denver, as we have stated, were urging the Union Pacific Directors to locate their road through Denver and west by way of the Clear creek canon, but did so with no particular reference to Loveland's railroad enterprise. In the spring and summer of 1866 the route was surveyed by the Union Pacific, and soon thereafter, as already stated, the company finally and conclusively decided upon the Bridger Pass crossing as the more practicable, far cheaper, and as affording a way for quick construction. The greater distance, moreover, secured to the Union Pacific more subsidy bonds, more lands, more mileage upon which to issue its own first mortgage bonds, and more construction profits; for nearly every mile of it yielded large profits to the builders.

Loveland's next move was to procure the co-operative assistance of the Union Pacific people in making the Colorado Central a system of roads in Colorado tributary to the Union Pacific. General Grenville M. Dodge in his report of November, 1866, upon which the Bridger Pass route for the transcontinental road was adopted, had strongly favored encouraging the construction of a branch road to Denver and to the mining districts of Colorado, both for the general traffic it would develop and for the coal supply it would afford the Union Pacific. The Directors of the Union Pacific approved General Dodge's recommendations, and in January, 1867, appointed a committee consisting of

Oliver Ames, Thomas J. Carter, Sidney Dillon, John Duff, Thomas C. Durant, and Jesse L. Williams to investigate the resources of the Colorado country and report upon the advisability of assisting in the construction of a system of Colorado roads tributary to the Union Pacific and with Denver as their central point. This committee made a very favorable report, in which the construction of a road from some point on the Union Pacific to Denver, thence to Golden and up both Forks of Clear creek; and also a line to Boulder with the view of making the latter the beginning of a north and south line along the base of the mountains with branches such as subsequent development of the mining and other resources of the country might require. In the spring of 1867, in Boston, Loveland effected an arrangement with the Union Pacific people under which his project was to be made the basis upon which the Colorado tributary system was to be built; and to that end the Colorado Central & Pacific was reorganized in June of that year with Union Pacific interests practically in control.

Matthews' sketch of Golden in 1866, looking down Clear creek.

In the foregoing we have marshalled the circumstances associated with the railroad situation at Denver and in Colorado as it existed in midsummer of 1867 when the movement that finally eventuated in the construction of the first railroad on Colorado soil was inaugurated in this city.

On July 11, 1867, Thomas J. Carter, who was one of the United States Directors of the Union Pacific, came to Denver to ascertain what the people of the city could and would do toward aiding the construction of the contemplated Colorado tributaries of the Union Pacific, as a basis for which he proposed using the Colorado Central & Pacific organization. A public meeting of citizens was held at Cole's Hall in the evening of that day to consider any propositions Mr. Carter might submit; Governor A. C. Hunt presiding, with Roger W. Woodbury, then of the Denver Tribune, serving as Secretary. Mr. Carter's plan was to begin the Colorado Central & Pacific by constructing a road from the Union Pacific to Denver, thence to Golden, and on up the Clear creek canon, with a branch from the main line to Boulder; that the people along the route should as stockholders in the road prepare the road-bed ready for the iron; and, that done, the Union Pacific interests would iron, equip and, if found best to do so, would lease and operate the road in direct connection with their main line. Mr. Carter dwelt upon many details directly and indirectly connected with the project, but which are not of interest now. He was followed by General Bela M. Hughes, John Evans and Governor Hunt in addresses in which the assembled citizens were urged to carefully consider Mr. Carter's plans and prepare to act promptly if they should be accepted.

To provide means with which to prepare the roadbed for the rails, in the most equitable manner, it was proposed that Arapahoe, Jefferson, Gilpin, Clear Creek and Boulder counties should issue bonds and receive railroad stock in exchange therefor; the company to take the bonds at par and find its own way of converting them into cash. As the roadbed was estimated to cost $600,000—a suspiciously small sum, considering the mountain work—it was proposed that Arapahoe should be bonded for one-third of the amount. After various other collateral questions had been discussed, former Governor John Evans submitted a resolution asking the County Commissioners to submit to a vote of the people the question of issuing $200,000 of county bonds to aid the construction of the proposed railroad. The people of Denver had regarded the Loveland railroad project with a feeling in which jealousy and suspicion were about equally mingled, and therefore Governor Evans had been careful in the phraseology of his resolution. It specifically stated as a condition precedent to the issue of county bonds, that the road should be located from the most available point on the Union Pacific "direct to Denver," and thence to Golden, Black Hawk, and Central City; and also to Georgetown.

At that time the Union Pacific had been completed and opened for business between Omaha and the confluence of the North and South Platte rivers, a distance of 295 miles, and advance construction work was bearing in a direction that left no possible hope of its diversion to Denver. So it appeared that Mr. Carter's plans and Governor

Evans' bond resolution were opening the way for providing Denver a railroad connection with the great transcontinental road. After appointing Governor Evans, M. M. DeLano, Governor Hunt, Dr. J. H. Morrison, Bela M. Hughes, L. M. Koons and Frederick J. Stanton a committee to confer and co-operate with the County Commissioners, that "railroad meeting" adjourned with something like a conviction in the minds of all present that a beginning toward building a railroad to Denver had actually been made.

At this juncture the Kansas Pacific suddenly and unheralded appeared on the scene. Although it had been overshadowed by the great line to the northward, of which Congress had decreed it should become nominally a division, it had by midsummer of 1867 almost completed its grading to its bond subsidy terminal and its further progress was then a matter of some uncertainty. The act of Congress reducing it, prospectively, to be merely a division of the Union Pacific had not been well received, and its projectors had conceived plans for constructing on their own resources an independent connecting line to the southwest and which, they hoped, could be pushed through to the Pacific coast with some aid from the government which they anticipated could be later obtained from Congress. Considerable difficulty in financing even the beginning of the independent line had been encountered, and the future of westward operations was seriously in doubt. Two or three routes to the southwest had been surveyed, either of which would have taken the road much farther from Denver than the Union Pacific would be, as all of them were projected to Las Animas on the Arkansas river.

It was believed by most of our people that the Kansas Pacific would later secure from Congress reconsideration of the act of June, 1866, would obtain a continuation of its bond subsidy and land grant, and would build up the Arkansas river from Las Animas into western Colorado where it would diverge either to the northwest to a connection with the Union or Central Pacific, or to the southwest and continue its line to tidewater in southern California. Others believed that it would cross the Arkansas at Las Animas and continue southwest after the later fashion of the Santa Fe road. But all hands were agreed that it evidently intended to leave Denver very far out in the cold; and Loveland and Thomas J. Carter had carefully done all they could to confirm these beliefs, in their intercourse with the Denver people.

Therefore the sudden precipitation of the Kansas Pacific into the railroad question in Denver was a surprise to our people; and also something of a gratification, temporarily. After the proceedings of the railroad meeting of July 11th were made public, Isaac E. Eaton, representing the Kansas Pacific, had announced in the newspapers that Loveland and Carter had misrepresented the intentions of the Kansas Pacific; that he was authorized by its officers to say that the road would be built to Denver without subsidies, bonds, or other aid, and as quick as men and money could do it; and that surveying parties had been put in the field to locate the line from the then western terminus in Kansas direct to Denver.

This announcement caused much excitement in the city, and also soon brought about a division of sentiment as to the propriety of adhering to the plans laid down at the meeting of July 11th to co-operate with Loveland and Carter. Early in August, though the Kansas Pacific surveyors had not yet come into view, a new promise came from the people of that road. This was to the effect that the company had decided to build both northwest and southwest from western Kansas; that the northwest line would be direct to Denver and thence north to a junction with the Union Pacific, while the southwest line would be headed into New Mexico; and that surveys on the Denver line would be instituted without any more delay. The statements were accompanied by so many assurances of good faith that a majority of the Denver people were ready to anchor their railroad hopes in the Kansas Pacific plans.

The work of locating Loveland's Colorado Central & Pacific road had then been started. The surveys began at Cheyenne and proceeded almost due southward. This route aroused suspicions in the minds of many Denver people that Loveland intended making the road a direct line to Golden, with a branch to Denver if anything were built by him to this point. The Arapahoe County Commissioners had readily consented to order an election on the bond proposition, and had fixed the date, August 13th, for holding it. A large number of our people became opposed to voting the bonds, but as Boulder county had voted in favor of issuing $50,000 worth to secure a connection with the proposed road, and as the Arapahoe Commissioners had provided that their bonds should be issued on condition that the road be located and built on the southward side of the Platte river, direct to Denver, this opposition gave way, and the issue was approved by an almost unanimous vote on August 13th; there having been 1,160 affirmative, to 157 negative, votes.

The Kansas Pacific people, in the meantime, through John D. Perry, then President of that road, continued their assurances in letters to Denver men that they intended building their road to Denver forthwith; and in the first week of September a party of their engineers under W. H. Greenwood, arrived in Denver and immediately began work on a line southeastward. This promising movement, and the fact that Loveland's surveyors were continuing on a line evidently intended to be run direct to Golden, caused the Denver people, in October, to declare against any further attempts to co-operate with the Colorado Central scheme, and in favor of awaiting the relief the Kansas Pacific promised to afford them. All interest in the Loveland road was discarded and, it may be stated here, it was not again revived, nor were the bonds voted at the election of August 13th ever issued to aid its construction.

Interest in the Kansas Pacific had been kept in a rather warm condition by the correspondence of its officers. At that time Colonel James Archer, of St. Louis, was one of the leaders in Kansas Pacific affairs, and on November 8th he came to Denver to meet our citizens for a general consultation, and discussion of railroad matters. He was hailed and treated as the prospective railroad saviour of the community, but when it was learned that his mission was to obtain a large bonus for the construction of the Kansas Pacific to Denver, the adverse climax of the local railroad situation appeared to have been reached.

Colonel Archer in conference with Governor John Evans, M. M. DeLano, Bela M. Hughes, W. F. Johnson and others, stated that his company had found itself unable to finance its contemplated extensions beyond the point at which the government bond subsidy terminated in Kansas; that the southwestern extension had been abandoned; that with the means at command the road could be built no farther than Pond Creek where it would end in an open, unsettled prairie country; that the company could not build farther in any direction without outside assistance; that he had come here to ascertain what the people could do for the Kansas Pacific that would soon be stalled in the prairie wilderness of western Kansas unless some means were found with which to push it through to Denver and on north to the Union Pacific; and that a bonus of two million dollars would be required from the people here to assure construction of the road to this city.

The Denver men to whom Colonel Archer made these statements realized that the time had come for instant action on their part if serious disaster to the city were to be avoided. They decided to at once organize a Board of Trade through which the people could act in concert and as an unity. A meeting of citizens was held for that purpose at Cole's Hall on Larimer street, November 13th, at which the Board was organized; its Directors consisting of Isaac Brinker, J. D. Brown, W. M. Clayton, Henry C. Leach, D. H. Moffat, Jr., J. H. Morrison, Frank Palmer, John Pierce, F. Z. Salomon, John W. Smith, J. M. Strickler, George Tritch and R. E. Whitsitt. The Directors organized by electing John W. Smith, President; General John Pierce, Vice President; Isaac Brinker, Second Vice President; Frank Palmer, Treasurer; and Henry C. Leach, Secretary.

At that time the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad was represented in Denver by D. C. Dodge, now Vice President and General Manager of the Rio Grande Western Railway. As the reader will have seen, something closely akin to a crisis in Denver's career was then impending, and an incident for which Colonel Dodge was chiefly responsible demonstrated in a striking way how great consequences may develop from a simple but timely act.

On the day of Colonel Archer's arrival Colonel Dodge had telegraphed General Grenville M. Dodge apprising him of Archer's visit, of its purposes, and of the certain failure of the mission; and asking that someone be sent here to take up the railroad question with the people of Denver on some basis within their reach. Promptly came a reply stating that George Francis Train would come to Denver immediately. Train was then about as erratic as he was later in life, and when the Denver people learned who was coming to lead them out of the wilderness, they were inclined to resent the appearance of such a guide and counsellor.

The New Board of Trade called a general meeting of citizens at Cole's Hall for the evening of November 14th, which was largely attended. General Bela M. Hughes addressed the audience in his characteristic manner, urging the imperative necessity for heartily supporting the new organization of business men, and the even greater necessity for immediate action upon the railroad question if the supremacy of Denver in Colorado were to be maintained—if the city's very existence were to be continued. Colonel Archer, who had remained in the city in the meantime, then spoke briefly. He told of the condition of the Kansas Pacific, what it could do and what it could not do, and closed with the statement that if the people of Denver would provide a bonus of two million dollars the Kansas Pacific would be built to the city; otherwise it would not. Those in the audience who had not been informed of the proposition Colonel Archer had been authorized by his company to make, were dumbfounded on hearing this. The Colonel might just as well have been authorized to ask for twenty millions, for all the difference the larger sum would have made as a practical proposition. The two millions were impossible.

George Francis Train had arrived in Denver in the morning of that day, and was present at the meeting. He had busied himself through the day in gathering information, and when Colonel Archer concluded his remarks, Train began his speech which proved so potent and notable in Denver's railroad annals. He urged the people to no longer look to others for help but to remember and act upon the fact that "God helps those who helps themselves;" to abandon all thought of subsidizing Colonel Archer's road, and to let it end in Kansas or go in any direction its owners desired; that the valley of the Platte afforded an easy and direct route for a road to the Union Pacific that could be cheaply built; to organize a company within themselves and build a railroad of their own either down the Platte or on the shorter route to the Union Pacific directly north to Cheyenne; to own and operate it, and if there were any money to be made in the business to make it for themselves. After entering into some explanatory details, Train concluded by urging the people, as competent and sensible business men, to carefully consider his advice and suggestions, and then immediately act upon them.

That was the turning point. The erratic Train's sensible, vigorous and logical address was exactly the proposition called for by the situation and circumstances. It is, of course, useless to theorize over what might have happened if Colonel Dodge had not sent his message, and if George Francis Train had not come to Denver in response to its request. But certain it is that great consequences did follow the one and the other—consequences that absolutely and forever determined that Denver should be the metropolis of this vast mid-continent region, instead of some point farther to the north or to the south; for it was inevitable that somewhere near the base of the Rocky Mountains a metropolitan city would arise.

The new Board of Trade lost no time in acting upon Train's suggestions and advice. A meeting of its members was held two days later—November 16th—at which the first definite steps were taken toward building what proved to be the first railroad to Denver and, aside from the few miles of the Union Pacific crossing the northeast corner of the Territory, the first in Colorado. Preliminary estimates by General Francis M. Case of the cost of preparing the road-bed ready for the rails from Denver to Cheyenne, a distance of a little more than 100 miles, were submitted and discussed. They anticipated a total expense for that purpose of about $500,000—which was far under what the actual cost proved to be—and it was argued that with the road-bed thus prepared there would be no difficulty in inducing the Union Pacific people to put down the track and equip and operate the road. Then, a series of resolutions, prepared and offered by General John Pierce, was unanimously adopted. The resolutions provided for committees to select corporators for the proposed railroad company, to secure from the Territorial Legislature any legislation that might be needed, and to also keep in view the possibility of having the Kansas Pacific build to Denver if its prospects became brighter.

On November 18th a mass meeting of citizens was held in the old Denver Theater at Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, with W. F. Johnson as President, and John Walker, of the Denver Tribune, Secretary. John Evans was the principal speaker. His faith in the future development of Denver and of Colorado was of the kind that is said to move mountains; and it seldom wavered. At that meet-

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Governor John Evans was a native of Ohio, and a descendant of an old Quaker family of Philadelphia. His parents, David and Rachel Evans, removed to Ohio when nearly the whole of that State was a wilderness, and located in Warren county, near Cincinnati, where they acquired land that later became one of the fine farms in that fertile country. Their son, the subject of this sketch, was born on that farm, near the village of Waynesville, on March 9, 1814, and lived and worked on the homestead farm until he attained his majority. Having attended the local district school a few months each year as opportunity offered, he had received the fundaments of a fair education. At the age of twenty-one he went to Philadelphia, and entered the Clermont Academy. Upon completing the course in that institution he began the study of medicine, and in 1838 was graduated a Doctor of Medicine.

Dr. Evans located in northern Illinois and began practice as a country physician among settlers on the Illinois river. In 1838 he married in Ohio Hannah Canby, daughter of an old Ohio family and whose father, Joseph Canby, was an eminent physician in that State; General E. R. S. Canby of the United States Army having been one of that family and a nephew of Dr. Canby. After his marriage, Dr. Evans established himself at Attica, Ind., where he acquired a large practice and became a young man of wide influence in the community. Proper care and treatment of insane persons early received his attention, and at that time such unfortunates were almost unprovided for in that State. Through the active interest and instrumentality of Dr. Evans, the Legislature of Indiana in 1841 provided for the erection of a State Asylum for Insane, and upon its completion Dr. Evans was appointed its first Superintendent.

In 1845, his fame as a most successful practitioner and as a man of broad views having gone abroad, he was elected to a Professor's Chair in Rush Medical College at Chicago, at that time as it still is, one of the great medical colleges of the country. Dr. Evans filled that Chair for eleven years and in that time became nationally known as a leader in his profession. During the epidemic of cholera in 1848 49 he carefully studied that disease, and was the first to clearly demonstrate its contagious character and the methods by which infection passed from person to person. His researches resulted in a recommendation to Congress urging, upon the lines now followed, a quarantine against the pestilence.

While a citizen of Chicago his activities in other directions were many. For several years he edited the "Medical and Surgical Journal;" was founder and member of the staff of the "Illinois General Hospital," later conveyed to the Sisters of Mercy and re-named the "Mercy Hospital;" a member of the Methodist Episcopal church, he was instrumental in establishing the "Northwestern Christian Advocate," and in founding the "Methodist Book Concern," in Chicago; and was the projector of the original "Methodist Building" which in recent times was succeeded on the same site by one of the present great business structures in Chicago.

When the Chicago & Fort Wayne Railroad, one of the pioneer railways of Illinois, and now a part ing he predicted that before the century closed Denver might be made one of the great railway centers in the United States, and that it would then also be the center of precious metals production in the United States. Within twenty-five years his conclusions, that had been regarded by nearly all his hearers as extravagant, exceedingly improbable, were fulfilled; and he lived to see their consummation. Other speakers followed Governor Evans, outlining the probable development of a system of railroads in Colorado that would follow the construction of the proposed road to Cheyenne; all of which seemed very like flights of the imagination, yet that development came with marvelous swiftness.

Then the assembled citizens were informed that all arrangements had been made for incorporating the "Denver Pacific Railroad and Telegraph Company" with a capital stock of $2,000,000, by the following named members of the Board of Trade: Joseph E. Bates, William M. Clayton, John Evans, Bela M. Hughes, W. F. Johnson, Luther Kountze, David H. Moffat, Jr., John Pierce, and John W. Smith. The conspicuous though unpleasant facts presented by all the speakers at that meeting were these: that Denver was threatened with a crisis in her career; that only united and immediate action could avert the gravest misfortunes to the city; that to avert them sacrifices must be made by every citizen having property or other vital interest in the city; and that each citizen must at once decide how much he would give of what he had in order that the remainder of his possessions might retain value.

In that year (1867) Denver was gravely menaced by the town of Cheyenne. It had been established by the Union Pacific company as a division terminal on that road; it was to be the location of the company's great construction and repair shops; and under the company's fostering care it was to be made the commercial metropolis of the middle region of the Rocky Mountain country. The town was ambitiously planned, and lots were given to those who would expend reasonable specified sums for buildings upon them. The town had become a place of great activity as the headquarters of railroad construction, and swarmed with the piebald collection of humanity such as congregated in every frontier railroad town in the old times. Many people had gone thither from Denver, and many others were considering the same change, for the new "city" was already receiving much business that had formerly come to Denver. Other citizens had pulled up stakes and gone to other towns springing up along the line of the Union Pacific, but it was the shadow of Cheyenne that was so portentously clouding the prospects of Denver at that particular time.

The Denver Board of Trade also lost no time in preparing for practical action. On November 19th

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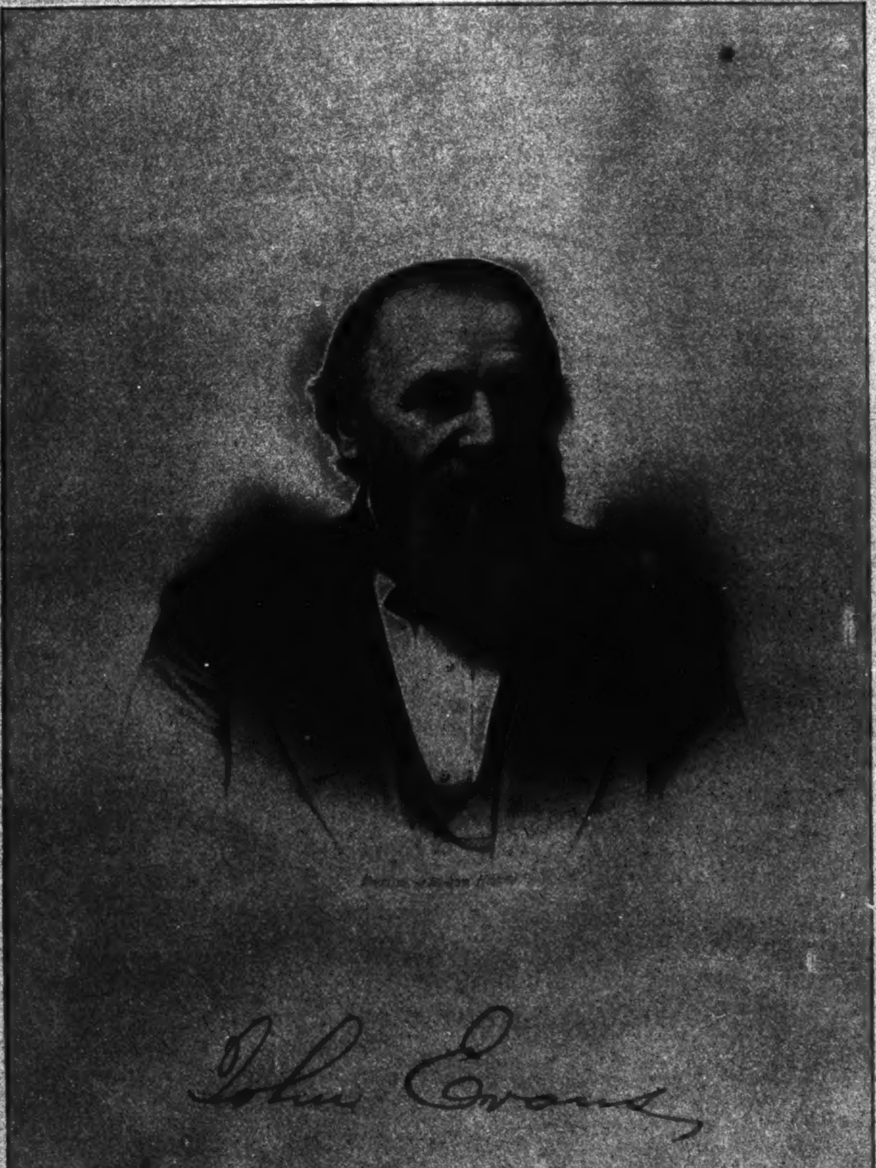
of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne & Chicago road, was proposed, Dr. Evans immediately became interested, personally and financially, in its construction. For several years he was one of the active members of its Board of Directors, and was chiefly instrumental in obtaining right of way into Chicago for the road. He was one of the men who early realized the enormous potentiality of railways in the development of the country, and his judgment led him to make large investments in Chicago real estate, the increment of which subsequently constituted the foundation of a large fortune. His experience with the Chicago & Fort Wayne road during its construction period was of inestimable value to him and to his fellow-citizens of Colorado when the salvation of Denver depended, late in the "Sixties," upon the immediate construction of a railway connecting the isolated town with the outside world.

Dr. Evans also interested himself in the cause of education at Chicago. In 1853-54, while a member of the Chicago City Council, he introduced and pressed to passage an ordinance first creating the position of Superintendent of Public Schools in that city; thus bringing an almost systemless system into a harmonious and effective organization under a proper and responsible executive head. He next urged that a High School be added to the system, and with the co-operation of others succeeded in having the first one in Chicago established. An ardent member of and believer in his church, he, in 1853, also proposed and urged the founding of a great Methodist University at Chicago. Largely by his zeal and influence the Northwestern University organization was effected in that year, and a suitable location for the proposed new institution was found just north of that city where has since arisen a beautiful suburb of Chicago. Dr. Evans was one of those who selected the University's seat, and in his honor the new college-town was named Evanston. The University was established there in 1855, and Dr. Evans endowed the Chairs of Latin, and Mental and Moral Philosophy, with $50,000, to which he later added $50,000 more. He had been chosen in 1853 President of the University's first Board of Trustees, a position he uninterruptedly and zealously filled for forty-two years, and until within three years of his death.

Amid all his other activities and duties while a citizen of Chicago, Dr. Evans took a deep interest in the political affairs of that period. He was nominated a candidate for Representative in Congress from Chicago but was defeated by the influences of the old "Know-Nothing" organization. In the first Republican State convention in Illinois, held at Aurora, he was a prominent figure and a forceful speaker. A close personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and an advocate of the cause he represented, Dr. Evans was an active delegate in the Illinois State convention that indorsed and recommended Lincoln for the nomination by the Republican party in 1860 as its candidate for President. Upon the outbreak of the civil war he advocated and urged the emancipation of the slaves and their employment as soldiers in the Union army for suppression of the rebellion; a means that was tardily adopted before that great conflict closed. For this, Dr. Evans was engaged in a public con-



John Evans

the Denver Pacific Company was incorporated, and another public meeting was held in the evening of that day at which the election of the officers of the company was announced. They were Bela M. Hughes, President; Luther Kountze, Vice President; David H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer; W. F. Johnson, Secretary; and F. M. Case, Chief Engineer; the Board of Directors consisting of Joseph E. Bates, William M. Clayton, John Evans, Bela M. Hughes, W. F. Johnson, Luther Kountze, David H. Moffat, Jr., John Pierce, and John W. Smith. There were more speeches at that meeting, but they were confined to statements that the time had come for talk giving way to work in which every man must do his duty.

Canvassing committees began soliciting subscriptions to the railroad company's stock within a day or two. In one day's work they secured about $225,000 of such subscriptions, and by November 22nd had $300,000. Assistance of any kind was received; men were allowed the privilege of paying in work on the roadbed, or in furnishing ties, or in anything necessary to railroad building. The progress made was extraordinary in so small a town as the Denver of that day with its prospects most seriously clouded; it was also rather eloquent evidence that the people realized that the value of their property and the future of the city, were at stake. The enthusiasm became feverish, and the future was anticipated by a railroad map in which Denver figured as the center of a fine system of radiating railroads. These maps appeared in the newspapers, and were printed on envelopes, and thus were broadcast over the country. It is of interest to note that practically every road shown on that map is now represented in Denver's railroad system.

But the most important contribution to the sinews of railroad-building came from Arapahoe county. Acting upon a petition from many citizen-taxpayers the County Commissioners on December 27, 1867, ordered a special election to be held on January 20, 1868, to decide for or against the proposition for the county issuing $500,000 in bonds to aid the construction of the Denver Pacific Railroad; the county to receive the company's stock to an equal par amount in exchange therefor. The proposition was approved by 1,259 affirmative to forty-seven negative votes.

The removal of the capital of the Territory from Golden to Denver at the time the railroad enthusiasm here was at its height, inspired new hope and confidence among our people. The fact that Golden was the capital had been not only a humiliation to Denver, but had given the smaller town great prestige abroad, and appeared to justify its claims that it was and always would be the metropolis of Colorado. The bill providing for the

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troversy by Judge Scates of the Illinois Supreme Court, and in it he plainly pointed out the importance of immediately doing what later had to be done as a military necessity.

In 1861 President Lincoln desired and proposed to appoint Dr. Evans Governor of Washington Territory, but the position could not be accepted. In 1862, after the removal of Governor Gilpin had been decided upon the President asked Dr. Evans to become the successor, and the latter accepted the appointment. That was a critical period in Colorado's pioneer history, and Governor Evans was equal to the emergencies and proved to be the man for the times and for the place.

The personal history of Governor Evans after he became a citizen and a leader in Colorado is interwoven in much of this Story of Denver. There is scarcely a chapter of the many that deal with events subsequent to 1861 in which he is not a conspicuous figure. His ability and services as Governor; his part in the efforts to earlier secure Statehood for the Territory; the founding of the Colorado Seminary out of which grew the University of Denver; his aid to pioneer churches; his masterful and indomitable leadership in the construction of our first and several later railways; the far-reaching influences among the people of his courage and hopefulness; his participation in the many affairs of the later fast-growing city and rapidly developing State; particulars of all of these, and of many other direct results of his activities and his usefulness, are set forth in the text of this volume.

The life-careers of few men exceed in interest and eventfulness that of John Evans. Farmer boy; professional man; founder, friend, and executive guide of a great University; business man; politician and statesman; Governor; builder of colleges and churches; railway builder and manager; philanthropist and benefactor; and withal a shrewd, energetic, far-seeing man. What he did for Colorado and Denver can hardly be estimated in words and figures, but it made him the foremost man among all his fellow-citizens here, just as he had made himself a leader of men before he came here. When he came here, direct from a relatively large city to a region almost in its primitive condition, he saw much in the new country where other men saw little. When he publicly outlined the future of Denver and of Colorado as he saw it, other men smiled at what they regarded as an enthusiast's dreams. But he caused the dreams to be fulfilled, and to his memory the city and State with whose rise and development he had so much to do will stand as fitting monuments.

The death of Governor Evans at his residence on the northwest corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, July 3, 1897, in the fullness of his years and honors, brought a profound sorrow to this community. He had retired from active participation in affairs three years before, and his death was due to general debility incident to old age. His first wife died in 1850. Three years later he married Margaret, daughter of Samuel Gray, of Maine, and who survives. The two sons and one of the two daughters born to them are living; the other daughter, who became the wife of the late Samuel H. Elbert, former Chief Justice, and Governor, of Colorado, died in 1868.—J. C. S.

removal was introduced, as stated elsewhere, on December 2, 1867, was passed and approved on the 9th, and the Legislature met in Denver on the 10th. The measure was bitterly opposed by the indefatigable W. A. H. Loveland and the other citizens of Golden, and its enactment was a fatal blow to the metropolitan ambitions of that pretty little city.

Still, Golden had lost none of its spirit and combativeness. Loveland had persisted in endeavors to advance his Colorado Central & Pacific enterprise, yet had really accomplished but little beyond making surveys. But to have a demonstration of progress, a formal beginning of construction work was made at Golden on January 1, 1868. With much ceremony on that day the citizens of the town assembled and graded a little stretch of roadbed about 900 feet long in an easy place. But, as will be related further along in our story, that bit of road-bed constituted for several months, all physical evidence of the Colorado Central's existence.

The sudden awakening of the little city at the mouth of Cherry creek and the exceedingly vigorous action that followed, aroused the Kansas Pacific people to renewed efforts to persuade the Denver people to join railroad fortunes with them and to help them get the end of their road out of the wilds of western Kansas to a terminus that would afford it some business. In January, 1868, J. P. Usher, and former Governor Carney of Kansas, representing the Kansas Pacific, came to Denver to renew negotiations to that end. In the evening of January 18th the Board of Trade held a meeting, which was attended by many citizens, to afford the visitors an opportunity to publicly present the purposes of their mission. In their remarks they did so at much length. Their more important statements were that the Kansas Pacific had definitely and finally abandoned the proposed southwestern extension, and, as the road must be continued in some direction, its construction to Denver was its only hope. But their persuasions availed nothing. They were publicly informed in speeches addressed to the same meeting that the people of Denver had resolved upon constructing a road of their own, to Cheyenne, and that nothing would then dissuade them from going on with the work; that they had determined to no longer look to others for help but would help themselves; that they would be glad to see the Kansas Pacific built to Denver, but that it would have to provide ways and means of its own with which to get here; and that the people had been sufficiently disappointed by Kansas Pacific and other promises and were going to find their own way out of their isolation. With that visit of Usher and Carney, attempts at reconciliation by the Kansas Pacific interests ceased during a long season, but that road ultimately proved an invaluable friend in a time of great need, as we will presently see.

Late in January, 1868, assurances were received in Denver from the Union Pacific people that they would be willing to enter upon the construction of the Denver Pacific whenever Denver was prepared to provide means for making the road-bed ready for the iron, and that the line could be finished before the close of that year. Governor Evans and General John Pierce went east to make arrangements with them to that end, and returned to Denver toward the close of February. At a meeting of citizens held on February 24th they reported that they had reached an agreement with the Union Pacific managers that would result in the immediate construction of the Denver Pacific. The Denver Pacific company was to begin work at Cheyenne, and as fast as twenty-mile sections of road-bed were made ready for the rails the Union Pacific people would put down the track and equip and operate it; and that the road was to be built on a direct line to Denver, following the right bank of the South Platte as great a distance as would be found practicable. This appeared to be the final confirmation of that for which hopes had so long been nurtured.

At that time Bela M. Hughes resigned the Presidency of the Denver Pacific and was succeeded by Major W. F. Johnson who had been ardent and active in all these preliminary proceedings. An attempt had been made to induce the city of Cheyenne to vote some bonds in aid of the road, but beyond the appointment of a City Council Committee to consider the matter, it came to nothing. Therefore Governor Evans determined to go ahead and work out the road's salvation with the means immediately in view. One of the preliminaries, the grant of right of way through the public lands, was provided for by a bill introduced in Congress, March 6, 1868, and which became a law soon afterward.

A contract for constructing the Denver Pacific, on the basis outlined in the agreement, was made at Cheyenne with Thomas C. Durant and Sidney Dillon of the Union Pacific. Under this arrangement the Denver interests were to provide and expend $500,000 in cash toward preparing the road-bed for the iron, and those of the Union Pacific were to provide the additional sum required to complete the road; that a road should also be built from Denver to Central City and to Georgetown—a clause intended by the Union Pacific to help the Colorado Central enterprise; and that application should be made to Congress for a land grant for the Denver Pacific. But in April, at the instance of Durant and Dillon, a new contract was made under which the arrangement for ironing, equipping and operating each successive section of twenty miles was discarded; Durant and Dillon were to build the road, complete; the Denver Pacific company was to take a contract under them to the extent of expending a half-million dollars; in lieu of the amount required above that sum the Union Pacific interests were to receive a large mileage-allowance of Denver Pacific stock, and were to lease and operate the finished road, paying a rental equivalent to eight per cent on the $2,000,000 of Denver Pacific common stock. Apparently this was an advantageous proposition, but in reality it was intended to be a rather hard bargain with which the Denver men were not in a situation to quarrel. But it provided for active construction work to begin early in May. It then appeared that every obstacle to speedily providing Denver with railroad communications had at last been far removed.

While it was understood that track-laying would necessarily begin at Cheyenne and that the first locomotive would have to come in from that point, it was deemed fitting that the nominal, ceremonial, beginning of construction work should be made at Denver. Therefore, after several days of most agreeable anticipations, the ceremonial first breaking of ground for the Denver Pacific road occurred in the forenoon of Monday, May 18, 1868, which was made a general holiday. The work was done at a point nearly a mile outside the then northeastward limits of the city and, as there was nothing on the open prairie to definitely identify the place, it can not now be precisely located. It was, however, not far from the intersection of Blake street and the present Fortieth Avenue. A large part of the city's population congregated there to see it, brass bands helped with their music, and former Governor Gilpin made one of his singularly prophetic speeches. The "rights" of women were recognized, for the plow that made the first railroad disturbance of Denver soil was guided by Mrs. Frederick J. Stanton and Miss Nettie Clark, while Lyman Cole and T. G. Anderson drove the mule teams that really did about all the actual work performed that day; though John W. Smith shifted a few shovelfuls of earth.

Prior to this formal beginning of construction some embarrassment had been entailed by failure to find a market for the Arapahoe county bonds. Before the winter had closed an attempt to sell them in the east had failed. In March Governor Evans had tried to dispose of part of them to Chicago business men, and had been unsuccessful. Then the Denver Board of Trade sent Henry M. Porter, J. S. Brown and F. Z. Salomon there to assist the Governor, but that resource remained practically fruitless. The bonds were eventually absorbed in the financial operations directly connected with the construction of the Denver Pacific.

Under the original proposition Arapahoe county was to receive in Denver Pacific stock an equal nominal amount for its $500,000 of bonds, and thereby would have become holder of one-fourth of the company's total capital stock. But, although the Union Pacific people had not begun construction work on the Denver Pacific in May as promised, and that the Denver people had become suspicious of their intentions and purposes, Governor Evans and his associates had realized before the close of that month that to comply with the provision of the contract calling for a large mileage issue of their stock to the Union Pacific interests, to provide for accumulated indebtedness, and for various heavy collateral expenses, would require that the Denver Pacific stock be doubled in amount. Therefore, on June 24, 1868, the Denver Pacific's stock was increased by the Directors to $4,000,000. This cut in half whatever value there would prove to be in Arapahoe county's holdings; but Governor Evans had in mind, and which he kept to himself, a way through which to subsequently rectify that, and which he did rectify after the trouble was over, as will be presently related.

In the meantime Governor Evans had sought to obtain some assistance for his road from Congress. This had resulted in the introduction of a bill by Senator Harlan, of Iowa, providing for the Denver Pacific connecting with the Union Pacific at Cheyenne, giving it a land grant, and making it the connecting link between the Union Pacific and Kansas

"Breaking ground" at Denver for the Denver Pacific Railroad. From a photograph.

Pacific when the latter should be completed to Denver; thus consummating the purpose of the act of June, 1866, requiring the Kansas Pacific to build to a connection with the Union Pacific at some point not farther west than fifty miles west of longitude of Denver. It was merely a proposed substitution of the Denver Pacific for the Kansas Pacific between Denver and Cheyenne.

The Kansas Pacific people naturally opposed this measure with great vigor. Although they were still in sore financial straits, they were endeavoring to negotiate a foreign loan, and did not care to have more than a hundred miles of their land grant—alternate sections for twenty miles on each side of the roadway—turned over to another corporation. They succeeded in defeating the Harlan bill at that session, but the measure brought about an agreement between the two companies under which the Kansas Pacific assigned its land grant claims between Denver and the Union Pacific, to the Denver Pacific, and which was the beginning of a co-operative understanding between the two roads. The Kansas Pacific people had not at that time really abandoned all hope of building southwest from western Kansas, through New Mexico, to the coast in southern California, for which a route had been surveyed; they had also contemplated an alternative route, through New Mexico or southern Colorado, thence northwest to a connection with the Central Pacific, for they were not on friendly terms with the Union Pacific. They had endeavored to obtain from Congress at that session subsidies for their proposed California extension, but the measure had failed. Still they clung to the project, and it may be remarked here that after they built into Colorado to Denver, they constructed a branch from Kit Carson to Las Animas and which was extended to La Junta in 1875. In 1878 this branch was sold at auction, the purchasers removing the ties and rails and abandoning the road which has never been rebuilt.

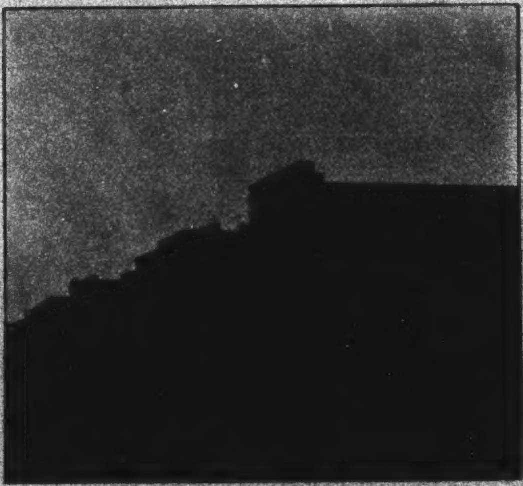
Grading the roadbed at the Denver end of the Denver Pacific was inaugurated by the home company early in the autumn of 1868. The contractors, Banning, Carlisle & Moore, began operations on September 12th, and completed the grade between Denver and the Platte river crossing, at the present town of Evans, before the close of that year. The Union Pacific people had still delayed action, and as that year wore on it became evident that they did not intend to perform their contract. They were still toying with the Colorado Central scheme, and would give the Denver men no satisfaction. The northern half of the Denver Pacific route had not been located and surveyed as promised, and altogether the relations with the Union Pacific had about reached the breaking point. We may dismiss that road from our narrative by stating here that soon afterward, in Boston, upon a peremptory demand by Governor Evans for an explicit and final statement of their intentions with relation to the Denver Pacific, the Union Pacific people pleaded financial inability to carry out their contract. That ended the Denver Pacific's relations with them, and the contract was cancelled.

At the first annual meeting of the Denver Pacific company, held here on December 14, 1868, W. F. Johnson was re-elected President, and no important changes were made in the other executive officers or Directors. A contract had been made with a local telegraph company, some account of which appears elsewhere, to build a telegraph line on the proposed route of the Denver Pacific between this city and Cheyenne. The line was constructed in about sixty days, and was opened for service on January 1, 1869; being the first completed part of the Denver Pacific enterprise.

The Denver Pacific company had also renewed its efforts to secure government aid, and in consequence thereof a bill was introduced in Congress early in January, 1869, that became a law on the 5th of the following March and cleared the situation. It provided that the Kansas Pacific should build to Denver and terminate here; authorized it to co-operate in the completion of the Denver Pacific and to operate it afterward, thus constituting a through line from Kansas City to Cheyenne, practically as contemplated by the law of June, 1866; confirmed a land grant to both companies, and authorized each to bond its road and land grant for an amount not exceeding $32,000 per mile. This act marked the beginning of the end of the Denver Pacific's troubles, and its passage was largely due to the persistent labors and influence of John Evans. News of its passage was received in Denver with great enthusiasm and rejoicing that found expression in a celebration matching anything that had been done for the Fourth of July. Yet, the season of rejoicing was saddened by the death of Major W. F. Johnson, that occurred on March 5th, just when the action of Congress had cleared the way for the speedy completion of the road. Governor Evans was then elected to succeed him as President of the Denver Pacific.

The Kansas Pacific had completed a survey of its route to Denver in 1868, and had also made one northwest of Denver, by way of the Cache-a-la-Poudre, and thence to a junction with the Union Pacific's route; but the latter was put out of the way by the act of March 5, 1869. The Kansas Pacific people readily consented to the requirements of the act, and on July 27, 1869, General William J. Palmer, who was then identified with that road, came to Denver and closed an agreement with the Denver Pacific company under which the two roads were to become practically one upon completion. The Kansas Pacific people had negotiated in Germany a loan of $6,500,000, and were prepared to build their road to Denver without any further delay.

The land grant, the authority to issue bonds, and the alliance with the Kansas Pacific placed the Denver Pacific on a substantial financial basis. The company issued $2,500,000 of seven per cent. bonds, the lien covering 800,000 acres of land grant, as authorized by the act of Congress. Governor Evans, Walter S. Cheesman, David H. Moffat and several associates undertook the contract to complete the road. The northern half of the route was immediately located and surveyed, and grading started at Cheyenne. Early in September, 1869, track-laying began at the northern end, and by the middle of December was completed to the Platte river crossing, fifty-eight miles, where the town of Evans, Weld county, named in honor of the Governor, was established. That part of the road was put in operation, and at that time the rolling-stock consisted of three locomotives, two passenger and half-dozen freight cars. Construction work rested at Evans until the following spring.



South side of Blake street from Fifteenth to Sixteenth, in the late Sixties.

On January 18, 1870, the stockholders of the road elected as Directors John Evans, John Pierce, Walter S. Cheesman, William M. Clayton, David H. Moffat, and Frank Palmer, of Denver; and Robert E. Carr, William J. Palmer, and R. H. Lamborn representing Kansas Pacific interests. These Directors elected John Evans, President; John Pierce, Vice President; R. R. McCormick, Secretary and Auditor; David H. Moffat, Treasurer; and L. H. Eicholtz, Chief Engineer.

In March, 1870, General W. J. Palmer then in charge of Kansas Pacific construction, and W. H. Greenwood prepared for beginning active work at the Denver end of the Kansas Pacific to meet and connect with construction then advancing from the Pond Creek terminus of that road. There was some delay, and operations did not begin here until May 26th, when work was instituted near the location of the present Union Pacific shops. Construction was then rapidly advancing from the east, and had also been resumed early in the spring on the Denver Pacific. A friendly but keen rivalry then arose between the two to first build into Denver, and some of the fastest railroad-building ever seen in this country was done.

The Denver Pacific won the race. In a preceding chapter we have told of the arrival of Denver's first locomotive—used in construction—on June 15, 1870, and of the celebration attending the formal completion of the Denver Pacific on June 24th when the first passenger train came in, and when the silver spike was driven. It was a gala day of processions, music and speeches. On one side of the silver spike was engraved, "Georgetown to the Denver Pacific Railway;" on the opposite side, "John Evans, President, June 24, 1870."

The Kansas Pacific was not completed to Denver until August, 1870; its first train arriving here at 6:45 in the evening of the 15th, when the city actually became a point on a transcontinental railroad by way of Cheyenne. On October 7th the Kansas Pacific brought in the first sleeping car seen in Denver, the "Comanche," from Chicago.

On the evening of August 12th the advancing ends of the Kansas Pacific tracks had had a gap of a little over ten miles between them, and it was resolved to close it in one day's work. Delay in the arrival of rails postponed the job until the 14th, on which day the gap was filled in ten hours of work, a feat never equalled in other railway construction at any time or anywhere. During the spring and summer of 1870 the builders of that road had to work under a protective guard of United States troops. The Cheyenne Indians made them much trouble, killed several men and stole many horses used on the work. Several towns sprang up successively along the road at temporary terminal points, and most of them proved temporary as construction advanced. The town of Sheridan, Kansas, was picked up and transferred into Colorado and became the town of Kit Carson. It was a very busy place for a while, but now retains few of its former glories. Colonel James Archer, who was the Kansas Pacific's official representative to Denver in November, 1867, later became a prominent citizen and resided here until his death in 1886.

While Governor Evans and his associates were struggling to get the Denver Pacific on its feet they were also planning the construction of various other roads in Colorado, all of which were built within a few years thereafter either by them or others. Their plans contemplated a road across the range from Denver by way of the Platte canon and the South Park to the valley of the Rio Grande; south to Trinidad by way of Colorado City and Pueblo; to Boulder by way of the intervening coal fields; and from Denver to Golden and thence to both Central City and Georgetown. They even went so far as to give some of these projects definite routes and names, as in the Denver & Santa Fe Railway, and the Denver South Park & Rio Grande Railway.

We have already told of Governor Evans' intention to rectify the shrinkage of Arapahoe county's interest in the stock of the Denver Pacific, caused by increasing that company's capital stock from two to four million dollars. In April, 1870, at a meeting of the Denver Board of Trade that had so faithfully sustained the enterprise, Governor Evans made an address in which, after reviewing the history of the road, then nearing completion he said:

> "When, last summer, the Board of Trustees of the railway company, this Board, and the Board of County Commissioners, severally and unanimously urged me to take a contract to build the Denver Pacific Railway, I unhesitatingly accepted. Before taking the contract, however, the Board of Trustees made an effort to reduce the capital stock of the road from four millions to two millions, which would have enhanced the interest of the county of Arapahoe one hundred per cent. But it was discovered that this act, if consummated, would prevent the company from borrowing enough money to complete the road, for the law prohibits the indebtedness exceeding the amount of the capital stock of the company. Therefore, the only alternative, if we proceeded to complete the work in hand, was to leave the capital stock at its existing amount —four millions. The stock represented all the value then existing, and it was an absolute necessity that the stock should all be given to secure the prosecution and completion of the work. Even then it was doubtful if it could be made to answer the purpose, for it must either be sold for cash enough, or the assets it represented be made to serve the purpose of borrowing enough money upon, to pay for the entire work. Nothing but cash will build railways."
>
> "I took the contract, therefore, to build the road with the remaining stock. The county bonds in hand, at the best price that could be obtained for them, were barely sufficient to finish the grading and pay the pressing indebtedness already incurred for ties and other material. While the contract was thus pressed upon me, and while there were serious doubts as to the success of our efforts to make the means accomplish the end in view, I held in mental reservation a determination to so manage the matter as to make enough out of the contract to enable me to donate to the county an additional half-million of the capital stock of the road."
>
> "This purpose I did not at first allow myself to express to any one, for fear of disappointment in making the necessary profit on the contract to enable me to do so, and in my negotiations I found it absolutely necessary to place the half-million capital stock in trust, to be voted in perpetuity, but reserving to myself and my assigns the entire right of property in the same, and all profits and dividends arising therefrom."
>
> "I will, therefore, have, to all intents and purposes, the whole intrinsic value of said stock in my possession and ownership as soon as the road shall be completed, and I now for the first time publicly declare, that it is my full purpose and intention to donate the same to Arapahoe county as soon as I shall become entitled to it by compliance with my contract to complete the road to the city of Denver. This I do on the condition that the people shall go forward with the other enterprises so necessary to our prosperity."

After the road was finished Governor Evans found himself able to do what he had anticipated doing, and donated the stock to the county.

This somewhat long recital of the circumstances associated with the inception, progress and completion of Denver's first railway connections would seem to be justified by the fact that they really were the city's means of salvation. They fixed Denver as the metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country. In one sense they were the result of unity of action in the community under very able leadership, and they created property values out of all ratio to their cost. In the form of direct stock subscriptions, allowing for shrinkage, the Denver Pacific cost the people about $250,000; to this was added the $500,000 of county bonds, which indirectly proved the best investment of public credit and money the county ever made, and it could well have been an outright gift, if necessary. Eventually, as told elsewhere, it proved to have been ninety per cent. donation. The Kansas Pacific, as the reader has seen, received no financial assistance from the Denver people. It remained for some years the more important road to the city because of its more direct route to the east. While the two were operated as one line under Kansas Pacific control the charges were such as would now seem extremely exorbitant, and they were equally high on the Union Pacific. In those good old times a business transaction with either required the customer be something of a capitalist. In 1868 the passenger fare from Cheyenne to Omaha by the Union Pacific had been $51.50. Adding to this the stage fare of $10 from Denver to Cheyenne then made travelling to the Missouri river an expensive undertaking. It was also a slow one compared with present doings, for as late as 1874 the schedule between Denver and Chicago, was based on sixty-four hours of time, and often that proved not enough. In 1868 the Union Pacific freight rates per 100 pounds from Omaha to Cheyenne were: first class, $3.85; second, $3.70; third, $3.55. A freight-tariff sheet issued December 15, 1870, made the following-stated rates from Missouri river points to Denver by way of either the Union Pacific or the Kansas Pacific: first class, $2.60; second, $2.00; third, $1.75; fourth, $1.40. But any of these freight rates were trifling in comparison with some that had been paid in earlier years for "prairie schooner" transportation. Subsequently, during the manipulations of the Union Pacific by railroad schemers, the Kansas Pacific became and for some time remained the more friendly to the interests of Denver.

CHAPTER LV.

Colorado Central Railroad—Its Completion Between Denver and Golden—Projected Main Line—Construction in Clear Creek Canon—Effect of Panic of 1873—Denver, Georgetown & Utah Railway—Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific Roads—Consolidation of Latter With Colorado Central—Extraordinary Proceedings in Connection With Disruption of Consolidation—Subsequent History of the Central—Denver & Boulder Valley Railroad—Denver & Rio Grande Railroad—History of Its Inception and Construction—Its Remarkable Development—Its War With the Santa Fe Road, Reorganization, and Subsequent History—South Park Road—Story of Its Origin, Progress and Misfortunes—Reorganization as Denver, Leadville & Gunnison Railway.

The Denver Pacific and the Kansas Pacific were not the only railroads in the vicinity of Denver upon which more or less work was in progress in 1868, 1869 and 1870. W. A. H. Loveland had retained his alliance with the Union Pacific through the several years of his endeavors to inaugurate construction of the Colorado Central, and, as we have stated, made a nominal beginning of work at Golden on January 1, 1868. Jefferson county voted $100,000 of bonds in exchange for stock in the road, and before midsummer of that year the company had contracted for about six miles of grading and masonry on the first division of the road, eastward from Golden. This division was not located direct to Denver, but to a junction with the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific roads near the present Omaha & Grant smelter, and about three miles from the heart of what there then was of this city. It was then Loveland's determination to side-track Denver, and to divert business from the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific over his line to Golden, after their completion, and so give supremacy to his energetic and ambitious little city. The present transfer track to and from the Omaha & Grant smelter is part of that old main line of the Colorado Central.

Through the summer and autumn of 1868 construction work on the Colorado Central between Golden and the junction above-mentioned was confined to the six-mile stretch east from Golden, but in November of that year contracts for grading nearly the whole of the remaining distance to the eastern terminus were made. The Jefferson bonds were about the only resources the company had at that time, and by the close of 1868 $87,000 had been expended on the road. Although the enterprise was controlled by the Union Pacific interests, they had not provided any money for its advancement. At the annual election of Directors held January 11, 1869, six of the eleven members chosen to constitute the Board were Union Pacific men, namely: T. J. Carter, F. G. Dexter, John Duff, A. Lambert, J. B. Taft, and J. G. Tappan. The other five were W. A. H. Loveland, of Jefferson county; John Turk, of Clear creek; and Henry M. Teller, Truman Whitcomb, and E. K. Baxter, of Gilpin.

Through 1869 but little progress was made on the Colorado Central, consideration in detail of the various reasons for which would be unduly tedious here. Loveland had some of the same difficulty in getting active assistance from the Union Pacific that our own people had encountered; but their help came to him later. The road east from Golden was to be of standard gauge, while that part of it up Clear creek canon was to be of narrow gauge. The entire line had been projected and surveyed as a standard gauge, but the great, if not at that time prohibitive, cost of a standard gauge road in that winding canon had later made it imperative to adopt the narrow and more adaptable track.

In 1870 when the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific roads were approaching completion, active construction work was resumed on the Colorado Central eastward from Golden and was continued without interruption until the line was completed to a junction with the Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific in September of that year. It was ironed and equipped by the Union Pacific, and the first train passed over it between Denver and Golden on September 23rd, using the Denver Pacific track from the city to the junction. We may state here that in October, 1874, the line was changed to the present more direct route into the city. Upon the opening of the road to Golden the stages that had operated between Denver and the Clear creek mining towns made Golden their eastern terminus.

The Union Pacific people had come to the active support of the Colorado Central in 1870, principally because the Denver Pacific that at one time had promised to be their connecting line to Denver and the Colorado mining districts, had become practically a part of the Kansas Pacific, thus compelling the Union Pacific to adopt other means for securing the business of the Colorado country. An ambitious campaign was planned and opened for the Colorado Central. In 1870 the narrow gauge line from Golden up the Clear creek canon was located, and construction work on it was begun soon afterward. At the same time a standard gauge road was surveyed direct from Golden down the valley of the Platte to Julesburg, which was intended to be the main line, leaving Denver off to one side and reached by the branch road to the junction with the Denver and Kansas Pacific roads. This Golden-Julesburg road was located by way of the Marshal coal-fields, Boulder, Longmont and Greeley, and in July, 1872, Boulder county voted it $200,000 in bonds, and Weld county $150,000. Work on the road began in September, 1872, and by midsummer of 1873, the track had been completed from Golden to Longmont and opened for traffic. The panic of 1873 stopped further proceedings on that line and they were never resumed by Loveland. As will presently be made clear, some of his operations involved expenditure of large sums of money that proved to be a total loss. In later years the present Union Pacific "cut-off" road from La Salle to Julesburg occupied part of that Golden-Julesburg route, and still later the track was taken up from a part of the section that had been completed between Golden and Longmont. The Golden-Julesburg line, in connection with the road up Clear creek canon, was designed to defeat construction of a road direct from Denver across the mountains; an enterprise conceived about that time by John Evans, and to which we will presently again refer. At that period the rivalry between railroad undertakings represented by John Evans and his associates on behalf of the Kansas-Denver Pacific roads and Denver, and by Loveland and his associates on behalf of the Union Pacific and Golden, had become of great bitterness, and soon developed feelings of personal hostility between the rival leaders.

The narrow gauge division of the Colorado Central from Golden up the canon of Clear creek was a tedious piece of construction. In 1871 Gilpin county had voted $300,000 of bonds in aid of the road on condition that it should be built to Central City and Nevada, and that it should be completed to Black Hawk by May 1, 1872. Physical conditions in the canon prevented the company reaching Black Hawk on time, and it lost the bonds. A new arrangement was then made with Gilpin county under which $250,000 of bonds were voted upon condition that the road be completed from Golden to Forks Creek by September 1, 1872, to Black Hawk by January 1, 1873, and to Central City within one year. The road was finished to Forks Creek on time, to Black Hawk on December 15, 1872, and to Floyd Hill on the Georgetown division in March, 1873. Progress beyond Black Hawk at that time was interrupted by engineering difficulties, but before a satisfactory solution of them was found the panic of 1873 brought all railroad construction in Clear creek canon to a standstill, and it remained so for several years.

Another part of the Colorado Central's plans to isolate Denver and concentrate railroad influences at Golden was the construction of a road south from Golden to a junction with the Denver & Rio Grande line near Littleton. The roadway of about eighteen miles was graded in the spring and summer of 1873 but, in common with the Golden-Julesburg enterprise, the Golden-Littleton project suddenly went down in the financial gale of that year, and was never revived.

The years 1872 and 1873 were, as we have mentioned, times of great turmoil between rival railroads, rival railroad projects and rival railroad builders in the Denver region. Soon after the Kansas and Denver Pacific roads had been completed, thus forming the "Eastern Division" of the Union Pacific as contemplated by Congress, a violent war broke out between the two routes. Congress intended that they should co-operate, and exchange and divide business with each other, but the Union Pacific refused to recognize the Eastern Division, and diverted from it all business that the stronger road could control. To better enable the Kansas Pacific to meet its adversary, John Evans resigned the Presidency of the Denver Pacific early in March, 1872, and was succeeded by General R. E. Carr, who was also President of the Kansas Pacific. This gave the latter absolute control of the route from Kansas City to Cheyenne and made the Eastern Division one route in fact, although the Denver Pacific remained nominally a separate corporation. The next step was to organize a company to build a road from Denver directly west across the mountains to a connection with the Central Pacific in Utah, so that the Eastern Division might later become independent of the Union Pacific. For this purpose the "Denver, Georgetown & Utah Railway Company" was incorporated March 9, 1872, and organized with R. E. Carr, President; John D. Perry, Vice President; R. R. McCormick, Secretary; and David H. Moffat, Treasurer; Governor Evans acting as advisor and forwarder of the enterprise. The road was to extend from Denver by way of Mt. Vernon canon to Idaho Springs, and thence to Georgetown and over the range to Utah; with a branch to Central City, and a division northwest from Denver through the coal fields and up into the Middle Park and North Park countries. In April, 1872, Clear Creek county voted $200,000 in bonds to aid construction of the road, having lost faith in the intentions of the Colorado Central company; and in November of that year Arapahoe county, always liberal with its railroad bonds, voted $100,000 worth to the enterprise. None of these bonds were ever issued. This movement on the part of the Kansas Pacific interests had aroused the Colorado Central people to extreme activity in Clear creek canon and was largely the cause of their road being completed to Forks Creek and Black Hawk in the autumn of 1872; and that advance of the Central up Clear creek caused a change of plan by those interested in the Denver, Georgetown & Utah, and that proposed road as an independent mountain-crossing enterprise was in itself abandoned.

View in Golden in the later Sixties.

Prior to that time, John Evans and his Denver associates had projected yet another railroad from Denver into the mountains—the Denver and South Park line, of which we will presently relate the history. At the close of September, 1872, a company to build this road was incorporated, and it was anticipated that the Denver, Georgetown & Utah company might, by branching from the South Park line at some convenient point, build by way of Idaho Springs and Georgetown across the range into Utah; or, that the Denver & South Park company might, itself, build into Utah. In 1872 the need for the Kansas Pacific having an independent friendly outlet to the west was very great, for its relations with the Union Pacific had gone from bad to worse, and it saw starvation not far ahead of it. But subsequent changes in the plans and route of the South Park enterprise, as mentioned in our account of that undertaking, and the effects of the panic of 1873 on railroad building everywhere, ultimately resulted in permanently denying to the Kansas Pacific the coveted outlet from Denver west across the mountains.

Aside from the embargo it placed upon railroad building in Colorado, as elsewhere in the United States, because of the adverse effect it had upon investment of capital in new railroads, the panic of 1873, as we have mentioned in another chapter, did not entail very grave consequences in Denver; the most serious having been the shrinkage of local business due to railroad builders becoming unemployed. So far as the struggle between the Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific and their respective allies was concerned, the panic left the former rather in the lead, for the Colorado Central had managed to establish itself in the canon of Clear creek, while the Kansas Pacific was still helplessly at the mercy of its great rival. There was no more railroad building around Denver for several years, and in the meantime the Kansas Pacific became so seriously crippled that its situation and condition were almost desperate.

Somewhat prior to 1875 the Union Pacific people had determined to acquire control of the entire Kansas Pacific route from Cheyenne to Kansas City. As a step toward that end they proposed in that year a reconciliation with the Kansas Pacific and a consolidation of the Colorado Central with it on a basis that would have destroyed four-fifths of the nominal value of the stock held by the counties which had voted bonds to aid the construction of the Central. An agreement to that effect was made between the principal two companies in April, 1875, and under the management of Henry M. Teller, who was President of the Central at that juncture, it was ratified by the Directors of the Central at a meeting held in Golden in December of that year. Loveland, though a Director, had not been taken into the secret and, while he had heard vagrant rumors of the contemplated consolidation, his first actual knowledge of it came as a surprise at that meeting of the Directors. The lease went into effect at once, the Kansas Pacific took possession, and for a few months thought it saw the beginning of the end of some of its troubles.

But Loveland was merely biding his time for upsetting the arrangement. In May, 1876, a meeting of the Central's stockholders was held at Golden. On alleged illegality of the proxy presented by the representative of the Union Pacific, all the holdings of that company in the Central's stock—which constituted a majority of the shares—were denied a vote. Boulder, Gilpin and Jefferson counties, which had refused to give up their stock under the terms proposed, although their bonds had not yielded much more in cash than half their nominal value, wrathfully sustained this proceeding. The meeting then utterly repudiated the action of the company's Directors in the previous December, and elected a Board opposed to the consolidation project. The new Board elected Loveland President of the company in place of Teller, and prepared for war.

The consolidation scheme had aroused the indignation of the people of Gilpin, Jefferson and Boulder counties to a high pitch, and they were ready to support Loveland by force of arms. Refused possession of the road by the Kansas Pacific management, Loveland's forces physically took possession on May 21, 1876, without encountering serious opposition. Then the Union Pacific went into Court at Boulder with a suit for $1,500,000 for materials, rolling stock, and so on, alleged to be due it from the Central, and enjoined the Loveland management from doing a great variety of things. On August 12th David H. Moffat, Jr., was appointed Receiver for the Central by Judge A. W. Stone of the Second Judicial District, and this precipitated events that made a great time all around.

The unfaltering Loveland was not dismayed by these proceedings, and held firm his grip on the railroad. As that term of Court was near its end and would terminate with August 15th, the Central people, or those acting for them, concluded that the Receivership proceedings could be interrupted by capturing Judge Stone and holding him until after the limit of the term. So, when the Judge was on his way from Denver to Boulder in the morning of August 15th to qualify Receiver Moffat, his train was stopped at Ralston creek, the Judge forcibly taken from it by a band of armed masked men, and carried off up into the foot-hills. The abductors had expected to capture the Receiver, also, on that train, but he had taken the other road to Boulder, and so escaped. News of this remarkable proceeding created a tremendous sensation in Denver. Loveland telegraphed Governor Routt of what had happened, and asked authority to organize a party to pursue and capture the bold captors of the Judge. Routt referred him to the Sheriff of Boulder county, urged immediate action by that officer, and solicited Loveland's co-operation. But matters were so managed at the Boulder end of the line that Judge Stone's hosts were given plenty of time to get well up into the foot-hills. News of this delay reached Denver late in the afternoon and added fresh fuel to the public excitement. Rumors that the Sheriff of Arapahoe county was preparing to lead a force in pursuit of the brigands caused all sorts of men with all kinds of weapons to congregate at the railroad station to take train for the hunting grounds. But they did not get to go.

In the evening of that day the Governor peremptorily extended the term of Court and assigned Judge A. W. Brazee to go to Boulder and to open Court and remain there until disposition was made of the judicial business in hand. The Governor's Guard was mobilized under Arapahoe county Sheriff D. J. Cook, who was also a Brigadier General of militia, and the military-judicial expedition, the Governor accompanying it, reached Boulder about ten o'clock that night, where Court was immediately opened.

In the meantime Judge Stone's captors had kept him moving. He had been put in a carriage, driven up into the foothills to a ranche-house, where a supper was obtained. After night the party proceeded on horseback to a point near Golden, the brigand escort of twenty-four men wearing their masks all the while. There the Judge was put into another carriage with two of his masked captors and driven to Denver where he was released in front of the Alvord House late at night—or early in the morning—and none the worse for his adventure; his brigand friends having treated him with great courtesy and consideration while he had been in their custody. The identity of none of them ever became publicly known.

Judge Stone then went to Boulder with a military escort, approved Receiver Moffat's bond, and ordered the Colorado Central surrendered to him. The Receiver's demand for possession was refused, and a writ from Judge Stone on August 21st failed to accomplish that end. Loveland managed to retain his hold, and in November, Colorado having become a State in the meantime of the contentions, the judicial proceedings were transferred to the higher United States Courts. There they were see-sawed back and forth, and in February, 1877, the Union Pacific began another suit against the Central, for $2,000,000, for rolling stock, track material and damages. The resourceful Loveland met and parried this attack, and then the Union Pacific people capitulated. The Kansas Pacific having been ousted by Loveland from its brief possession of the Central, and in its generally dejected state of mind having concluded that the consolidation scheme had been made by Loveland a hopeless proposition, had resumed its old rate-cutting war on the Union Pacific, and which had destroyed the recent amity between the two that had grown up with the scheme to dump the Colorado Central into the Kansas Pacific's nearly empty hopper. In its surrender, the Union Pacific agreed to stop all litigation, to retain Loveland at the head and in command of the Colorado Central, and to at once provide means for the immediate extension of the Central's lines, under Loveland's direction; all of which was done, but about two years later Loveland was forced out of the great railroad system of which he had been the life and soul from its conception in early Territorial times.

The people of Boulder, Jefferson and Gilpin counties had heartily approved Loveland's daring methods, while those of Denver bitterly denounced them. Loveland's railroad operations had, from the beginning, been a menace to Denver, and while the people here could not refuse recognition of his remarkable ability as a leader, they had long and with reason regarded him as inimical to this city's progress; though at the time of these happenings all grave danger from his railroad operations had passed away.

Immediately after the treaty of peace, the Colorado Central entered upon an active campaign of railroad construction. The Clear creek line was extended from Floyd Hill to Georgetown and opened in August, 1877. Soon afterward Loveland contemplated extending this road to Leadville, but the operations in that direction by the South Park line and the Denver & Rio Grande caused him to abandon the project. On the Central City branch of the Central, beyond Black Hawk, the "switchback" method of overcoming the physical obstacles was adopted, and the road was completed to Central on May 21, 1878. Because of the delay in reaching that point the Gilpin County Commissioners withheld $50,000 of their county's bond subsidy that had been voted several years before. But the most important of the construction was the extension of the Golden-Longmont standard gauge road from Longmont north through Fort Collins to a junction with the Union Pacific four or five miles west of Cheyenne—at "Colorado Junction" as it was called; the "Colorado Central Railroad Company of Wyoming" having been organized to build the Wyoming mileage. This work was done in 1877 and the road opened for business on November 7th. This new road gave the Union Pacific access to Denver and to the Clear creek mining districts over lines directly under its control and made the Colorado Central what it was long intended to be—practically a part of the Union Pacific. It meant still leaner business for the Denver Pacific division of the Kansas Pacific, for the Union Pacific routed everything it had for Colorado, over the new line.

This condition of affairs brought on a violent rate-war between the rival lines which soon resulted in an agreement under which both roads charged "all the traffic would bear," and often a great deal more. The Kansas Pacific passed to the control of the Union Pacific in 1879, and then instead of the high pool-rates, a system of still more outrageous extortions was inaugurated and that continued for several years.

In November, 1879, the Union Pacific leased the Colorado Central for fifty years; and until the organization of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf company, operated it as part of the Union Pacific system. Loveland, who had been continued at the head of the Central, was then displaced and cast off by those who were most indebted to his energy and ability. But in the lexicon of Jay Gould and his associates such considerations had no place. Loveland engaged no more in extensive railroad building, and he had quit it with very little to show for his twenty years of tireless, heroic, work in behalf of the system of roads he planned in pioneer times; but only a part of the great whole he had in view had been constructed. His purchase of the Rocky Mountain News in 1878, and his acquisition of other interests here, identified him with Denver during the remainder of his life which terminated December 17, 1894. The Colorado Central proper when he left it consisted of the following-named lines with mileage as stated:

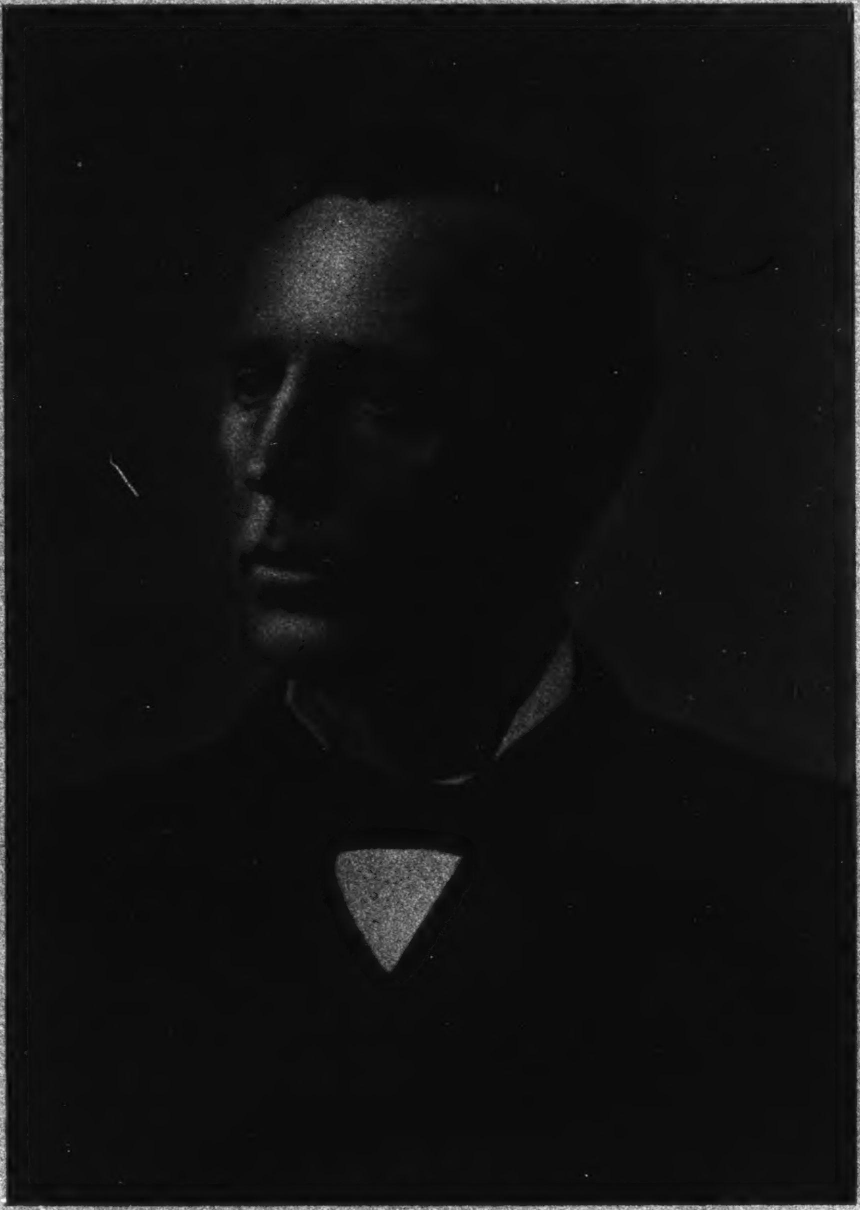
William Austin Hamilton Loveland was born in Chatham, Mass., May 30, 1826. In 1837 his parents removed to Illinois and, taking up land near Brighton, began pioneer farm-life in that State. After attending McKendree College at Lebanon, Ill., and Shurtleff College at Upper Alton, Mr. Loveland went with the American army into Mexico and was severely wounded at Chepultepec. In 1848 he returned to his Illinois home, and in the spring of 1849 crossed the plains to California and was there among the pioneer miners in Grass Valley. Failing to find gold enough to make his stay there profitable, he went to Central America and thence, in 1851, back to Illinois where, for several years afterward, he was engaged in merchandising.

In the spring of 1859 he crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains, with an ox-train laden with a stock of general merchandise, and halted on the site of Golden. As we have related, he was one of the founders of that town, immediately became the leader of the community, and his store was its headquarters. In his determination to make Golden the Colorado metropolis, he personally influenced its selection in 1862 as the seat of the Territorial government, which he kept there until the close of 1867 despite several attempts to have it removed, and then lost it only in consequence of applied ways and means the details of which may well be left to sink into oblivion.

Of Mr. Loveland's career as a Colorado pioneer, as a road-builder, a Captain among the people, a projector and executor of great undertakings, as a State builder, the particulars appear in more than one chapter of this volume. A man of great force of character, of extraordinary energy and executive ability, an enthusiast in his faith in this Colorado country, an unwavering friend to his friends and a tireless antagonist to his opponents, and withal gentle, kindly and lovable in his personal relations, his is one of the heroic figures in the history of this Denver region.

As we have elsewhere mentioned, he became in later years of his eventful life identified with large affairs in this city, and practically one of its citizens. In 1888 after he purchased control of the Rocky Mountain News, and having always been an ardent Democrat, he was nominated as his party's candidate for Governor of Colorado; but with the rest of his ticket failed of election.

Mr. Loveland died December 17, 1894, at Lakewood, where he had established his residence in 1888.—J. C. S.



W. A. H. Loveland.

Denver to Golden, 3 rails, completed in September, 1870	15.10
Golden to Forks Creek, narrow gauge, completed in September, 1872	13.30
Forks Creek to Black Hawk, narrow gauge, completed in December, 1872	7.77
Forks Creek to Floyd Hill, narrow gauge, completed in March, 1873	3.30
Golden to Longmont, standard gauge, completed in April, 1873	39.15
Floyd Hill to Georgetown, narrow gauge, completed in August, 1877	18.13
Black Hawk to Central City, narrow gauge, completed in May, 1878	4.00
Longmont to Colorado Junction, standard gauge, completed in November, 1877	72.52
Total	173.27

A part of the agreement under which the Kansas Pacific Company co-operated in completing the Denver Pacific was that a railroad should immediately be built from Denver to the coal-fields in Boulder county to insure a supply of fuel here for the engines of both roads. In the autumn of 1870 the Denver & Boulder Valley Railroad Company was organized with a Board of Directors consisting of John Evans, J. B. Chaffee, David H. Moffat, Jr., Walter S. Cheesman, P. M. Housel, Granville Berkeley, and W. J. Palmer. J. B. Chaffee was elected President; Walter S. Cheesman, Vice President; R. R. McCormick, Secretary; and David H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer. The road was really to be a branch of the Denver Pacific and that company guaranteed $300,000 of its bonds, to provide for construction. Work began on October 24, 1870, at Hughes station (now the town of Brighton) on the Denver Pacific, and a line fifteen miles long was completed to the Erie coal-field in Boulder county and opened for business on January 24, 1871. Its proprietary interests organized the Boulder Valley Coal Company, and established the coal-mining village of Erie at the terminus of the road. The citizens of Boulder were vitally interested in having the road extended to their town, and by subscriptions provided means for preparing the roadbed ready for the rails, the railroad company agreeing to put down the track and operate the road. The Boulder people began grading in March, 1871, and completed the work within a few months, but the railroad company long delayed its part of the contract. In June, 1872, the extension grade was transferred to the Boulder Valley company in expectation of its immediate completion, but there were more delays, and it was not until September 2, 1873, that it

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Sylvester T. Smith, late President of the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad, has long been identified with railway management in the west. He is a native of New York State, having been born in Buffalo, June 20, 1840. His parents, of English descent, were also born in that city, where they resided until 1858, when they removed to Kansas. The son had received a good education in the excellent schools of Buffalo, and continued his studies after he went with his parents to Kansas, although civic conditions in that Territory at that time were not very favorable to educational pursuits.

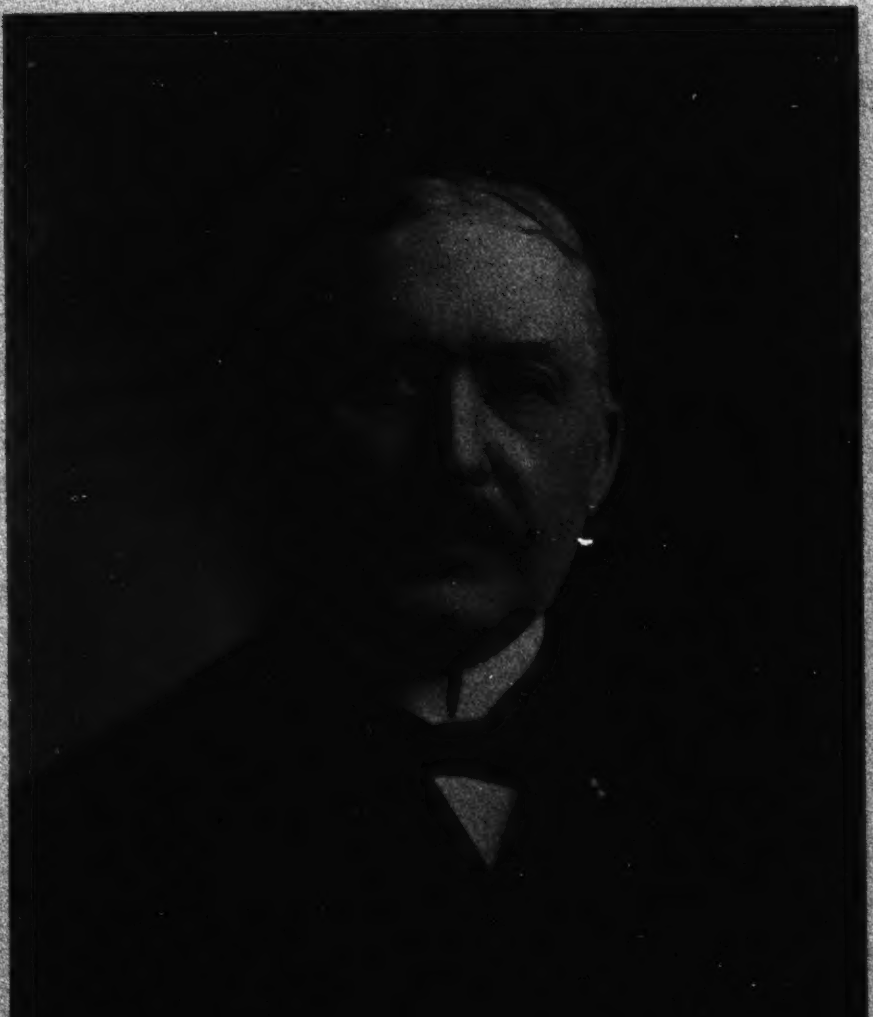
When the great civil war began and the call for volunteers was made by the President, Mr. Smith enlisted as a private in Company B, First Regiment of Kansas Volunteers. Before the close of 1861 he was advanced to the rank of First Lieutenant, and in 1862 became a Captain. In 1863 he was made Assistant Adjutant-General on the staff of Brigadier General George W. Dietzler.

In the autumn of 1863 Mr. Smith resigned from the army and within a few months afterward entered upon his long and successful career in railroad management. On February 1, 1864, he began as cashier and general accountant of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, the construction of which had but recently begun at its eastern end. He remained in that position until February, 1867, when he became auditor of the company, and so continued until October 22, 1878. In the meantime the road had been placed in charge of Henry Villard and Charles S. Greeley as Receivers. On November 1, 1878, the United States District Court appointed him Receiver to succeed Villard and Greeley; and in the spring of 1879, when General Superintendent T. F. Oakes resigned, the duties of that position were assumed by Mr. Smith in addition to those of the Receivership.

A few months later the road passed into the hands of the reorganized Kansas Pacific Railway Company, and Mr. Smith was appointed its General Superintendent, a position he retained until October, 1884, when he was called to be the General Superintendent of the great system of the Union Pacific Railway; in which capacity he served until the close of April, 1887. In the spring of that year the Directors of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad were looking about for a General Manager of their system and unanimously tendered the position to Mr. Smith. He accepted, left the Union Pacific on April 30, and assumed his duties with the Rio Grande two days later. He remained General Manager of that road until 1892, when he resigned to give his attention to mining properties he had acquired.

In 1893, when the necessity for railroad connection into the new Cripple Creek mining camp became imperative, Mr. Smith became identified with the organization of the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad Company and the construction of that road, of which he later became the President and General Manager. He retained these relations to the Florence & Cripple Creek line until early in 1900 when he retired to give attention to his private affairs and for a brief period of relaxation.

The foregoing, which is a mere summary of Mr. Smith's long and active career, will suggest to the reader something of his usual executive ability. Entering the Union army as a private soldier in the ranks, within two years he became an Assistant Adjutant-General. Beginning as cashier and accountant of a railroad which itself was only beginning, in a few years he was the manager of transcontinental systems. He has proved by his works his right to be recognized as an exceptionably able manager of railways.—J. C. S.



Sylvester T. Smith.

was finished to Boulder and opened for business. The track is now the Boulder branch of the Union Pacific which owns and operates what was once the Denver Pacific railway.

The year 1870, as will be noted by the reader, was one of great activity in both railroad construction and railroad projection in the Denver region, and in the autumn of that year the "Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company" was born. A railroad southward from Denver had been projected by a company of Denver men in 1868, before there was a foot of railway track in Colorado except the few miles of the Union Pacific clipping the northeast corner of the Territory. They organized in that year the United States and Mexico Telegraph Company, and the United States & Mexico Railway Company; and of their operations in telegraph building and railroad planning at that time something is told in another chapter. But as an actual undertaking the Denver & Rio Grande was, more than to any other man, due to General William J. Palmer who, as our reader has seen, was conspicuously identified with the completion of the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific roads. The proposition to immediately construct such a railway under existent conditions was a daring one, because it meant building into and through a country then almost uninhabited; and to do it with private capital. General Palmer's plans were not entirely fulfilled, but so far as they have since been carried out by the Denver & Rio Grande in Colorado, his conceptions were followed. His ideas called for a main line south from Denver along the base of the mountains, with branches penetrating the recesses of the Rockies which he declared would be required and supported by the development of the mineral and other resources of the Territory that would begin immediately, since railways had at last reached Denver. He also anticipated, and the plans of his company were made with that end in view, that the trunk line of the road should ultimately but at no distant time be extended through to El Paso, Texas, a distance of 850 miles from Denver.

During the earlier period in which the Kansas Pacific Company was hoping and expecting to build through to the southern California coast, General Palmer had traversed on horseback the country between western Kansas and the coast by way of Pueblo, Trinidad, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, Fort Wingate, Mojave and Los Angeles to San Diego, for the purpose of verifying the practicability of building the Kansas Pacific through that way. He then believed that if the Kansas Pacific did not build through that country, some other road would before many years; and later events justified his conclusions. But he was especially impressed by the natural resources of the southern Colorado country east of the range, and it was while on that journey that he conceived the idea of building a road southward from Denver, no matter what might prove to be the future course of the Kansas Pacific.

Arrangements for the organization of the Denver & Rio Grande company were concluded early in October, 1870, and it was incorporated on the 27th of that month by General Palmer, former Governor A. C. Hunt, and W. H. Greenwood. The first Board of Directors consisted of Palmer and Hunt, of Colorado; W. P. Millen, of New York; R. H. Lamborn, of Philadelphia; and Thomas J. Wood, of Dayton, Ohio. These elected General Palmer, President; Lamborn, Vice President; Howard Schuyler, Secretary and Treasurer; Samuel E. Browne, Solicitor; J. P. Mersereau, Chief Engineer; and W. H. Greenwood, Superintendent of Construction. The company's capital stock was placed at $14,000,000, and the road was to be bonded at the rate of $10,000 per mile. General Palmer, in whom capitalists had unbounded confidence, had arranged in the east for these financial sinews, and the company was prepared to begin building as soon as the route southward could be located and surveyed.

While the Denver people of that period believed almost anything within reason were possible if guided by the indomitable Captains of that time, most of them thought Palmer's enterprise was rather outside the border line of reason, and not a few regarded it as a wild project that would bring financial ruin to every man who became an owner in it; and that if the road were built even no farther than the southern limits of Colorado it would not be long operated before starvation would cause its abandonment. South of Colorado the long way to El Paso was through an inhospitable region then practically uninhabited by Americans and, it was supposed, always would be. Nearer home the conditions from a railroad standpoint did not seem much better. At that time the Colorado country through which the road was to be built was occupied by but few people. Colorado Springs, of course, did not exist. Pioneer Colorado City, the erstwhile capital of the Territory, had retrograded to a mere hamlet of cabins, occupied by a few dejected beings who were staying there rather from force of habit than for any brilliancy of future their "city" could promise. Pueblo was an ugly, straggling village of no great importance, and between it and Colorado City there were but a few ranchmen. Denver, as the reader knows, was then a small town, Littleton an insignificant place, and thence south to Colorado City the country was almost unoccupied. The Denver-Pueblo stage line considered itself fortunate if it carried two-dozen passengers each way weekly, and it is doubtful if there were 500 people, all told, permanently settled along the route of the road between Denver and Pueblo. The mountain districts the road was to serve had yet to receive a population that would need railroad service.

Nevertheless, it was into such a country that the main line was to be built, and in which it was to create a supporting business. The company had decided that its system of roads should be of the narrow (three-foot) gauge Prior to that time the advantages of such railroads for mountainous districts had begun to attract much attention, chiefly because of the cheap and successful construction and operation on heavy grades and sharp curves of the Festinaog Railway in the mountains of Wales, though there were also several similar roads in Europe. Preparations for the construction of such roads in the eastern part of the United States were then under way, and before the Denver & Rio Grande Company was organized, the Colorado Central had decided to make its Clear creek canon road of narrow gauge. It has been made to appear in bygone times that the Denver & Rio Grande was the pioneer in preparing for the introduction of that system of roads here in the west; but that was an error.

Congress having willingly granted the Denver & Rio Grande company right of way through the public lands, the intermediary of a construction company, the Union Contract Company, was employed to build the road, and it began grading, at the Denver end, in March, 1871. Track-laying was begun, in Denver, at the foot of Fifteenth street on July 27th of that year, with some ceremonies, and several speeches appropriate to such an occasion addressed to a medium-sized crowd of rather incredulous people. The rails were light—thirty pounds to the yard, and the road was built with thirty-two degree curves and ninety-foot grades. Construction proceeded rapidly, and the seventy-four miles to Colorado City were completed on October 21, 1871; less than ninety days from the time the first rail was laid.

As rolling-stock for such a road, for either construction work or initial traffic, could not be obtained by buying or borrowing from near neighbors, the company had provided itself in advance with three engines and some flat-cars. These arrived before track-laying began, and soon afterward several cars for passenger train service and some for freight were received. They seemed like toys, and were much smaller and lighter than present narrow-gauge equipment. The passenger locomotive had four wheels, connected, and weighed 25,000 pounds; those for freight had six wheels, connected, and weighed 35,000. The passenger and freight cars were proportionately small, and altogether the rolling-stock outfit, still further dwarfed by the towering mountain ranges along the base of which it crept, seemed better adapted to the amusement of children than to the initial operations of what the orators had promised was to become a great system of railways. Some people speculated as to whether it would really hurt very much to be run over by one of the trains, and as to what would become of the train if such a mishap occurred.

The Denver & Rio Grande company had neither asked nor received public aid in the construction of its line to Colorado City. When plans for its farther southward extension were under consideration, the people of Pueblo became interested in having the road diverge to the eastward from the contemplated due south route, and make their town a point on the line. Early in March, 1872, a public meeting was held there at which General Palmer and Governor Hunt, and R. E. Carr, at that time President of the Kansas Pacific, were present. The latter stated that his road was prepared for a reasonable issue of Pueblo county bonds, to give Pueblo an almost direct connection with the east by building a southward division of the Kansas Pacific from Kit Carson, Colorado, by way of Fort Lyon to Pueblo; and that the road would ultimately be continued to the Pacific coast. Palmer and Hunt presented the merits of their road and won their case. In June of that year Pueblo county voted $200,000 of bonds in exchange for stock in the road. This result had been so well assured that construction from Colorado City to Pueblo had been put under way in March, and the road was completed and opened for business to Pueblo on June 29th. The arrival of the first train was made the occasion of a great celebration, and from that time Pueblo dates her transformation from a straggling, sleepy, more than half-Mexican village to a busy, growing, progressive young city.

The Denver & Rio Grande road was largely a Philadelphia enterprise. General Palmer, though a fine fighter, was a Quaker City man, and nearly all of the capital invested in the road under Palmer's administration came from that city.

It would be tedious to enter far into details of constructing the various extensions and new lines subsequently built and that now constitute the great system of the Denver & Rio Grande; a few of the more important facts being believed to be sufficient. The line up the Arkansas river from Pueblo was built to the coal field near Florence in 1872, and was extended to Canon City in 1874. In 1876 the company built south from Pueblo to El Moro, with a branch from Cuchara to La Veta. In 1877 the La Veta branch was extended through La Veta Pass, and completed to Alamosa, in the San Luis valley, on July 4, 1878. Extension of the Pueblo-Canon City branch west to Leadville, through the Grand Canon of the Arkansas, initiated early in 1878, was resumed in the autumn of 1879 and completed to Salida in May, 1880; and to Leadville two months later. The line west from Salida, through Marshal Pass to Gunnison, was undertaken in May, 1880, and completed to Gunnison in August, 1881; and to Crested Butte in October of that year. Early in 1880 extension of the La Veta

Pass-Alamosa line was begun, over the Conejos range to Durango, with a branch from Antonita to Espanola, New Mexico. The latter was finished in December, 1880, and the line to Durango, in July, 1881. In June, 1880, a branch was completed from Alamosa to Del Norte, and extended to South Fork in November of that year. In April, 1881, a branch was finished from near Canon City, up Grape creek to Silver Cliff, but on account of repeated damages by floods, was abandoned in 1887. However, a new line is now approaching completion into the Wet Mountain valley on a somewhat different route, by the Rio Grande Railroad Company, a subordinate corporation. The road will be twenty-five miles long, extending from Texas creek station in Fremont county, to Westcliffe in Custer county, and involves some unusual feats in mountain railroad building. The Villa Grove branch from Mears Junction on the Gunnison line, south to the upper end of the San Luis valley, was completed in September, 1881, with a branch to the iron mines at Orient. The extension from Leadville, through Tennessee Pass, to Rock Creek, was finished in February, 1882; the extension from Leadville, north by way of Fremont's Pass to Dillon, on the Blue river, in November, 1882; and the Gunnison extension west through Montrose, Delta, and Mesa counties, reached Grand Junction in November, and the Colorado-Utah line on December 19, 1882.

About that time the Pleasant Valley Railway of Utah, extending from Provo to Clear Creek, Utah, was purchased by the Rio Grande Western Railway company and extended east by way of Spanish Fork and Price River canons to a connection with the Gunnison extension at the State line. This connection made a through narrow gauge line from Denver to Salt Lake City, and a year later was completed on to Ogden, making connection with the Central Pacific Railway at that point. This line was operated as one road from Denver to Ogden until the latter half of the year 1884, when the Rio Grande Western Company commenced the operation of its line from Utah State Line to Ogden under separate management; and in December, 1889, the latter-named company leased from the Denver & Rio Grande that portion of its road between Utah State line and Grand Junction, since which time the Rio Grande Western has operated under separate management from Grand Junction west.

In July, 1883, the Denver & Rio Grande completed a branch from South Fork to Wagon Wheel Gap which, after the developments at Creede several years later, was finished eleven miles to that camp, in November, 1891. In 1886 the Texas, Santa Fe & Northern Railway Company (a subordinate organization) built a narrow gauge road from Espanola to Sante Fe which enabled the Rio Grande to reach the New Mexico capital; and in August, 1887, the Rio Grande's El Moro line was extended to Trinidad to connection with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road. Early in 1887 the Aspen district had developed, and the extension west of Leadville, terminating at Rock Creek, was hurriedly built down the canons of Eagle and Grand rivers to Glenwood, and up the Roaring Fork to that camp, which was reached in October. At that time a branch line from Montrose to Ouray was also constructed, and with which the Rio Grande Southern road, built in 1892, in the southwestern part of the State, made connection. In the spring of 1888 the short branch to Fort Logan was built, and in July, 1889, a branch from Sapinero, on the Gunnison extension, to Lake City; and another, from Glenwood Springs to Rifle; were completed.

Up to 1881 all the lines of the Denver & Rio Grande were of narrow gauge It then became important for the Company to have a standard gauge line between Denver and Pueblo, in order to com-

View on Market street in 1866, from near the old "Mint," looking southward.

pete for business from the Missouri river; and laying a third rail was completed on December 23, 1881, which resulted in an arrangement by which the trains of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe were run through over the Denver & Rio Grande from Pueblo to Denver, and continuing until 1887. The Missouri Pacific having built to Pueblo during the same year enabled the Denver & Rio Grande to make a similar arrangement with that road, which is still in existence; and when the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific was completed to Colorado Springs in 1890, the Rio Grande made an arrangement, which continued several years, for taking care of its Denver and Pueblo business.

These events had made the trans-continental importance of the Denver & Rio Grande apparent, and also made necessary the standard gauging of its Arkansas river canon mountain division a necessity. The Rio Grande Western Railway company, which, since December, 1889, had been in possession of the line west of Grand Junction, cooperated with the Denver & Rio Grande, and the work was pushed to a speedy completion in the autumn of 1890, from Pueblo, up the Arkansas, through Tennessee Pass, to Rifle, from which point the Denver & Rio Grande, in conjunction with the Colorado Midland, extended the standard gauge to Grand Junction (the joint line being now known as the Rio Grande Junction Railway); the Rio Grande Western continuing it on to Ogden.

In the meantime the road from Pueblo to Trinidad had been made of standard gauge. As this called for a transfer of business for points on the Alamosa extension through La Veta Pass, the Villa Grove extension was continued south to Alamosa in 1890 and all business for the San Luis Valley was then sent around that way. On account of the costly operation of the La Veta Pass line it was at that time closed, but late in 1891, after the excitement at Creede developed, the road was reopened to give the southern part of the State a more direct connection with the new camp, and has remained so ever since. In 1894 the branch from Crested Butte to Ruby, into the great anthracite coal fields, was constructed, and which affords an outlet for an enormous output of very fine anthracite coal. In 1896 the Rio Grande company bought outright what had been the Texas, Sante Fe & Northern railroad, which purchase gave it a complete line of its own between Denver and Santa Fe. In 1898 the revival of mining in the Leadville district called for the construction of the Ibex branch of seven miles to various mining properties, and which was opened on November 1, 1898; it having been the last addition of importance to Denver & Rio Grande mileage, proper, up to the close of our record. The road's connection with the Cripple Creek district is over the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad, built in 1893-94, from Florence, on the Pueblo-Grand Junction main line. The Rio Grande Southern railroad in the western and southwestern sections of the State, extending from Ridgway on the Ouray branch, south by west to Dolores and thence east to Durango, was recently ingrafted on the Denver & Rio Grande system. This line of 172 miles was completed in February, 1892, and the company is a subordinate corporation having Denver & Rio Grande executive officers.

It having been demonstrated that the old La Veta Pass narrow gauge line to Alamosa, having a standard gauge connection at its eastern terminus, was impracticable in operation on account of that broken connection, it was decided in 1897 to make the La Veta Pass line of standard gauge also, and to locate the greater part of it on a new route having lower grades. This work was begun early in 1899 and completed in November of that year, giving the San Luis valley a standard gauge outlet to the east in addition to the narrow gauge route that now extends from Salida southward all the way to Sante Fe.

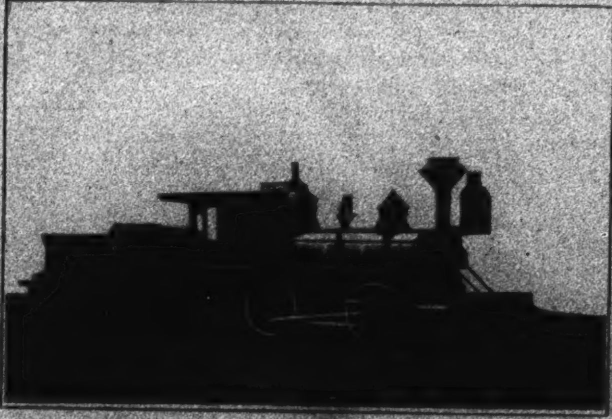
In 1900, the Rio Grande, Pagosa & Northern Railroad was completed from Pagosa Junction on the Rio Grande Southern, to Pagosa Springs in Archuleta county, a distance of 30.8 miles, and intended chiefly for lumber traffic. While the proprietary company is nominally independent, it represents Denver & Rio Grande interests.

In the foregoing is briefly outlined the origin and remarkable development of General Palmer's one time "baby railroad," as it used to be called by all Colorado people. Including late acquisitions, the system now embraces about 1,850 miles of railway, exclusive of its interest in the Rio Grande Junction road, and represents a total construction cost of nearly $110,000,000. Practically, the entire system is tributary to Denver, and its large shops in the southern part of the city constitute a great manufacturing establishment. The road's growth has not been more remarkable, however, than the wonderful development of the sections of the State it serves so well; yet, it is to be remembered that the road was itself the pioneer in nearly every part of the regions into which its tracks extend. It has been one of the great factors in the upbuilding of Denver and in making the Commonwealth of Colorado what it is.

The Denver & Rio Grande did not escape fierce rivalry and severe misfortune in the earlier years of its career. The advent of the Santa Fe road into southern Colorado in the middle "Seventies" was followed by the most remarkable conflict between the two companies, in the history of American railways; and their contest for possession of the canon of the Arkansas in 1878 brought conditions in the southern part of the State to the verge of civil war. The dispute was quickly taken into the Courts and ultimately the Supreme Court of the United

States decided in favor of the Denver & Rio Grande on nearly all the points at issue.

Late in 1878, a truce having been patched up between the two companies, the Denver & Rio Grande was leased to the Santa Fe for a period of thirty years, the Santa Fe engaging to proceed with the work of constructing the Rio Grande's line through the Grand Canon and on to Leadville while awaiting the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the litigation between the two companies for possession of the canon. The Santa Fe took possession of the Rio Grande's 337 miles of road in December, 1878. In the spring of 1879 war broke out again between them. As part of the proceedings by which the Denver & Rio Grande company sought to regain possession of its leased road, a Receiver for it was appointed by a State District Judge in the southern part of the State. The Rio Grande forces, aided by Sheriffs acting under orders from the District Judge, took possession of their road by force which occasioned some bloodshed; and again a small civil war was threatened. But, under a decree of the United States Court at Denver, the Santa Fe was later restored to possession, and the Receiver appointed by the District Judge discharged. On July 24, 1879, the United States Court here appointed another Receiver who continued in charge until April, 1880, the Supreme Court at Washington then having decided in favor of the Denver & Rio Grande company re-possessing its road. Therefore, the lease was cancelled, and a general compromise agreement for the future was made between the two companies; and since that time they have dwelt together in the State in as much peace as rival railways usually enjoy.



First Engine on the Denver & Rio Grande road.

General Palmer remained President of the Rio Grande until August, 1883, when he resigned and engaged in railroad enterprises in Mexico. He was succeeded by Frederick Lovejoy who soon got into turmoil with the Rio Grande Western company. The road's extensions had been overbuilt, its conflicts very costly, internal dissensions had arisen, and in consequence of it having defaulted in payment of interest on its bonds, it was placed in the hands of a Receiver in July, 1884. In February, 1885, David H. Moffat, Jr., was elected President of the company in place of Lovejoy; Moffat having prior to that time terminated his interests in what were called the "Evans roads." On July 12, 1886, the road was sold under foreclosure to interests which, on July 14th, organised the Denver & Rio Grande Railway Company, of which W. S. Jackson of Colorado Springs, was elected President. In May, 1887, Jackson retired and was succeeded by Mr. Moffat, who continued at the head of the company until the autumn of 1891. Much of the broad-gauging of the system, and a great mileage of narrow-gauge extension was done under his administration. In October, 1891, E. T. Jeffery, the present President, succeeded Mr. Moffat, and under his management the company passed through the financial storm of 1893 without the insolvency and the receivership that fell to the lot of almost every western railroad corporation. Since the re-adjustment of its affairs in 1884-86 it has had a prosperous career.

We deemed it inexpedient to give place in this volume to the details of the Rio Grande's memorable conflict with the Santa Fe, in the field by force of arms and in the legal arena. The field campaign was much like the strifes between feudal lords supported by their respective phalanxes of vassals, while the litigation growing out of the conflict was the most tortuous and extended from a legal standpoint, and the most exciting to the popular mind, ever known to arise from one group of circumstances in Colorado. Those affairs more properly belong to State history, and General Frank Hall in his History of Colorado has very elaborately dealt with them.

In the autumn of 1872 another ambitious railroad enterprise, to which we have already incidentally referred, was undertaken by a group of Denver men most of whom had been conspicuously instrumental in building the Denver Pacific. On September 30th the "Denver & South Park Railway Company" was incorporated by Joseph E. Bates, Walter S. Cheesman, F. A. Clark, Henry Crow, John Evans, Bela M. Hughes, Charles B. Kountze, David H. Moffat, Jr., and F. Z. Salomon, with a capital stock of $2,000,000, to build a narrow gauge railroad from Denver into the South Park country, with the ultimate view of extending it across the mountains and on to the Pacific coast. The incorporators with L. H. Eicholtz and John C. Reiff became the first Board of Directors, which elected John Evans, President; David H. Moffat, Jr., Vice

President; George W. Kassler, Secretary; and Charles B. Kountze, Treasurer.

Early in the spring of that year John Evans had resigned the Presidency of the Denver Pacific, that road had passed to the absolute control of the Kansas Pacific, and the Denver men who had caused its construction had withdrawn most of their personal interest in it. The Denver & South Park road was intended primarily as an offset to the Colorado Central's line up Clear creek, as a friendly western connection for the Kansas Pacific, and further, as a narrow gauge trunk line into and beyond the mountains. The theoretical popularity of narrow gauge railroads was then at a high stage all over the country, and many men believed they were destined to permanently displace all other types of road. The original route proposed for the Denver & South Park line was by way of Bear creek into the mountains and thence, by the most practical route, to and across the South Park; yet the entire region through which it was projected was practically uninhabited. There were a few houses at Morrison's stone quarry, but beyond there there was not even a hamlet this side of Fairplay, and the latter was not much more than a name. To make a beginning toward bettering this condition of things, the proprietary interests of the South Park road organized in October, 1872, the "Morrison Stone, Lime and Town Company," and platted the town of Morrison; though because of the few houses previously built there at the quarry the place had been called "Morrison" for some time before.

In June, 1873, the company was re-organized as the "Denver, South Park & Pacific" with its capital stock increased to $5,000,000. John Hughes took the place of Bates in the Directory, and the same executive officers were continued. Aid was asked from Arapahoe county, and on July 28, 1873, the people by a decisive vote authorized the County Commissioners to issue $300,000 of county bonds in exchange for an equal nominal amount of the railroad company's stock; one of the conditions having been that the road should be completed to Morrison within nine months. A subordinate corporation, the "Denver Railway Association," had been organized by the Denver & South Park interests, and by which surveys and other preliminary work had been done. In August, 1873, that association undertook the contract and began work on grading the road, between Denver and the Morrison townsite. The road was completed to Morrison July 1, 1874, and in consequence of conditions entailed by the panic of 1873 it made no farther progress for several years. The Platte canon route into the South Park had at first been deemed impracticable, but before the road was finished to Morrison, a re-survey of the canon located a way through it. Plans for the future were then changed; a route from what is now Sheridan Junction on the Morrison road was surveyed and located up the Platte, through the canon, on through the South Park, and to the confluence of Trout creek and the Arkansas river; and some grading between Sheridan and the canon had been done.

Although the Platte canon route had been thus adopted for the main line, renewal of work upon it was long delayed. The panic had put an end, temporarily, to railroad building everywhere in the country. Notwithstanding the well-known financial conditions in consequence of the panic, Governor Evans and his associates were bitterly assailed here at home because they did not go ahead and build the road to which Arapahoe county had voted $300,000 in bonds. The burden of the unreasonable criticisms and fault-finding fell upon Governor Evans, and by the spring of 1876 had become so unjust that he offered his resignation as President of the road, but the Directors would not even consider it.

An effort was then made to obtain subscriptions to the road's stock from Denver business men, but without much success. Then John W. Smith proposed to raise $150,000 with which to build the road to Bailey's Ranche. Smith's plan called for the organization of the "San Juan Construction Company" which was to construct the road to the point named and take pay in the form of the railroad company's first mortgage bonds. The construction company was organized in July, 1876, with a capital of $350,000, with John Evans, W. S. Cheesman, Charles B. Kountze, David H. Moffat, Jr., John W. Smith, William Barth, F. J. Ebert, J. S. Brown, and George Tritch as Directors. Under this management the San Juan Construction Company completed the road to Bailey's Ranche early in the summer of 1878.

Prior to that time the road's prospects had much improved and financial conditions had become easy. For constructing it beyond Bailey's Ranche, the "Denver & South Park Construction Company" had been organized in November, 1877, by practically the same men who had formed the San Juan company. The extension of the South Park railroad, inspired by the developments at Leadville, was pushed with extraordinary vigor in 1878 and 1879. Before that time Jay Gould and his associates, having previously acquired control of the Union Pacific, Kansas Pacific and Colorado Central, had also purchased a large interest in the South Park road. Desiring to absolutely control it in view of the business it would bring from the Leadville district to those roads, the Gould party in November, 1879, bought at par practically all the remaining Denver, South Park & Pacific interests and became owner of the road.

Under the new dispensation the Directors chosen on January 9, 1880, consisted of Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Cyrus W. Fisher, Walter S. Cheesman, John Evans, David H. Moffat, Jr., J. S. Brown, John W. Smith and Charles B. Kountze, and the officers elected were John Evans, President; Walter S. Cheesman, First Vice President; Cyrus W. Fisher, Second Vice President; George W. Kassler, Secretary; and Charles B. Kountze, Treasurer. The road, by great exertions, was completed to a connection with the Denver & Rio Grande's Leadville extension, near the mouth of Trout creek, on February 9, 1880, the South Park trains running into Leadville from Trout creek, a distance of about thirty miles, over the Denver & Rio Grande tracks.

For a few years, during the hey-day of the Leadville "boom," the road did a heavy business, but its later history is a story of disaster. When the Leadville tide began to ebb the road's operation became very unprofitable; a result, by the way, that was not changed until recently. The company was maintained as a separate organization, but the Denver men soon withdrew from it. The burden of the extremely heavy construction account, the great expense of operation, and a diminishing income from traffic finally brought the company to bankruptcy, and it passed to a Receiver's care. The road was sold under a foreclosure decree, on July 6, 1889, and bought in by Union Pacific interests which organized the "Denver, Leadville & Gunnison Railway Company" to take over the property. But, through a peculiar system of railroad financing, the Union Pacific became owner of all the stock and securities of the new company. Within a few years the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison was greatly extended, but all was of narrow gauge. A line of its own into Leadville, the extension to Gunnison and Baldwin, and several short branches were built, until the various roads then constituting the system, and representing a total construction cost of $5,331,851, aggregated 324.03 miles, as follows:

Denver to Leadville, main line	151.90
Como to Baldwin	131.05
Dickey to Keystone	7.04
Garos to London Junction	15.41
Sheridan Junction to Morrison	9.96
Como to Coal Mine	2.30
Schwanders to Buena Vista	3.98
Baldwin up Ohio Creek	3.09

With its enlarged mileage and the fast-increasing general business of the country it was expected that the system would prove profitable. After the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf aggregation was created in 1890, this road had become practically a part of that, though continuing an independent corporate existence. According to its annual reports it never earned its way during the years of good times that were ended by the panic of 1893. Its annual deficit in the five years ended with 1893 were: 1889, $248,497.53; 1890, $165,276.86; 1891, $208,062.51; 1892, $145,887.19; 1893, $245,678.43. In the autumn of 1893 it went down aheap in common with all the other Union Pacific interests, and was put in Receivers' charge. Its subsequent history is involved in that of the Colorado & Southern Railway.

CHAPTER LVI.

Denver & New Orleans Railway and Its Successor—Denver, Texas & Fort Worth, and Fort Worth & Denver City Roads—Construction of Various Local Railways—Burlington, Santa Fe, Missouri Pacific, Colorado Midland, and Rock Island Roads—History of the Colorado & Southern and Its Constituent Former Companies—Colorado & Northwestern—Other Local Railroads—Union Pacific—Denver Union Passenger Station—Cripple Creek District Railroads—Prospective Trunk-line Extensions—Denver's Railway Facilities—Characteristics of Colorado Mountain Roads—Denver's Railway Builders.

While the decade, 1870-80, had been, as our reader has seen, one of remarkable activity in railroad building in the Denver region and elsewhere in the central west, the succeeding one surpassed it in mileage constructed and in general development of the country. In the presence of all that was in preparation and all that was going forward in that succeeding decade, the Denver group of railway builders did not remain idle. Their next undertaking was one of commanding importance to this city and this region of country.

On January 25, 1881, the "Denver & New Orleans Railway Company" was incorporated at Denver by John Evans, Cyrus W. Fisher, David H. Moffat, Jr., George Tritch, J. F. Brown, Isaac Brinker, William Barth, John R. Hanna, Job A. Cooper, T. G. Lyster, J. Sidney Brown, George W. Kassler, and Charles B. Kountze, with a capital of $10,000,000. The charter named as Directors of the company for the first year of its existence, John Evans, Cyrus W. Fisher, David H. Moffat, Jr., William Barth, George Tritch, Isaac Brinker, J. Sidney Brown, William B. Daniels, and Charles B. Kountze.

This company originally contemplated building the Denver & New Orleans railway from Denver straight southeast to La Junta, with a branch to Colorado Springs. From La Junta the road was to extend on southeast to a connection in Texas with the Texas Pacific and various other roads in that State, thereby forming a through and rather direct route to New Orleans. But these plans were changed, and an almost air-line south from Denver to Pueblo, passing out of this city by way of the Cherry creek valley, was adopted, with the view of building into Texas from Pueblo.

The company sought neither subsidies nor bonuses, but immediately proceeded with the construction of the road upon its own resources, in 1881. On May 3, 1882, the first fifty miles out of Denver were completed and opened for business, and before the close of that year the line was finished to Pueblo, a distance of 124.37 miles; the Denver & New Orleans Construction Company having been the contractor. A branch of 4.51 miles from Franceville Junction to Franceville, and one of 9.12 miles from Manitou Junction to Colorado Springs, were also built in 1882, making in all 138 miles of standard gauge road. The completion of the Denver & New Orleans between Denver and Pueblo was celebrated in this city by a great public demonstration of rejoicing.

Circumstances delayed building into Texas from Pueblo and, having only local business on its line, the Denver & New Orleans company fell into financial straits, and finally into the hands of a Receiver. All its property was sold on March 18, 1885, under foreclosure proceedings, and bought by a committee representing its bondholders. A new corporation, the "Denver, Texas & Gulf Railroad Company," was then organized, and in May, 1885, took possession of the old company's roads. The Denver, Texas & Gulf company was merely a reorganization of the first corporation, its Board of Directors having been John Evans, George Tritch, William Barth, J. Sidney Brown, C. B. Kountze, S. H. Elbert, Job A. Cooper, F. A. Keener, and William G. Evans, all of Denver; with John Evans as President; J. Sidney Brown, First Vice President; Job A. Cooper, Second Vice President; Charles Wheeler, Secretary; and W. B. Berger, Treasurer.

Under its re-organization and under the extraordinary influences of the ensuing "boom" times, this road fared well and became prosperous. Its individual existence continued until 1890, when it was made a constituent of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system, the particulars of which consolidation will presently be related. But in the meantime new roads had been built, affording the Denver, Texas & Gulf connections into Texas and on to points on the Gulf of Mexico; and to these we will now briefly give some attention.

The "Denver, Texas & Fort Worth Railroad company" was incorporated April 12, 1887. Its original purpose was to build from Pueblo, by way of Trinidad, to the Texas line at a point near the northwest corner of that State's "pan-handle." However, this plan was changed in consequence of an arrangement having been made with the Denver & Rio Grande company for joint use of its line by a third rail between Pueblo and Trinidad, and therefore the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth's construction was confined to that part of the route beyond Trinidad. On March 14, 1888, it had completed its 134.90 miles of track between Trinidad and Texline, and on April 15th the road was opened for business. The company had also constructed a branch of 16.23 miles from Trinidad to Martinsen; another, of 6.52 miles, from Beshoar to Chappell; another, of 3.63 miles, from Pueblo to Bessemer Junction; and .56 miles of freight house track at Pueblo; and in January, 1889, built a branch of 4.62 miles from Forbes Junction to Ludlow; making in all 166.46 miles of standard gauge road constructed by the company. Three short roads, subsidiary to the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth, were built down there in 1888 by independent companies. These were the Chicosa Canon Railway, Chicosa to Forbes, 4.18 miles; the Canon de Agua Railroad, from Ludlow to Hastings, 2.96 miles; and the Road Canon Railroad, 2.82 miles; all of standard gauge. These roads were leased by the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth, and increased its mileage to a total of 176.42 early in 1889. While its northern terminus so far as its own main line extended was at Trinidad, its trackage arrangement with the Denver & Rio Grande made Pueblo its actual northern terminus where it had direct connection with the Denver, Texas & Gulf to Denver. It paid $160,000 a year to the Rio Grande for using the 92.24 miles of the Rio Grande main line between Trinidad and Gulf Junction in the suburbs of Pueblo, and it also had trackage rights over certain of the Rio Grande's coal branches in southern Colorado. This use of the Denver & Rio Grande tracks between Pueblo and Trinidad is continued by the present Colorado & Southern company, successor to the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth. The Denver, Texas & Fort Worth company was principally composed of eastern men interested in the Union Pacific, but John Evans was its Second Vice President. This road and its belongings also went into the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf consolidation in 1890, and we may remark here that with that change the active participation of Governor Evans in railroad construction and management terminated.

The construction of the two roads whose history is outlined in the foregoing was not all that was required to afford Denver a rail outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. The third link in the chain was the "Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Company," an old organization incorporated in Texas May 26, 1873. Some work was done on it out from Fort Worth before 1880, but it was not until after the re-organization of the Denver & New Orleans company that very active work on the extension of the Fort Worth road was instituted, and then only when the builders of the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth took a hand in it and a controlling interest in the company. The Texas road was completed from Fort Worth to Texline, 454.49 miles, on January 26, 1888, with a branch, of 14.54 miles from Washburn to Pan Handle City; thus with the Denver, Texas & Gulf, and the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth, forming, with connections beyond Fort Worth, a through route from Denver to Gulf tidewater.

The Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf consolidation in 1890 did not include the Fort Worth & Denver City road, though the consolidation carried with it a controlling interest in the Texas company. The latter retained an independent corporate existence, and still does so as a southern connection of the present Colorado & Southern Railway.

In 1881-82 the Union Pacific people, stimulated by the approaching extension of the Burlington road, built the "cut-off" from Julesburg to LaSalle, 151.53 miles; a portion of it on the old roadbed graded by Loveland in 1872-73. It was made to figure as part of the Colorado Central system under lease, though it lacked the six miles between LaSalle and Greeley of connecting with the nearest of the Central lines. The "cut-off" retained that identity, and later went into the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf consolidation. In 1887 the Cheyenne & Northern Railway Company which, with its road, was also made an appendage of the Colorado Central, built 125 miles of standard gauge road from Cheyenne north to Wendover, and opened it for business in the autumn of that year. The Union Pacific company, controlling, as it then did, the Denver Pacific road, and with all these amplifications of the leased Central system, was pretty well in command of Colorado local rail transportation north of Denver and east of the Divide in the decade 1880-90.

During the twenty-five years between 1867 and 1893, in the history of Denver and of Colorado, scores of railway companies were incorporated in our State. The records in the office of the Secretary of State bristle with entries relating to railroad corporations. Had all these projected roads been built the State would have been literally gridironed by tracks; but the very large majority made no headway, and the beginning and end of their histories appear in the dry records of the State Secretary. The greater of this activity in railroad projects was in the decade 1880-90, and during that period several short lines of railroads, with names nearly as long as their tracks, were built, or attempted to be built, in the districts north and

View northwest from electric light tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues in autumn of 1882.

west of Denver; but they were small concerns, either dependents of the Union Pacific's leased Colorado Central or incapable of troubling it, and all but one of which became in 1890 part of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system some account of which is given on succeeding pages in connection with that of the present Colorado & Southern railway. Minor details of the affairs of these small roads, names of their company organizers and so forth, are omitted because of their lack of interest.

The Denver, Utah & Pacific company was incorporated as a Denver enterprise on December 11, 1880, with the ambitions indicated by its name, though its subsequent achievements were out of all relation to its imposing title. It was a narrow gauge enterprise, and on November 24, 1881, the road, by having utilized under lease, between Utah Junction and Burns Junction, about eleven miles of the Denver, Western & Pacific roadbed, was completed and opened between Denver and Longmont, a distance of thirty-seven miles. In April, 1884, it absorbed the Colorado Northern Railroad Company, a contemporary organization that had made a small beginning toward building a road on part of the route, and on September 17, 1885, the St. Vrain extension of eleven miles from Longmont to Lyons, was completed and opened for traffic; several miles of coal mine branches having been built about the same time. In 1892 the road was sold to the "Burlington," having had at that time $881,400 of stock and $820,000 of bonds outstanding.

The Denver, Western & Pacific Railway Company in 1881 graded about sixteen miles of standard gauge road between Denver and Marshall, and a little more than four miles of the same gauge road from Longmont toward Denver. In October, 1883, the road passed to a Receiver, and in April, 1885, the company was re-organized as the Denver, Marshall & Boulder Railway Company, and the lines graded in 1881 were completed. The road, of standard gauge, was finished to Boulder in 1886, and the branch from Louisville to Lafayette in 1888. The short roadbed from Longmont toward Denver, and a track of two and one-half miles, from Denver to Argo Junction, had been abandoned in 1885-86. In 1882-83 the Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific Railway Company built about thirteen miles of narrow gauge road from Boulder to Sunset; in 1882-84 nearly forty miles of standard gauge from Greeley to Stout; and in 1887 over eight miles of standard gauge from Loveland to Arkins. It may be remarked here that in 1894 nearly thirteen miles of that mileage were destroyed by floods, and abandoned. In 1882-84 the Georgetown, Breckenridge & Leadville Railway Company, an Union Pacific corporation that contemplated crossing the range with an extension of the Colorado Central's Clear creek line, built the eight and one-half miles of narrow gauge road between Georgetown and Graymont—the famous "Loop" line, and opened it in June, 1884. In 1884 the Denver & Middle Park Railway Company built four and one-half miles of narrow gauge road between Ralston and Glencoe and opened it in December of that year. All of these roads were consolidated in the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system in 1890 along with the Colorado Central lines, proper, and others. In addition to these various local lines there were several others projected in the "Eighties," and companies were incorporated to build them; but they did not get beyond the stage of "paper railroads."

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, or as it is more familiarly known here in the west, "the Burlington," made its advent in Denver early in the "Eighties," and was the third line between the city and the Missouri river. The origin of the Burlington system that now aggregates about 8,000 miles of railroad in eleven States, was in Illinois in 1849, and the road reached the Mississippi opposite Burlington, Iowa, from Chicago, before the outbreak of the civil war. An early intention to build far west was shown in 1854 when the "Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company," a subordinate corporation, was chartered by the Iowa Legislature to build a road from Burlington across to the Missouri river. Congress in 1856, made it a land grant of six square miles for each mile of completed road, but even with that not much headway was made for more than a decade. It was built to Ottumwa, Iowa, by the close of 1859 and there rested until after the civil war when the parent company went to its assistance. By January 1, 1870, the road was completed to East Plattsmouth (now Pacific Junction) on the Missouri river a few miles below Omaha, and on January 1, 1873, under a perpetual lease that was practically a consolidation of the two companies, passed to the control of the parent line.

On May 12, 1869, there had been chartered in Nebraska the "Burlington & Missouri River Railroad in Nebraska," another subordinate line, to extend still farther west from opposite East Plattsmouth. Work on this road began in 1870, and on September 3, 1872, it was completed to Kearney Junction by way of Lincoln and Hastings. This road had a land grant of ten square miles to each mile of road, under an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862, and it eventually realized an average of six dollars an acre for those lands—more than it cost to build the road. In 1878 the extension of that road to a point on the border of Yuma county, Colorado, was begun and in March, 1881, completed; but it had in the previous year passed to the control of the parent line on terms similar to those under which the trans-Iowa division had been absorbed.

The Burlington, of course, was heading to Denver. In 1879 the "Burlington & Colorado Railroad Company" had been incorporated by the parent line to build from our State line, just east of Wray, to this city, a distance by the route followed of about 175 miles. Work on this road was a continuation of that on the Nebraska extension and was prosecuted with great vigor in 1881 by way of Akron and Fort Morgan, and was completed to Denver on May 29, 1882. It was then absorbed by the parent line after the established fashion.

In the construction of the "Burlington" into Denver there were none of the difficulties, the uncertainties, the haltings, that beset the earlier roads. It did not have to depend upon donations or subsidies, nor upon local organizations whose zeal and ambitions far exceeded their resources. There were none of the struggles, the make-shifts, the alternations between sanguine hope and utter despair that attended the pioneer railway enterprises. This road, with experienced ability and abundant resources behind it, swiftly made its way across the plains, entered the city's gates, and was ready for business, almost before the people here realised what had happened.

In 1892 the Burlington acquired by purchase the Denver, Utah & Pacific extending from Denver by way of Longmont to Lyons, and of which we have given some account. In September of that year its forty-seven miles of road (including leased track) were changed to standard gauge. Subsequently, periodical movements gave some color to the theory that the Burlington intended this Denver-Lyons division to be the beginning of a Burlington line across the mountains of northwestern Colorado to Salt Lake City, but recent events would seem to point to a Burlington-Utah extension from its line through central Wyoming, and therefore have dimmed the brilliancy of the future of the local branch.

Early in 1899 the construction of a cross-country road giving Denver a direct rail connection to western South Dakota, and to Montana was begun. This new line leaves the Denver main line at Brush, eighty-eight miles northeast of the city, and by utilizing twenty-four miles of the Union Pacific's LaSalle-Julesburg division, between Union and Sterling, extends northward to Alliance, Nebraska, on the Burlington's Montana division, a rail distance of 238 miles from Denver. This new road which was opened for business September 16, 1900, affords Denver a direct rail connection with the Black Hills country of South Dakota, and with Montana. From Bridgeport, Nebraska, where the Denver-Alliance road crosses the North Platte river, another extension, northwest along that stream, has recently been built to the vast coal and iron fields around Guernsey, in central Wyoming. It is this road that, it is anticipated, will be extended to Utah, and probably to the coast.

The Burlington is one of the great railway systems of the world, but it would be going beyond our reservation to proceed much farther here with details concerning it, having dealt with the essential facts bearing upon its relations to Denver. Its extension into southern Wyoming from Holdredge, Nebraska, on the main or Denver line, skirting through the northeastern part of Colorado to

Cheyenne, was built in 1885-87. Its great northwest line from Lincoln, Nebraska, through to Billings, Montana, with a branch to Deadwood, represents construction begun in 1884 and continued, with various intervals, until completion in October, 1894.

To consider the vast net-work of roads constituting the Burlington system would call for the use of several of these pages and, as we have already said, would take us far off our reservation. However, one fact of interest here is that this great system of railways is one of the very few that has weathered all the storms, escaped the protective attention of Receivers, and has always paid its stockholders regular and very good dividends.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company completed its extension to Denver from Pueblo by way of Colorado Springs in 1887. Its history dates back to the Territorial times in Kansas, and to the Atchison & Topeka Railroad Company organized February 11, 1859, to build a road of fifty-one miles between those two then little frontier towns in eastern Kansas. That company had a small land grant, and in March, 1863, was re-organized as the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company with intentions to build to Santa Fe. Congress increased its land grant to about 3,000,000 acres (including that given the original company), but no construction was undertaken for several years. In 1868 control of the company passed to interests centered in Boston, and in 1869 building was started. From such slow and modest beginnings the Santa Fe has expanded until its lines stretch from Chicago around by the southwest to San Francisco; to Galveston; to El Paso; to Denver; and with scores of branches from the main lines, the total now aggregating 7,798 miles, with still more building.

Construction was pushed westward in the "Seventies" and the road was completed to Pueblo and opened for business March 1, 1876. Its various operations in southern Colorado then and thereafter were through subsidiary corporations with local names but which were subsequently absorbed by the parent company. To aid the road in building to Pueblo, Pueblo county in March, 1874, voted a bond subscription of $350,000 to the dependent company's stock, and about the same time Bent county voted $150,000. With the exception of the period in 1879 during which it operated the Denver & Rio Grande narrow gauge road under lease, the Santa Fe was not directly known in Denver until 1882. At the close of 1881 the main line of the Denver & Rio Grande, Denver to Pueblo, had been made a standard gauge road, and early in 1882, under a traffic arrangement with the Denver & Rio Grande, the Santa Fe began running its passenger trains to Denver from Pueblo over the tracks of that road, and continued doing so until it built its own line between the two cities.

The Denver extension had been determined upon two or three years before it was built, but the Santa Fe company had some difficulty in obtaining an entrance to the city. For that purpose it purchased what there was of the Denver Circle Railway, of which a brief account is hereinafter given. The Circle road's right of way extended up through the southern part of the city, thence along the west bank of Cherry creek to Larimer street. After much debate and considerable wrangling, and a great waste of effort if not of other things by the Santa Fe, the City Council wisely refused to permit the company to build its road into the heart of the city upon the route of the Circle road. The Santa Fe then adopted the route around through "West Denver" upon which it completed its road to the Union Passenger Station and opened it for business early in October, 1887. The road parallels the Rio Grande all the way to Pueblo, and the two are side by side the greater part of the distance. No public aid was asked or received for constructing the Denver extension. The panic times of 1893 bore hard upon the Santa Fe, it passed to a Receiver, was later re-organized and financially rehabilitated, and its name changed from "Railroad" to "Railway" company. It then resumed its career of extension and development, and recently completed its line to San Francisco. Its general management is directed from its headquarters in Chicago, and its operations at Denver are wholly those of transportation.

While the Missouri Pacific Railway, having in 1900 a mileage of 5,326 in its system, figures in the Denver railway time-tables, it is not, properly speaking, a Denver road, for its line in Colorado terminates at Pueblo. Its Kansas-Colorado extension was built from Kansas City in the "Eighties," reaching Pueblo in 1887. A traffic agreement was then made with the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad for handling its Denver business, instead of building and operating a line of its own between the two cities. Under that arrangement the Missouri Pacific's through passenger cars to and from Kansas City have come and gone by way of Pueblo in the trains of the friendly Rio Grande ever since, and its Denver freight traffic follows the same route. Periodically it has been reported that the Missouri Pacific "will build to Denver," but there is no prospect for it immediately doing so.

The Colorado Midland Railway is another road the name of which appears in our local railway time-tables, but which does not extend to Denver. However, its general offices are in Denver, and its relations to the city are so intimate and important that a brief history of the road is appropriate here. Its main line extends from Colorado Springs to Newcastle in the western part of the State, a distance of 224 miles, and represents solution of many exceedingly difficult railway engineering problems. To one standing on the plains a short distance east of Colorado Springs and viewing the mountains, the task of projecting and constructing a railroad through their lofty rugged masses would seem to be an impossibility. The Midland Company, organized in November, 1883, was a dependent of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company which owned all its stock. The road was begun in 1885 and completed by way of Leadville to its western terminus in January, 1889, having been the first standard-gauge road to enter western Colorado. Until February, 1894, it was operated as a part of the Santa Fe system. The branch from Aspen Junction to Aspen was built and opened simultaneously with the main line, and subsequently various other short branches were constructed in western Colorado until the total proprietary roads aggregated 263 miles. It also built jointly with the Denver & Rio Grande, the Rio Grande Junction Railway from Newcastle to Grand Junction, a distance of seventy-seven miles, over which both roads reach Grand Junction where connection is made with the Rio Grande Western; and later acquired trackage rights over several parts of the Denver & Rio Grande in western Colorado. After the Cripple Creek development the Colorado Midland was instrumental in constructing the Midland Terminal Railway, begun in 1892, from Divide on the main line to the great gold camp, a distance of thirty miles, and reducing the rail distance of the camp to 131 miles from Denver. Between Colorado Springs and Denver the business of the road was done over the tracks of the Santa Fe. On February 1, 1894, the Colorado Midland passed to a Receiver, and it was several years before its affairs were straightened out and re-adjusted. The cost of the road at the time of the Receivership stood at about $19,000,000. After its re-organization it was operated more independently, but still used the Santa Fe tracks for its Denver business. In the spring of 1900 control of the road passed to the Colorado & Southern and the Rio Grande Western Railways, and its business between Colorado Springs and Denver was transferred to the Colorado & Southern. Its independent corporate existence is maintained, with Frank Trumbull, President of the Colorado & Southern, as President; and D. C. Dodge, Vice President and General Manager of the Rio Grande Western, as Vice President. This change has made the Colorado Midland a far more important factor in Denver's railway system than formerly.

Still another railway operating into Denver without a route of its own to the city, is the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, one of the great transportation systems of the United States, with a present mileage of nearly 4,000, in seven or eight middle-west and southwestern States. It originated in Illinois and built its road between Chicago and the Mississippi before the civil war, and its later western extensions crossed Iowa, Missouri, part of Nebraska, Kansas, the Indian Territory, Texas, and into Colorado, with many branches from its several trunk lines. Its Colorado extension was begun late in the "Eighties" and completed to Colorado Springs in 1890, crossing the old Kansas Pacific road at Limon, eighty-nine miles southeast of Denver. For some time it transacted its Denver business over the Denver & Rio Grande from Colorado Springs, but several years ago a trackage arrangement was made with the Union Pacific company, to which the old Kansas Pacific had passed, under which the Rock Island runs its trains directly into Denver from Limon in the same manner as if it owned the road. It has long been expected that the

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David C. Dodge, Vice President and General Manager of the Rio Grande Western Railway, born in Shirley, Mass., November 17, 1837, is of an old New England family which came from England in 1638 and settled at Salem, Mass.; he being of the eighth American generation, and the eighth of his name in order of descent.

Colonel Dodge, as he is generally known in Denver, began his railroad career early in life. At the age of sixteen he entered the engineering department of the Fox River Valley road at Elgin, Ills., and continued with that road and with the Wisconsin Central until March, 1858, when he engaged with the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska railroad, for which he was General Freight and Passenger Agent, and Paymaster, from 1857 to 1862. In 1861 he served in the Commissary Department of the Federal army at Chattanooga, Tenn., and in the Quartermaster's Department at Memphis. Terminating that service in October of that year, he returned to Iowa and became General Agent of the Chicago & Northwestern road at its then western terminus.

Colonel Dodge came to Denver in May, 1865, and for nearly two years was engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1867 he became the General Agent of the Chicago & Northwestern road for Colorado and New Mexico, a position he retained until 1870 when, upon completion of the Kansas Pacific road to Denver in August of that year, he accepted a like position in the service of that road and in which he continued until the spring of 1872. On May 1, 1872, he was appointed General Freight and Passenger agent of the Denver & Rio Grande road, and so served until December, 1878. In March, 1879, he was appointed General Manager of the Denver & Rio Grande in which position he continued until April, 1884, when he became Vice President and General Manager of the Rio Grande Western road, a position he has ably and continuously filled since that time.

Colonel Dodge is prominent among the many great managers of railroads developed by the American system of railways. In addition to his services as outlined in the foregoing, he was, from 1885 to 1888, in charge of the Mexican National Railway in Mexico. While his railway interests and duties have much of the time required his presence elsewhere, his home has always been in Denver since his coming to Colorado in 1865, and he has been closely identified with the development and advancement of the city.—J. C. S.

David C. Dodge.

Rock Island would build into this city and hence to the Pacific coast; and annually in recent years the announcement has been made that it was about to do so. In the year 1900 such anticipations were enlivened by published reports that the company had acquired an entrance to the city from the east by purchase of the little Colorado Eastern, and an exit to the west by similar dealings with the Denver, Lakewood & Golden road. But at the close of our record there was nothing definite to indicate the immediate undertaking of the Rock Island's extension of its proprietary line in Colorado by way of Denver to the farther west.

The Colorado & Southern Railway Company is the latest addition to the Colorado railroad corporations whose tracks enter our city; but while the name is new, nearly all of the constituent lines of "The Colorado Road," as it is now popularly known, are old ones. More or less of the history of those of its lines immediately tributary to Denver has appeared on preceding pages, but to present a clearly understandable account of the circumstances out of which arose this new, great and very efficient system of Colorado railroads, requires that we turn backward a few years and consider the origin of its immediately predecessor corporations, what had been done by them, and also something of the causes that finally led to their translation.

Just prior to 1890 the exceedingly "practical railway financiers" who then directed the destinies of the Union Pacific and its allied roads, determined upon absorbing, consolidating, re-organizing and making more surely tributary to their ulterior purposes all of the local lines of railroad in Colorado within their reach, some of which were, and had been for several years, more or less under the control of the Union Pacific, either by ownership of their securities or by arrangements with the proprietary companies.

The Union Pacific and Kansas Pacific companies had previously been made one corporation; control of the Colorado Central lines had long been held, and the Denver, South Park & Pacific had been obtained. To carry out the plans in view, control of various other roads, either by agreement with the proprietary companies, purchase, or foreclosure, had been acquired until, by the close of 1889 domination over a half-dozen or more additional roads

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Frank Trumbull, President of the Colorado and Southern Railway Company, of the Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Company, and of the Colorado Midland Railway Company, is a native of Missouri. He was born in the town of Arcadia, Iron county, November 11, 1858, and is, therefore, within a few days of being as old—or as young—as the city of Denver. When he was yet a child his parents removed from Arcadia to De Soto, and thence, in 1865, to Pleasant Hill, Cass county, Missouri. There he attended school until he was twelve years old, when he became a clerk in the village book-store, working in that capacity for two years. He was then made clerk in the Pleasant Hill Post Office, in which position he was employed a like period, and where he faithfully discharged his duties.

Mr. Trumbull began his railroad career in the autumn of 1874. Leaving the Pleasant Hill post office he went to Sedalia, Missouri, and on October 1st entered the service of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway as a clerk in the comptroller's office, where he remained until that road became identified with the Missouri Pacific system, December 1, 1880. At that time he had served in every department of the comptroller's office and as traveling auditor; and was chief clerk of the office. In 1881 he was appointed chief clerk of freight accounts in the office of the auditor of the Missouri Pacific at St. Louis, where he remained a little more than five years, filling, during the last two, the position of freight claim agent of that system. In January, 1886, he was called to Dallas, Texas, by the Receivers of the Texas & Pacific Railroad, and put at the head of the auditing department of that road. Mr. Trumbull remained in Dallas two and one-half years in charge of the accounts and finances of the Texas & Pacific, and upon its reorganization in 1888 he removed to Denver, since which time this city has been his home.

For several years after locating here Mr. Trumbull was engaged in the wholesale coal trade and built up a large and prosperous business, in which he was actively employed when called, in December, 1893, to take charge of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf Railway system as Receiver. In August, 1894, he was appointed Receiver, also, of the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison Railway.

The history of his five years of service as Receiver of those two important railways appears elsewhere in these pages and need not be recounted here. In each of his successive positions, from that of clerk in a village book-store to that of Receiver for great railway systems, he served with his characteristic faithfulness.

Upon the organization of the Colorado & Southern Railroad Company, the successor to the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf, and the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison roads, the Board of Directors of the new corporation, on January 7, 1899, elected him President of the company, which now owns and operates one of the large and important railway systems in the west. In March, 1899, he was elected President of the Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Company, the Texas ally of the Colorado & Southern. In July, 1900, upon the readjustment of proprietary interests in the Colorado Midland Railway, Mr. Trumbull was elected President of that company, also; being now the executive head of the three corporations.

This brief outline of President Trumbull's unusual and brilliant career, which is yet in its forenoon, renders almost superfluous everything that would attempt to tell how and why success so conspicuous has come to him. The story carries with it sufficient eulogy, and the only comment it admits by way of explanation is, that it demonstrates the results of enduring, unswerving fidelity to duties and trusts confided to the attention and care of a young man who placed them above every other consideration.—J. C. S.

Frank Trumbull.

of varying importance had been secured. The aggregation thus marshalled to form the new consolidated corporation consisted of the following-named lines, part standard and part narrow gauge:

Canon d' Agua Railroad.
Cheyenne & Northern Railway.
Chicosa Canon Railway.
Colorado Central, of Colorado.
Colorado Central, of Wyoming.
Denver, Marshall & Boulder Railway.
Denver & Middle Park Railway.
Denver, Texas & Ft. Worth Railroad.
Denver, Texas & Gulf Railroad.
Georgetown, Breckenridge & Leadville Railway.
Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific Railway.
Road Canon Railroad.

Early in 1890 the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf Railway Company, with an authorized capital of $36,000,000, was organized to absorb all these lines and operate them as one dependent system tributary to the Union and Kansas Pacific roads. The outstanding bonds of the constituent companies amounted tp $35,319,000, on which the annual interest charges aggregated $1,213,010. Under these arrangements the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison road (the reorganized South Park line) was to continue as a separate corporation, but in reality as a tail to the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf kite.

The new corporation took possession of the consolidated roads and began business on April 1, 1890. Soon afterward it built nearly a dozen short branches, principally in the southern part of the State, aggregating about fifty-six miles; and continued the use of about 106 miles of the Denver & Rio Grande tracks in that section of the State.

As part of the proceedings in connection with this wholesale consolidation, the track of the Colorado Central line between Fort Collins and Colorado Junction near Cheyenne, about forty-two miles, was taken up and the roadway left in its present abandoned condition. The material was used in extending the Cheyenne & Northern from Wendover to Orin Junction, Wyoming, a distance of about twenty-eight miles, which was completed in 1890. Other track abandonment at that time was of a part of Loveland's old road from Golden to Longmont. Its track between Ralston and Louisville Junction, a distance of about twelve miles, was removed, and its roadbed still remains abandoned. The track between Ralston and Golden was reduced to narrow gauge and is now part of the short line from Golden to Glencoe, in which is incorporated the bit of road built in 1884 by the Denver & Middle Park company.

The Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf road, like its sister enterprise, the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison, failed from the start to make both ends meet. With the exception of 1894, after it had passed to Receivers, and in which there was a surplus of $111,594, its operations resulted in loss every year during its corporate existence; the aggregate deficit far exceeding the solitary surplus. According to the last public report the company rendered, which was made on October 12, 1893, the day before Receivers took charge, the total construction account or, as the statement termed it, "cost of Road and Fixtures," was $45,152,866.

In the financially fateful year 1893, with its far-reaching entailment of disaster, the Union Pacific went down and carried all its allies and dependents with it; the entire aggregation having obligations on stocks, bonds and floating debt exceeding the enormous total of $470,000,000. On October 13, the Union Pacific (which included the Kansas Pacific and Denver Pacific), the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf, and the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison were placed in the hands of S. H. H. Clark, Oliver W. Mink, and E. Ellery Anderson as Receivers. Clark was President of all of them, and the others were also officers. On November 1, J. W. Doane and Frederick R. Coudert were appointed additional Receivers for the Union Pacific, on petition of the Attorney General of the United States; Doane then being one of the Government Directors of that road. On November 13, Doane and Coudert were made additional Receivers for the two dependent bankrupt corporations. At that time the floating indebtedness of the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison road amounted to about one million dollars; and of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf to more than one million with capital and bonded debt aggregating $73,319,000.

On the 18th of the following December, in consequence of a suit instituted by a stockholder, the five Receivers of the Gulf road, all of them non-residents of Colorado, were removed, and Frank Trumbull, of Denver, and a most capable man, was appointed successor Receiver.

Construction by the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf company of new branches, extension of others, and various minor changes in old lines account for some discrepancies between figures we have heretofore used and those given below; but when Receiver Trumbull took charge of the system its total mileage, including the two allied roads in Texas, was as follows:

Standard Gauge.	
Cheyenne to Orin Junction	153.68
Julesburg to La Salle	151.53
Jersey to Cut-off Junction (3 rails)	3.08
Denver to Fort Collins	73.86
Loveland to Arkins	8.24
Marshall Junction to Boulder Junction	11.46
Louisville to LaFayette	3.28
Louisville to Allen Bond Mine	3.35
Greeley to Stout	39.86
Denver, West Side line	4.85
Denver to Bessemer Junction	125.00
Beshoar to Gray Creek	7.34
Cable Junction to McFarren Mines	.04
Trinidad to Texas State line	134.90
Trinidad to Rolling Mill	1.88
Manitou Junction to Colorado Springs	9.12

Franceville Junction to Franceville	4.51
Chicosa Junction to Forbes	4.18
Forbes Junction to Acme Junction	11.60
Pueblo Freight House track	.56
Road Junction to Berwind	2.82
Trinidad to Vasquez, N. M.	39.43
Catskill, N. M., down Red River	6.43
Sopris to Sopris mine	.66
Victor Junction to Hastings	2.96
Acme Junction to Aquilar	2.51
Total Standard gauge	810.68
Narrow Gauge.	
Argo Junction to Georgetown	47.34
Georgetown to Graymont	8.47
Forks Creek to Central City	11.76
Golden to Glencoe	8.70
Boulder to Sunset	3.39
Total Narrow gauge	79.66
Lines operated under Contract and Trackage Rights, (D. & R. G.).	
Gulf Junction to Trinidad	92.24
Chucara Junction to Walsenburg	7.34
El Moro to Engleville	6.34
Total Trackage Rights	105.92
Allied Lines.	
Fort Worth and Denver City, Texline to Fort Worth	454.49
Pan Handle Railway—Washburn to Pan Handle City	14.54
Total allied lines	469.03

The aggregate of these owned, leased and allied lines was 1,465.24 miles. In 1895 Receiver Trumbull added two branches to the mileage: one from Walsenburg to Acme, 19.93 miles; and one from Forbes Wye to Rolling Mills, 7.61 miles; raising the total to 1,492.78.

At the beginning of August, 1894, judicial proceedings were instituted by parties interested in the securities of the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison road to take it out of the hands of the Receivers of the Union Pacific and place it in those of an independent Receiver. This movement resulted in the appointment on the 7th of that month of Frank Trumbull, Receiver of the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf road, as successor Receiver of the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison.

Under Receiver Trumbull's management during the five years of his double duty, both roads, having the benefit of skill and economy behind the counter, and an increasing business in front of it as the country recovered from the effects of 1893, demonstrated that they could be made valuable railroad properties. He had, as we have stated, added two new branches to the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf in the southern part of the State in 1895, and in 1896 he built a branch, of 11.82 miles, from Fairplay to Levick under the charter of the old Denver, South Park & Hill Top Railway Company, which never constructed any road of its own. This branch was merged in the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison in September, 1897. Before the close of the Receivership the physical condition of both roads was brought to a very high standard of excellence.

In the meantime arrangements were in progress among holders of the securities of these former dependencies of the Union Pacific, for their reorganization into one new company on a general scaling of valuations that would bring the paper and the real values somewhere near a common level.

On November 18, 1898, the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison road was sold in Denver under a foreclosure decree; the purchasers being committeemen representing its bondholders, who bid it off at $1,500,000, and were the only bidders; that sum having been the minimum as specified in the decree. On November 19, 1898, the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf road, under a decree for foreclosure, was sold at Pueblo for $6,250,000 (the minimum price) to the same committeemen, representing the bondholders, who had the day before bid in the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison at Denver; and in this instance, also, they were the only bidders.

On December 20, 1898, the "Colorado & Southern Railway Company," with a capital of $48,000,000, was organized by the holders of Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf, and of Denver, Leadville & Gunnison, securities, to take over the properties of those corporations. The new company's Board of Directors, constituted almost wholly of eastern men, elected Grenville M. Dodge, of New York, Chairman of the Board; and Frank Trumbull, of Denver, (former Receiver) President of the company, and who has since been successively re-elected to that position. The Colorado & Southern took possession of its constituent roads at midnight January 11, 1899, and retains all the roads of the former two corporations except the La Salle-Julesburg "cut-off," which was transferred to the Union Pacific in the summer of 1899. The Cheyenne & Northern road is reached by a traffic arrangement with the Union Pacific over the line of the old Denver Pacific. The removal of the track of the old Colorado Central, between Fort Collins and its junction with the Union Pacific near Cheyenne, had left the Wyoming road similarly detached from the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf. The Colorado & Southern Company in the re-organization proceedings came into possession of a majority of the stock of the Fort Worth & Denver City Railway Company, which practically makes its system an unity between Denver and Fort Worth, Texas, a distance of 810 miles.

Owing to the release of the La Salle-Julesburg road, and to trackage and other minor changes, affecting the mileage of the two old systems that were incorporated in the Colorado & Southern upon its organization, and to some change in the allied system, the total mileage is not now represented in the new system exactly according to figures we have previously used; though no additions of importance have been made to the new system. At the close of 1900 the mileage of the Colorado & Southern, and of its Texas ally, was classified as follows:

Pueblo District—Denver to Pueblo, and branches	134.05
Trinidad District—Pueblo to Trinidad, and branches	113.65
New Mexico District—Trinidad to Texline, and branches	191.86
Clear Creek District—Denver to Silver Plume, and branches	65.49
Fort Collins District—Denver to Greeley, and branches	148.97
Platte Canon District—Denver to Como, and branches	98.36
Leadville District—Como to Leadville	71.24
Gunnison District—Como to Gunnison, and branches	164.25
Wyoming District—Cheyenne to Orin Junction	153.68
Mileage, Colorado & Southern Railway	1,141.55
Mileage, Fort Worth & Denver City Railway	452.00
Total	1,593.55

In the spring of 1900 the Colorado & Southern jointly with the Rio Grande Western acquired control of the Colorado Midland of which Mr. Trumbull, as heretofore mentioned, became President; making him the executive head of the two organizations.

In 1900 the Colorado & Northwestern Railway from Boulder to Ward, Colorado, also became practically a part of the Colorado & Southern, though it continues a separate corporate existence. The present company was incorporated July 22, 1897, as successor to the Intermountain Railway Company which had succeeded to the property of the old Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific that in 1882-83 had built a road between Boulder and Sunset. The present corporation extended the road, which is of narrow gauge, from Sunset to Ward, a distance of thirteen miles, and opened it for traffic in June, 1898.

While the Colorado & Southern by its connection at Texline, Texas, the southerly terminus of its own line, proper, with the Fort Worth & Denver City Railway, a road it controls, provides Denver with its important outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, it is in popular esteem and more generally regarded as "the Colorado road." Its headquarters are at Denver, and in 1900 the company built, and occupied December 1st, a complete system of large shops at the foot of Seventh street in "West Denver," and not far from the spot where the first cabin on the site of the city was erected in 1858. These shops, which cost upward of $250,000, constitute a very important addition to Denver's industrial establishments. Since its organization the company had been a tenant in the old shops of the Union Pacific in the northern part of the city, and which had been utilized by the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf company; the Union Pacific having long since transferred its shop operations to Cheyenne. The Pullman Company in recent times had been a joint tenant in the Union Pacific shops for repairing sleeping cars, and arranged for their full possession upon the Colorado & Southern's vacation, under a permanent lease. When our record closed the Pullman Company was refitting the shops for building new sleeping cars as well as repairing others, and calling for the employment of a much larger force of men than has hitherto been engaged

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George Ady, long identified at Denver with the passenger department of the Union Pacific Railroad, was born in Harrison county, O., October 20, 1842. Early in 1861 he enlisted in the Second Iowa Cavalry and served three years, when he re-enlisted. During his later service he was commissioned First Lieutenant Fourth United States Colored Heavy Artillery. Serving on staff duty as Ordnance Officer, Provost Marshal, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, and Assistant Inspector General, he was not mustered out until February, 1866. During his long service as a volunteer he was wounded, taken prisoner, and at one time figured among those reported killed in action.

Soon after returning to civil life Mr. Ady entered railway service as a clerk in the passenger and ticket department of the Missouri Valley Railroad, at St. Joseph, Mo., and since that time has been uninterruptedly engaged in railroad work. From May, 1869, to November, 1878, he was chief clerk in the passenger and ticket department of the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs Railroad; from November, 1878, to May, 1880, passenger accountant (auditor of passenger accounts) at Kansas City of the Kansas City, St. Joseph & Council Bluffs, the Atchison & Nebraska, the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf, and the Kansas City, Lawrence & Southern railroads; from May to December, 1880, general ticket agent of the Denver, South Park & Pacific Railroad; from January, 1881, to October, 1887, general agent of the passenger department, Union Pacific Railway; from December, 1887, to February, 1888, Colorado passenger agent of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; from February, 1888, to January, 1890, general passenger and ticket agent of the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth Railroad; from January, 1890, to January, 1891, general passenger agent Gulf division of the Union Pacific system; from January, 1891, to July, 1900, general agent at Denver of the passenger department Union Pacific Railway and its successor the Union Pacific Railroad; and since then city passenger and ticket agent at Denver of the last-named road.

Long a member of the Grand Army of the Republic, he is a Past Commander of the Department of Colorado and Wyoming, having filled the position in 1887. He is also a member of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and is an Ex-Commander of the last-named organization. He is also a Royal Arch Mason, a member of the Woodmen of the World under charter No. 1, and of the Fraternal Union of America.—J. C. S.

George Ady.

upon its work. These changes and additions in railway shop arrangements will prove of much importance to the business interests of Denver, both taking rank as great manufacturing establishments.

Under the Colorado & Southern organization and management new life has been given the old roads that constitute the system. The discouraging results that formerly attended them have been turned the other way, and greater usefulness to the public with reasonable returns to investors have also characterized the change.

There are but two of what may be called independent "local" roads in Denver's railway system, neither of which enters the Union Passenger station, and but one doing a regular passenger business. They are the Colorado Eastern, and the Denver, Lakewood & Golden roads. The Eastern is a mere coal-traffic, narrow gauge road, extending from the Omaha & Grant smelter east to the coal mines at Scranton, seventeen miles distant. The company was originally incorporated, January 16, 1886, as the Denver Railroad & Land Company, by E. H. Hallack, C. M. Wicker and others, of Denver, co-operating with eastern associates. The road was built in that year and opened September 1st. In 1888 the company was re-organized as the Colorado & Eastern Railway Company, the Directors of which were E. H. Hallack, President; George C. Wilde, of New York, Secretary and Treasurer; C. M. Wicker, of Denver; B. F. Vaughan, of Providence, R. I., and C. L. Horton, of New York. The original company, judging from the language of an ordinance passed by our City Council in 1886, granting right of way over certain streets, intended also building a kind of connecting road in the city for transferring cars between the several railroad systems. The successor company contemplated building from the Omaha & Grant smelter to the Union Passenger Station, and from Scranton to the eastern line of the State; but did neither. In May, 1894, the road was sold under foreclosure and was bought by creditor interests which organized as the Colorado & Eastern Railroad Company, the present proprietary corporation. The company possesses valuable terminal property in Denver, and claims to own right of way into the Union Passenger Station; and is also said to have right of way, 100 feet wide, to the east line of the State. Its actual ownership is stated to rest in the Havemeyers, of New York, through holdings of securities. In common rumor in recent times the Rock Island, Illinois Central, Great Northern, and Missouri Pacific, each, has been reported as an intending purchaser of the Eastern for the purpose of building into Denver on its right of way; but the little road has survived each of these alleged attempts to absorb it. The Denver, Lakewood & Golden Railway Company was incorporated July 11, 1890, by J. W. Starkweather, R. Ryan and H. J. Hersey, of Denver; and W. B. Willard and J. P. Haynes of Hartford, Connecticut, with a capital of $600,000. Its first Board of Directors consisted of W. A. H. Loveland, W. F. R. Mills, Caldwell Yeaman, J. C. Hodges, Jr., C. C. Welch, Samuel Newhouse, and F. P. King, all of Denver. These elected as officers, Welch, President; Newhouse, Vice President; Hodges, Treasurer; and H. J. Hersey, Secretary. The road, of standard gauge, began to be operated in September, 1891, but was not fully completed until some months afterward. The line extends from its passenger station at 1450 Arapahoe street, by way of Lakewood to Golden, with a branch to the suburban town of Barnum. From its city passenger station to Barnum it is operated electrically, and the consideration for its right of way upon the city streets it traverses is free transportation for city officers. The electric route to Barnum is 5.50 miles long. The steam division, beginning at the western limits of the city is 13.10 miles to Golden, and has an extension (now disused) of 1.41 miles thence to Ralston, making a total of 14.51 miles of steam road. Like its small neighbor on the east side of the city, this road has a valuable right of way and terminal property. It has been in a Receiver's hands since July 31, 1896, but Samuel Newhouse is and for several years has been President of the corporation.

During the period beginning with 1880 and ending with 1893 there were many local steam railroads projected here to serve various purposes in and around the city, but the majority of such enterprises came to naught. Of some of those that were built, accounts are given in our history of the street railways. One rather important undertaking in that period, was the "Denver Circle Railroad," for constructing which the Denver Circle Railroad Company was incorporated November 16, 1880, with $300,000 capital; W. A. H. Loveland, who had become prior to that time principal owner of the Rocky Mountain News, and T. C. Henry another newspaper man of that period, having been the leaders in the enterprise. Its Board of Directors consisted of Loveland, Henry, and Joseph P. Ord, of Denver; and Charles A. Jewell and Charles L. McIntosh, of Hartford, Connecticut. Mr. Loveland was elected President, and Henry became general manager of the road, which was of narrow gauge and operated by steam locomotives. As indicated by its name, the road was intended to be a belt line around the city, but only part of it was built. Early in January, 1881, the City Council granted the company right of way along Cherry creek and across various streets, and on February 10th of that year the road opened for business with six and one-quarter miles of track. The line started on the left bank of Cherry creek, at Larimer street, at which point a passenger station was located, and followed that bank of the creek to about Fourteenth Avenue where it diverged due south, with a few turnings, to Bayaud street. On Bayaud one branch turned eastward and another westward, the latter crossing the Platte river and extending some distance beyond, while the east branch passed the old Exposition site and continued toward the present eastern limits of the city. After this mileage had been constructed the company got into financial difficulties and subsequently gave up the ghost. Its property passed to the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company, for purposes already mentioned, and still later nearly all of its tracks were taken up; what is now left of them being a mile or so of the branch crossing the Platte in the southern part of the city, widened to standard gauge, and that is occasionally used for storing freight cars.

The limitations of this volume deny further accounts in much detail of the Union Pacific, and of the old Eastern Division into which the historic Denver Pacific was practically merged. The warfare between the two trans-prairie lines continued almost incessantly until their consolidation. The Kansas Pacific had at an earlier period become so reduced that its road was barely able to permit passage of the few trains it operated, and the company had gone into a Receiver's hands. A similar fate had befallen the Denver Pacific, as it was still nominally a separate corporation, and the affairs and prospects of both had been brought low. In March, 1879, as we have told, the Kansas Pacific passed to the control of the Union Pacific, then and for several years previous, under the command of Jay Gould. In January, 1880, those roads and the Denver Pacific were formally consolidated into one Union Pacific corporation with an enormous total of stock and bonds. In the earlier years of its history the Kansas Pacific never earned enough to balance expenses and fixed charges, as there was little local business along the western half of its route except what it found at Denver. The Union Pacific, determined to starve it out, had steadfastly refused it co-operation at Cheyenne, and upon Denver the effect of this attitude was outrageous and the extortions and discriminations shameful. Freight charges between San Francisco and Denver were higher than between San Francisco and Chicago, and travel rates were not much better.

The piratic domination of Jay Gould in Union Pacific affairs terminated in 1883, after having created huge burdens that did not well prepare the great system for encounter with the panic times of 1893. On October 13, 1893, Receivers were appointed. In magnitude, extent, and variety of interests involved that Receivership was the most important in the great list of American railway bankruptcies; for the stocks, bonds and floating debts of the various roads with which the Receivership had to deal aggregated, as already mentioned, more than $470,000,000. Then followed the intricate task of untangling the company's affairs, of re-organizing and rehabilitating the corporation, and of paying the enormous sums due the United States on account of the old construction subsidy bonds. While it is now several years since the reorganized system passed to the successor Union Pacific Railroad Company, the affairs of that Receivership were not finally closed until November 7, 1900. The re-organized system of the Union Pacific, proper, now includes 3,060 miles of railroad, in which are still embraced the lines of the old Denver Pacific and Kansas Pacific raised to a very high standard of excellence, and in efficiency and frequency of service maintained at par with everything that is done on the main stem of the system. If all could be known and told of the history of these Union Pacific roads the story would rank with anything related of the black-flag-men of old on the Spanish Main, with the difference that the piracies were effected under modern methods that did not call for personal blood-letting nor for physically walking the plank. But the days of railroad buccaneering are past, and the old pioneer roads of the plains united in a new life have begun their new record on a clean page.

Denver Union Passenger Station as originally built.

In the early period of railroading in Denver there were several passenger stations in the railroad district of the city. Late in 1870 when the pioneer roads, the Denver Pacific and the Kansas Pacific, had been completed to Denver, they united in the construction of a very creditable building where they intersected Twenty-second street, which marked the terminus of the lines. It was a rather large, two-story brick structure, and for its time was regarded as a very liberal provision for the accommodation of passengers, though it was then on the outskirts of the city in that direction. The Denver & Rio Grande and the South Park road, both of the narrow gauge, had their passenger stations on the westward side of Cherry creek, in "West Denver;" and the Colorado Central, after it had withdrawn from its brief association with the Kansas Pacific, had built a frame passenger station on the eastward side of Sixteenth street on part of the present Union Passenger Station's site.

These arrangements continued until the autumn of 1879 when, on October 24th, D. C. Dodge, of the Denver & Rio Grande; former Governor John Evans, of the South Park; and W. A. H. Loveland, then at the head of the Colorado Central, made an agreement under which the three narrow-gauge roads were to use the Central's passenger station at the foot of Sixteenth street. The Denver & Rio Grande, and the South Park then bridged Cherry creek, and ran their trains to the not very inviting nor commodious station of the Colorado Central.

This movement was only the beginning of one to bring all the passenger business of Denver under one roof; for, within a few weeks afterward the organization of the Union Depot and Railroad Company was undertaken. On November 24, 1879, there was a meeting of the representatives of all the roads, at which the Union organization was effected, the incorporators of the company being Walter S. Cheesman, D. C. Dodge, A. A. Egbert, Bela M. Hughes, and J. F. Welborn. The arrangement provided for five Trustees, and W. S. Cheesman, S. H. H. Clark, D. C. Dodge, A. A. Egbert, and Sylvester T. Smith were chosen for the first year. These Trustees elected W. S. Cheesman President of the company; S. T. Smith, Vice President; George W. Kassler, Treasurer; D. C. Dodge, Secretary, and the organization was completed. Its capital stock was $400,000.

W. S. Cheesman negotiated for twelve acres of land lying between Sixteenth and Eighteenth streets with Wynkoop street as its southward boundary; and on December 10th the company issued $300,000 worth of seven per cent. twenty year bonds and prepared for erecting a suitable Union Passenger Station. On February 2, 1880, at a meeting of representatives of all the roads, agreements were made under which all their passenger trains were to begin and end their trips at the new station upon its completion.

The plans having been perfected construction work was let by contract and begun about the first of June. The building was to be 503 feet long, by 65 wide, two and one-half stories high, built of sandstone and lava, with a central tower 180 feet high, and quite a large area of park in front of it. The main, or central part of the building, only, was undertaken at that time, and within a year it was near enough finished to be used. On June 1, 1881, it was opened to the public, the finishing work being completed within a couple of months afterward. The Union Pacific and the Denver & Rio Grande roads later became the owners of all the Union Depot and Railroad Company's stock in the respective proportions of four-fifths and one-fifth, the other roads becoming tenants and paying rental for the use of the station and for the equal facilities it afforded them. Several years later a wing was built on each end of the main building which completed the structure according to the original designs.

On the morning of Sunday, March 18, 1894, an electric light wire started a fire under the roof of the main building and before the flames could be subdued the larger part of the structure's interior was burned out—an unusual experience for a building of its quality and character—entailing an insured loss of $125,000. It was decided to rebuild on an improved plan at a cost of about $200,000; and at that time some of the other companies acquired proprietary interests. In the reconstruction and repairing that immediately followed many changes were made in interior arrangements and exterior appearance, both much for the better. The extent of these outside changes is indicated by the accompanying engravings. Notwithstanding its railway proprietorship, the Union Depot Company has usually had Denver men for its executive officers.

While there are now many larger and more imposing union passenger stations in the country, it is doubtful if there is any of more pleasing architectural effects, and surroundings, or of greater convenience of arrangement and location than ours. Its handsome aspect is heightened by the parks in front of it, and by and by when lower Seventeenth street has done still more to make itself presentable, the agreeable impressions received by strangers when they pass out of this great gateway to the city will be even more favorable and gratifying than they now are.

There are now (at the close of 1900) 4,338 miles of steam railway in operation in Colorado, with several additional but relatively short lines almost completed. When the fact is recalled that practically all of it was built within the twenty-five years preceding panic times, the energy that made such a development possible stands out stronger and clearer to the mental view. Little has been added to the mileage since those times, and none directly into Denver excepting that the Burlington's cut-off road to western Nebraska might be so regarded, about sixty miles of which was new work in Colorado. The Rio Grande, Pagosa & Northern of thirty miles, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company's Crystal river road from Red Stone to Coal Basin of twelve, and various minor additions and spurs to the old roads brought the new mileage in the State built in 1900 up to about 150 miles

On November 17, 1899, the Colorado Springs & Cripple Creek District Railway Company was incorporated to build a standard gauge steam railroad between Colorado Springs and Cripple Creek over a track distance of about thirty-five miles. This road, which is nearing completion, will much reduce the rail distance between Denver and the great gold camp, as the present shortest route affords a somewhat roundabout way of getting there. The road has grades of three and one-half per cent., encounters many engineering difficulties, and traverses a region of magnificent scenic beauty and grandeur. The company, which is a Colorado Springs organization, owns an electric railroad system in the Cripple Creek district and with which the main line will connect. Counting various branches, spurs, and sidings this road will have, including the electric lines, an aggregate of about seventy miles.

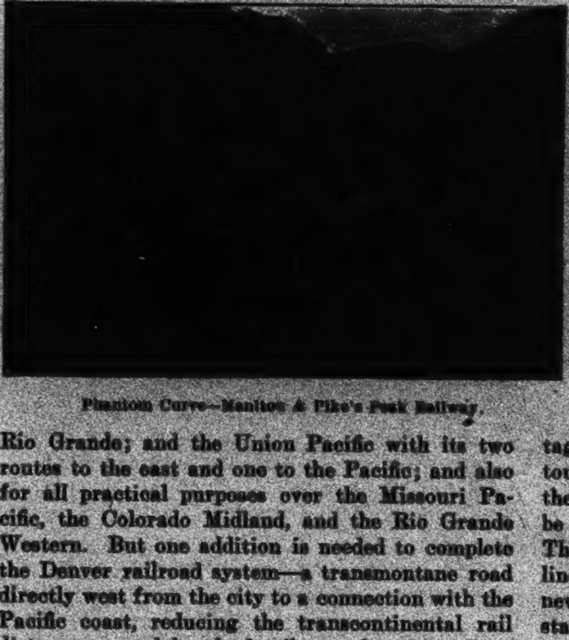
On November 18, 1899, the Denver & Southwestern Railway Company was incorporated, but notwithstanding its name it has no direct connection with Denver. It is a consolidation of the Florence & Cripple Creek narrow gauge road; the Midland Terminal Railway, standard gauge, on which the Colorado Midland and the Colorado & Southern reach Cripple Creek; the Golden Circle Railroad (electric); the Canon City & Cripple Creek Railroad, narrow gauge, from Ora on the Florence & Cripple Creek, to Canon City; the Colorado Trading & Transfer Company; the LaBelle Mill, Water & Power Company; and the Metallic Extraction Company; a rather queer combination under a railway name. All its property and operations are in what passes under the general name of "Cripple Creek district," and it has at present no connection of its own with Denver. Having built seven miles of new track, the company now has about 131 miles of road in its system.

Denver Union Passenger Station.

In 1899 the Colorado & Southern company made surveys for a connecting road that would afford the shortest possible route between Denver and Cripple Creek; and the public anticipated its immediate construction. Recently the company's Board of Directors gave the President authority to build it if his judgment approved. The proposed route diverges from the main line of the South Park division at South Platte station, twenty-seven miles south by west of Denver; following a fork of the South Platte river, it crosses a divide, and connects with the Colorado Midland; thence by that road and the Midland Terminal trains would enter Cripple Creek. About forty-five miles of new road, costing approximately $2,000,000, are required for this "cut-off," and it is not improbable that this will be one of the early additions made to Denver's railroad system. The plans include a third rail on the South Park road, between Denver and South Platte station, and contemplate that the road shall become part of a new transmontane route across Colorado and to the farther west. As such it would be several hours shorter than any of the existing routes, and by it Cripple Creek would be brought within three or four hours of Denver.

In very recent times the probability of the Great Northern and the Illinois Central roads soon building across the plains to Denver has received much attention from the Denver press. The Northwestern has also been the object of local interest, and its intention to extend a line of some 300 miles from a point on its Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley road in Nebraska, direct to Denver, entering the city by way of the Colorado & Eastern road, have been presented in detail. But, as in the cases of the Missouri Pacific and the Rock Island roads, whatever may be done by either or all of these roads to the end announced, will figure in the annals of the new century.

Denver's railway transportation facilities are exceptionally good. In the autumn of 1900 the arriving and the departing regular daily passenger trains numbered 120, the greatest number operated on regular schedules in the history of the Denver Union Passenger Station. These trains moved upon lines that radiate from Denver almost as the spokes from the hub of a wheel, and that place the city in rail communication with not only all the country but with every important town and mining camp in the State. The mere local road no longer figures in the train schedules at the Union Passenger Station. All of those trains operate upon vast systems—the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy; the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific; the Colorado & Southern; the Denver & Rio Grande; and the Union Pacific with its two routes to the east and one to the Pacific; and also for all practical purposes over the Missouri Pacific, the Colorado Midland, and the Rio Grande Western. But one addition is needed to complete the Denver railroad system—a transmontane road directly west from the city to a connection with the Pacific coast, reducing the transcontinental rail distance several hundred miles, and making Denver the great gateway in the central west. It will not be many years in coming.



Phantom Curve—Manitou & Pike's Peak Railway.

The several Denver railways which penetrate the mountain regions of Colorado present many features of great interest, not only to the constructing engineer, but to the intelligent traveler who passes over their routes. The topographical difficulties and problems encountered in locating and building these roads would have appeared to the layman, as they did to many engineers, insurmountable and insoluble. But they were overcome successfully, and the theory advanced by some railway men that a locomotive can go wherever a horse can climb, would seem to have been satisfactorily demonstrated. The extraordinary profiles of these mountain roads indicate the high order of practical and technical ability required in their construction on lines enabling them to be regularly and profitably operated. On the maps these systems with their many crooked spurs and branches, shown in heavy black lines after the railroad fashion, look like a lot of snakes squirming around in their dens.

It was thought at the outset that only narrow gauge roads could be constructed and operated through the deep and crooked canons and over our lofty ranges, and it was because of that view that the pioneers of our mountain roads were of the three-foot gauge. The Colorado Central company was, as our reader has seen, the first to prepare to build that kind of railroad in Colorado, though the Denver & Rio Grande company was not far behind it. Of the physical aspects of the Central's Clear creek canon road some account appears on a succeeding page.

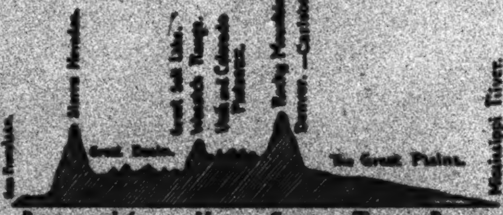
The Denver & Rio Grande company constructed the most extensive system of narrow gauge railroads in the world, much the greater part of which was mountain work. Its main line westward from Pueblo struck boldly into the mountains, by way of the tremendous canon of the Arkansas river, winding through the vast and tortuous chasms, climbing and climbing as it went, until it emerged among the peaks and precipices where it began such twistings and turnings as may be seen in the Marshall Pass, with its elevation of 10,856 feet above the sea; and thence downward by the same devious ways to the lower levels of western Colorado. Later the Rio Grande realized the disadvantages of being an isolated narrow gauge system touched by standard lines at various places, and at the same time concluded that standard tracks could be operated over part of its narrow-gauge routes. Then followed a third rail on many of the narrow lines, including the main line south from Denver, new standard construction in other places, and great standard gauge trains on their journeys between the Atlantic and the Pacific were soon winding their way through the mighty gorges, up into the clouds, over the summits of the ranges, and down toward the Utah Basin—the very poetry and romance of railroading.

The road has, of course, an unbroken succession of ascending grades on the eastern slope, and a similar succession of descending grades on the western. The grades of the Denver & Rio Grande's existent narrow gauge lines, all of which are in the mountain districts, are extremely heavy and the curves very sharp, as they have to be to make the passage. The grades of its standard gauge mountain lines are somewhat modified, the Tennessee Pass, elevation 10,433 feet, through which part of the new standard construction was built, affording easier approaches. But there is one standard branch, the famous Calumet, with a grade of seven per cent., which is operated by ordinary locomotives. The Rio Grande has, practically, four of these transmontane lines. One of standard gauge from Pueblo across the State to Grand Junction; another of standard gauge from Cuchara to Alamosa, and narrow gauge thence to North Creede; the third, of narrow gauge, from Salida, by way of Gunnison, to Grand Junction; and the fourth, narrow gauge, from Antonita westward to the southwest section of the State and thence by the Rio Grande Southern north to a junction with the Salida-Grand Junction line. All of them traverse mountain regions not surpassed by any in the world in wildness and ruggedness of scenery. The branch from Leadville to Dillon runs through Fremont Pass at an altitude of 11,330 feet, the highest point on the Denver & Rio Grande system.

The Colorado Midland, a standard gauge road from its inception, keeps out of the greater gorges and canons, and begins its run for the summit at the eastern base of the mountains, crossing two intervening summits before reaching the Great Divide. Leaving Colorado Springs it heads westward by way of Manitou and begins its mountain-climbing. By grades as heavy as four per cent. it reaches and passes the Hayden summit, and then has a decline toward Eleven Mile canon, followed by easy ascending grades over the rolling country of the South Park to the second summit, in Trout creek Pass. Beyond this it drops down until the foot of the great grade to the main summit is reached, where its greatest work begins, though not on grades as heavy as the approach to the Hayden Divide. A winding route of a little more than forty-eight miles brings it to the mouth of the Hagerman tunnel, 2,064 feet long, through the summit ridge of the Continental Divide, the tunnel being 11,528 feet above sea level, and 6,330 feet or about one and one-fifth miles higher in the air than the city of Denver. The approach to Hagerman Pass and tunnel from the east is through a region of majestic grandeur and exceeding beauty. Here the road turns and twists and zig-zags, forming four or five lines along the mountain side. One of the curves by which the track changes its direction is carried by a long, high trestle, there being no way of keeping it on the ground. On this approach to the summit the road is protected by several snowsheds, useful but exceedingly ugly structures. A winter view from Hagerman Pass is one the beholder will never forget.

Beyond the Divide the Midland finds its way down by grades of from two and a half to three and one-third per cent. At Busk is another tunnel reached through long snow-sheds. Here there are two lines—one through the tunnel which saves climbing over a ridge five hundred feet high; and the other, "outside," which climbs over the ridge; the latter being the original line. On down and far away through the fastnesses of the Rockies the Midland winds along to its Utah connection with the Rio Grande Western at Grand Junction. Trains of five cars—baggage, mail, passenger and sleeping—of the regular standard type are operated over this road through cloud-land, but two huge engines are required to get them to the summit in that wilderness of peaks and ranges.

The greater part of the Colorado & Southern system is on the plains and of standard gauge, but it has some narrow gauge mileage in the mountains which presents many most striking and interesting engineering achievements in railroad building. As already told, it now includes the old Colorado Central's Clear creek canon narrow gauge roads, which are remarkable examples of most difficult railroad work. The main line, having a track distance of thirty-nine miles between Golden and Silver Plume overcomes an elevation of 3,521 feet; but it takes many tortuous paths to do it. Beyond Golden the road may be said to consist of a succession of curves as it twists its way along the creek flowing through the great, contracted, water-worn chasm. Near the upper end of the line, between Georgetown and Silver Plume, is its famous "Loop." The two towns are but a little more than a mile apart in a direct line, and between them the road by its looping is developed to more than four miles of trackage. This expedient was resorted to to overcome the difference in elevation between the two towns (700 feet) and at the same time keep within the maximum gradient of three and one-half per cent. The "Loop" is one of the popular novelties in Colorado mountain railroading. The "switchback," on the branch to Central City, and by which the elevation of 471 feet between Black Hawk and that city is overcome in a track distance of four miles, is another very interesting expedient in mountain-climbing by a railroad.



PROFILE OF WESTERN UNITED STATES: THROUGH DENVER.

The Colorado & Southern's line to Leadville and other points in that general region—the old "Denver & South Park" road—encountered as many engineering difficulties in its construction as any of the others. It is of the narrow gauge, with a most irregular profile, abounding in grades of from three to four per cent.; and with curves of from fifteen to twenty-four, and even twenty-eight, degrees. It enters the mountains by way of the canon of the South Platte, and its ascent to the summit of the Divide is continuous. The famous Alpine tunnel by which the summit range is pierced for this road is 11,524 feet above the sea. After passing the tunnel the road descends by grades of about three per cent. to Leadville, having traversed a region of panoramic magnificence and the rarest beauty. One of the branches on the western slope makes its way to Keystone, a point which is but a few miles from the terminus of the Clear creek division and separated from it by the great Snowy Range. A tunnel through there will some day complete another of these remarkable transmontane lines in Colorado, and afford us further evidence of the capabilities and resourcefulness of modern railway engineering.

On the summit of Pike's Peak.

The Colorado & Northwestern is the younger of the mountain lines. At present its road extends from Boulder northwestward to Ward, but it has ambitions to cross the main range, and will no doubt eventually do so. The direct crow-flight distance between Boulder and Ward is not more than fourteen or fifteen miles, but the track distance in consequence of many windings as the climb is made, is elongated to a fraction over twenty-six miles. From one point in the Culbertson Pass seven tracks of this line are visible, each on a different level and each apparently leading in a different direction as the road turns and twists up the sides of the mountains on its way to and through the Pass. As on all the others, the scenery on this line presents many magnificent aspects.

No line of Colorado's mountain railways is more interesting and of greater novelty than the road that climbs to the summit of Pike's Peak—the Manitou & Pike's Peak railway; and while it is not, properly speaking, a Denver railroad, a few lines concerning it may not be out of place here. Ascending to the summits of the lofty mountain-peaks in a railway car would not have been thought of by the preceding generation, but in our own times no place accessible over solid ground appears to be beyond the reach of the locomotive. The ascent of high mountains has always had an attraction for many people, but a comparatively few can endure the fatigue of laboriously climbing into the regions of rarefied atmosphere. The extraordinary increase in recent years in what is known as "tourist" travel has been the immediate reason for constructing railways to the summits of several great mountains in this country and in Europe.

The Pike's Peak road was first projected in 1884, as a line with the ordinary form of track. A survey was made on a maximum grade of five per cent., which developed a sort of spiral route winding upward around the mountain, with a length of thirty miles of track. However, nothing further than the survey came of that enterprise, and it was not until 1888 that the present more direct line operated on the rack system, was located. Construction was begun in 1889 and completed in October, 1890. The track is a little more than nine miles long (47,992 feet), and in that distance overcomes an elevation of 7,250 feet, the altitude of the rails on the summit of the Peak being 14,147 feet above sea-level. The road is constructed on the Abt system and is the only one of the kind in this country. In addition to the ordinary pair of rails there is a rack between them made of sets of bars having teeth in the upper edge, the bars being set with the teeth "staggered" to coincide with the "staggered" teeth of the gear-wheels attached to the under part of the engine. The average grade is sixteen per cent., the maximum being twenty-five per cent. The curves are sharp, the maximum being sixteen degrees; and the road is on solid ground, practically all the way, as there are no trestles and only four small plate-girder bridges. The engines and cars are so constructed as to overcome in their planes most of the grade of the road, and are equipped with many safety devices. Ascending, the engine is behind the passengers' car; descending, it is in front; and so the journeys are made up and down with but little, if any, more danger than attends movements on an ordinary railroad.

Among the men who laid the foundations and far advanced the superstructure of Denver's great system of railways, the names of five, as our reader will have observed, appear conspicuously in the list—those of five master leaders,

Mount of the Holy Cross, from Frenchman's Lakes. On a line of the Denver & Rio Grande road.

John Evans, William A. H. Loveland, and William J. Palmer, the directors-general; and David H. Moffat and Jerome B. Chaffee, the financiers. Evans, Loveland, and Chaffee sleep in honored graves, but Palmer and Moffat are still in active and useful business life. The first-named two were strenuous rivals. Loveland was to the Clear creek canon roads and to those to Boulder, Fort Collins, and various other places to the northward of Denver, what Evans was to the Denver Pacific, the South Park road, and the Denver, Texas & Gulf road and its tributaries. All but one of the lines of those one-time rival railroad builders are now harmoniously combined in the Colorado & Southern system, but the two master-men who built them never thought of such an union except that it might result from one crippling and exhausting the other and absorbing his roads. Evans expected to see his South Park road terminate at Pacific tidewater. Loveland was confident that his Clear creek canon road would make its way there first. Neither lived to see his hopes fulfilled, nor has either road yet justified them.

The Colorado builders of the earlier Colorado railroads had, as we have attempted to set forth in these railroad annals, many trying situations to meet and pass, and many great obstacles to overcome. Physical, financial, and political difficulties dogged their steps, while litigation seemed to beset them on every hand. Their courage and struggles were heroic and their victories worthy the indomitable men who won them.

The Toltec Gorge. Train entering tunnel on the top of the cliff, to the right of picture. On a line of the Denver & Rio Grande road.

CHAPTER LVII.

CITY GOVERNMENT—FIRST CITY "CHARTER," AND PIONEER ORGANIZATION—PROVISIONAL CITY GOVERNMENT—CITY'S FIRST LEGAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS ORGANIZATION—OUTLINE OF THE GOVERNMENT TO 1885—WARD DIVISIONS AND EXTENSION OF CITY BOUNDARIES—ELECTION TIMES—CHANGES IN FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT—APPOINTIVE CONTROLLING BOARDS—OBJECTIONS TO THEM, AND MOVEMENTS FOR RETURN TO "HOME RULE"—POLITICAL ASPECTS—NAMES OF DENVER'S MAYORS—FIRE DEPARTMENT—POLICE DEPARTMENT—CITY PARKS—CITY HALL AND OTHER PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS—VITAL STATISTICS—DENVER'S SUBURBAN TOWNS.

Part of the story of Denver's pioneer "municipal governments" has incidentally appeared in preceding chapters, and therefore a separate review of the origin and development of the city government presents another instance in our narrative in which some repetition of statement seems unavoidable. The "act" of the "Jefferson Territory" "Legislature," approved December 3, 1859, "incorporating," as one municipality Auraria City, Denver City, and Highland, resulted in a municipal organization that had even less vitality than the "Territorial government" from which it derived its authority for existence. But after having gone through one year in which there was no government, a majority of the people were ready to welcome any form of civil organization that promised relief from existing conditions.

That "Jefferson" "statute" did not, as has so often been stated, "confer a charter on Denver City," but united the three towns as the "City of Denver, Auraria and Highland," thus retaining the identity of each in the somewhat unwieldy corporate name. The title and sections one and two of the "act," were as follows:

An Act.

To Charter and Consolidate the Towns of Denver, Auraria and Highland.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Provisional Government of the Territory of Jefferson, the Governor approving:—That all that tract of country described as follows, to-wit: commencing on the northwest side of the South Platte River, at that point where the most northeastern portion of the north-east line of the Denver Town Plat produced would touch high-water mark; thence following said line to the north corner of said Town Plat, thence along the north-east line of said Town Plat to the east corner, thence along the south-east line of said Town Plat to the point where it intersects Cherry Creek, thence up said creek to the point where the south-easterly line of the Auraria Town Plat intersects it, thence along said line and said produced line to high water mark on the north-west bank of the South Platte River, thence down said river to the point where the most south-westerly line of the Highland town site produced would intersect it, thence along said produced line and said line, thence following the line of said town plat with its angles to the westerly corner of said town site, thence along the northwesterly line of said town site to the northerly corner, thence along the most north-easterly line and the same produced to high water mark on the South Platte River, thence down said river to the point of beginning, is hereby erected into a city, by the name and style of the City of Denver, Auraria and Highland, and by that name they and their successors shall be known in law, have perpetual succession, sue and be sued, plead, and be impleaded, defend and be defended in any and all courts of law and equity, in all actions whatsoever, and may contract and be contracted with, may purchase, receive and hold property, both real and personal, within said city, and may sell, lease and convey, or otherwise dispose of the same for the benefit of the city, may purchase, receive, hold, lease or convey property both personal or mixed, beyond the limits of the city, to be used for the burial of the dead, for the erection of water works, for the establishment of hospital, poor houses, work houses of correction, or for any purpose which may tend to the general good of the city, and may have a common seal and change the same at pleasure.

Sec. 2. The corporate powers and duties of said city, shall be vested in the mayor and the board of councilmen, to be styled the Council of ———

The "act" then goes on to specifically confer power to enact and enforce ordinances, rules and regulations "not inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States and the Organic Act of this Territory." Qualifications of voters were defined as follows:

Sec. 5. That all free white male citizens of the United States, or persons who have lawfully declared their intentions to become such, and all who are twenty-one years of age, and who shall have resided within the city limits sixty days next preceding any election, shall be deemed qualified electors of said city, in the ward in which they may reside."

The officers of the "City of Denver, Auraria and Highland" were specified to be "a Mayor, twelve Councilmen, City Clerk, Recorder, Marshal, Assessor, Treasurer, Attorney, City Engineer, Street Commissioner, and such other officers as may be created by ordinance."

The "act" then defines much in detail the powers and duties of all officers, the methods of Council proceedings, manner and time of holding elections, authority for levying and collecting taxes, for policing the city, for borrowing money, for establishing and maintaining public schools, water works, hospitals, infirmaries, work houses, and all the other usual institutions of a city. The "act" provided for a comprehensive and complete form of city government. The concluding section specified that the first election held under the "charter" should occur on the third Monday after the passage and approval of the "act," and that the regular annual election should be held on the first Monday of October in each year thereafter.

By virtue of that "Jefferson Territory" "charter" the first city election was held on December 19, 1859, and the following named city officers were chosen for terms to end in October, 1860:

Mayor, John C. Moore; Recorder, C. A. Lawrence; Marshal, W. E. Sisty; City Clerk, J. C. Spencer; City Assessor, P. Talbott; Treasurer, S. S. Curtis; Engineer, E. D. Boyd; Street Commissioner, John C. Nelson; City Attorney, D. C. Collier; Councilmen, H. J. Rogers, Thomas Pim, C. Bedolet, N. G. Wyatt, John W. Jones, J. H. Gerrish, M. D. Hickman, John Shear, Thomas Pollock, A. Jacobs, J. B. Atkins, and A. C. Hunt.

These officers were elected by majorities ranging from seven for Marshal Sisty to 360 for Mayor Moore; the total vote for Mayor having been 526. The "charter" provided for its submission to a vote of the people, for approval or rejection, at this same election. There were 367 votes for and 302 against it; an approving majority of only sixty-five.

This "charter" vote revealed a rather strong opposition to having a city government at that time. Mayor Moore and his ticket were opposed by candidates for all the offices except some of the positions in the Council. They were William Davidson for Mayor; J. G. Harris, Recorder; W. J. Welch, Marshal; C. C. Post, Clerk; J. Lewis, Assessor; Amos Steck, Treasurer; H. M. Fosdick and G. L. Moody, Engineer; William Regan, Street Commissioner; —. —. Mayhew, Attorney; R. L. Wooton, William M. Slaughter, C. J. Johnson, John Hughes, R. B. Bradford, D. P. Wallingford, P. P. Elmore, and several "scattering," for Councilmen. The Judges of the election were A. Jacobs, C. L. Dahler, Charles Johnson, J. W. Smith, J. J. Saville, and L. L. Barney; the Clerks, John B. Atkins, T. O. Duncan, J. H. Jack, and L. W. Bliss.

The opposition to the city "charter" was partly based on the belief that the irregular Territorial government, itself without legal existence, could not transmit lawful authority to a subordinate, municipal government; and partly because of mere captious objection. It was alleged at that time that it was the plan of the opposition to elect officers who would refuse to qualify, and thus leave the people practically where they would have been had no election been held. John C. Moore, the candidate for Mayor, of what we may call the government party, was a very capable man with whose brief history as a citizen of Denver our reader is already familiar.

The City Council held its first meeting on January 21, 1860, when Mayor Moore sent it an able message of advice and recommendation. This government made a good beginning and sustained itself very well for several months. But before midsummer of 1860 it had weakened, and lost the fealty of a large majority of the people. The parent Territorial government was in much the same condition, but the weakness of the offspring was not wholly due to heredity. The issues between the northern and southern States had become sharply defined at that time, and the out-spoken sentiments of loyalty to the south by the executive head of the city government had much to do with impairing the usefulness of the organization, aside from the general debility into which it was sinking. Before the summer ended it had sunk into utter impotency and was ignored by nearly all the people; and the city was again without a government. As we have elsewhere stated, Mayor Moore entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served through the war. After the conflict he returned to Colorado, and later located at Pueblo where he engaged in newspaper work. A few years ago he removed to Kansas City where he is now living—or was a short time since. If his "city government" left any "archives" to its successor they probably went down with the old City Hall in the Cherry creek flood of 1864; as no "city records" of that brief era are now known to exist.

The lawlessness that prevailed in the city in the summer and autumn of 1860, partly due to its governmentless condition and partly to the criminal instincts of desperadoes, compelled the people to organize on their own responsibility and in self-defense. The "People's Courts" summarily called into existence to deal with offenders whenever flagrant crimes had been committed, did not fulfill all the requirements of the emergency. We have heretofore briefly referred to a meeting of citizens held early in September, 1860, to take action toward organizing a new city government. It assembled in the old Apollo Hall, a place that was put to a great variety of uses, from very good to exceedingly bad. At that meeting a committee consisting of Hiram P. Bennet, A. C. Hunt, William Larimer, Jr., John Hughes, C. A. Cook, and A. Jacobs, was appointed to draft a "constitution" defining a form of local government to be known as "The People's Government of the City of Denver." On the evening of September 21st another meeting was held at Apollo Hall at which the "constitution" of the proposed new city government was submitted by the committee and, after a few changes, was adopted. It provided for the immediate election of officers to serve until the ensuing spring, and also for holding elections in the spring and autumn "of each year, thereafter."

It was resolved to submit the proposition to the people of the city for adoption or rejection, at an election to be held on the first Monday in October—the date appointed by the "Jefferson" "charter" for annual city elections. The arrangements did not provide for a Mayor, and Mr. Moore was left undisturbed in his nominal possession of his equally nominal position. The meeting also nominated officers to be voted for at the October election, and their titles fairly indicate the general form of "The People's Government of the City of Denver."

The election was held on Monday, October 1st, and a total of 1,169 votes was polled; 1,122 for the constitution, eleven against it, and seven for what the voters termed a "limited constitution." This was an overwhelming vote in favor of the new form of city government which had, at least, as good legal standing as the one that had been established under the "Jefferson" "charter." By practically the same overwhelming vote the officers that had been nominated by the citizens' meeting, or convention, were elected; there having been no "opposition ticket," and but a few "scattering" votes for other individuals. Those elected were—

Appellate Judge, A. C. Hunt; Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, D. P. Wallingford and N. Sargent; Clerk, A. H. Mayer; Treasurer, J. H. Gerrish; Marshal, Thomas Pollock; members of the "Legislative Council"—which was a body similar to the ordinary City Council, D. C. Oakes, J. M. Taylor, William Dunn, C. A. Cook, L. N. Tappan, and J. M. Broadwell.

These members of the Council were elected, as were the other officers, in the city at large. The officers-elect assembled on October 8th, all except Judge Hunt and Councilman Taylor being present. The oath of office was administered to all present, and the Council immediately organized by electing William Dunn President pro tempore. The constitution provided that the Appellate Judge should be, ex officio, President of the Council; but as Judge Hunt did not qualify and preside until October 20th, a temporary President was chosen for each of the several Council meetings held in the meantime. At the second meeting Councilman Taylor presided; and at the third, Councilman Tappan. At the fourth, Clerk Mayer presided.

The machinery of the new government having thus been promptly put in motion, the first ordinance introduced and passed was one prohibiting gambling, and the sale of liquor or merchandise on the streets of the city or in tents.

The constitution having provided for holding elections under the new government semi-annually—on the first Monday in April and in October—the officers chosen to constitute this first administration under the "People's Government of the City of Denver" served until the following spring. In the meantime provisions were made for adding at the election of April, 1861, several more general officers to the establishment, and the city was divided into three "Divisions." The old "Denver City" side became the East Division; the "Auraria City," the West Division; and Highland, the North Division. On April 8, 1861, in the interval between the passage of the act of Congress creating the Territory of Colorado and the arrival here of Governor Gilpin to institute his government, the second city election under this provisional city government occurred. The only law under which it and the one of the previous October were held was the Law of Necessity. At that election the following-named officers were chosen:

Judge of the Appellate Court, W. M. Slaughter; Judges of the Common Pleas Court, J. H. Sherman, John Wanless, and A. Chaplin; Clerk and Secretary, J. C. Spencer; City Attorney, I. N. Bassett; Treasurer, T. P. Ames; Marshal, J. R. Shaffer; Engineer, J. M. Sheafor; Street Commissioner, A. H. Barker; Councilmen, East Division, W. H. Farner, G. W. Clayton, H. Murdock, and M. H. Bailey; Assessor, East Division, O. P. Thomas; Collector, East Division, A. Stansbury; Councilmen, West Division, D. C. Oakes, J. M. Iddings, J. C. Wicks, and L. Buttrick; Assessor, West Division, C. L. Dahler; Collector, West Division, J. A. Nelson; Councilman, North Division, R. Sopris; Assessor, North Division, J. W. Wier; Collector, North Division, A. B. Sopris.

This was the last city election held in Denver under any form of People's, or Provisional, Government. Under the constitution of the government established in the autumn of 1860, its third election would have occurred on the first Monday in October, 1861; but before that time the Territorial Government of Colorado had been established, and its first Legislative Assembly had begun its first session. Therefore, the third election was never held. However, the officers elected in April, 1861, served capably but with diminishing forcefulness, and more or less nominally, until the following November. Their government formed the connecting link between emergency governments without authority of statute law and the first legally constituted city organization, established in November, 1861, under the authority of an act of the first Legislative Assembly of Colorado Territory.

This act was passed and approved on November 7, 1861, and first gave a legal existence to the City of Denver. It consolidated the three pioneer towns as "The City of Denver," and provided for it the form of government indicated by the official positions mentioned below in connection with the first election held under it. This "charter" law was almost a copy of that of the "Jefferson Territory" "Legislature" under which Mayor Moore and his "city government" had endeavored to operate. Its language is much the same, and its provisions do not differ in any very important features. The territory of the city was practically the same as that defined by the "Jefferson" "law;" and it may be said that the Colorado Legislature adapted and in a general way merely re-enacted the "Jefferson" "statute" with some changes in details. The first election under the "charter" was held on November 19th when the following-named officers were chosen, to serve until April, 1862:

C. A. Cook, Mayor; P. P. Wilcox, Police Magistrate; W. M. Keith, City Marshal; J. Bright Smith, City Clerk and Attorney; E. D. Boyd, City Surveyor; Joseph B. Cass, City Treasurer; George W. Brown, City Collector; and D. D. Palmer, Street Commissioner. Aldermen—H. J. Brendlinger and John Nye, First Ward; L. Mayer and W. W. Barlow, Second Ward; J. E. Vawter and L. Buttrick, Third Ward. (George E. Thornton appointed Chief of Police.)

This ended what may be called the pioneer era in city government, or attempted government. From that time until the spring of 1885 the general character of the city government remained unchanged, though in the meantime there were various minor shiftings of duties and authority. The Mayor has been a fixture all the time, but in April, 1874, there appeared a "Vice Mayor." To this position Alvin McCune was elected at that time, and Andrew J. Williams in April, 1875. Then the Vice Mayoralty disappeared. From 1861 to 1885 each ward was represented by two Aldermen elected annually, and they constituted the legislative body.

Other than the Mayor and Aldermen, the official outfit provided for by the city "charter" of November, 1861, comprised as we have seen, a Police Magistrate, City Marshal, City Clerk and Attorney, City Surveyor, City Treasurer and Collector, and Street Commissioner. In 1862 the duties of Clerk and Attorney were separated and two positions succeeded the former consolidated one. In 1863 two Police Justices succeeded the former Police Magistrate, the office of Street Commissioner was suspended, and that of Treasurer and Collector was separated into two, as had been done the previous year in the instance of Clerk and Attorney. In 1864 the City Clerk was also made Assessor, and no Collector was elected; but in 1865 the Collector resumed duty. In 1867 the Street Commissioner was restored, and the office of Clerk and Assessor separated into two. In 1868 the unfortunate Street Commissionor again disappeared, and remained out of sight for a long time. In 1874 the County Treasurer became, ex officio, City Collector; the two Police Justices were abolished and one Police Magistrate substituted; and the office of City Marshal was also abolished, the Chief of Police succeeding that functionary. In 1876 the position of City Physician was created, and a Police Justice was substituted for the Police Magistrate. In 1878 the City Surveyor was succeeded by the City Engineer, and the position of City Scavenger was added to the list. In 1881 the Street Commissionership was revived, and the position of Chief of the paid Fire Department created. In 1882 the City Scavenger was relieved from further duty, and in 1883 the Street Commissionership was again abolished. But in place of the latter, two new positions were created—those of Auditor and of Building Inspector. After that there were no more changes until the general re-organization that went into effect in April, 1885.

City's old Seal, in use from 1861 to 1901.

The city had remained content with its division into three wards until the spring of 1866, when the Fourth was added; an arrangement which continued until the spring of 1873 when the Fifth and Sixth were created. Ten years later the city was re-districted into nine wards; in 1893 the number was increased to twelve; in 1895 to fourteen; in 1897 to fifteen; and in 1899 to sixteen, the present number.

The city's boundaries remained as defined by the "charter" act until 1864. By an act of the Legislature approved March 1st, the area was enlarged to embrace a total of 2,240 acres. As we have already related the circumstances of this expansion, in connection with what has been said of the "Congressional Grant," we need not further dwell upon them here.

It was not until 1868 that the city's area was again increased, and there was no crying need for it, even then. By an act of the Legislature approved January 9th, between 1,600 and 1,700 acres were added. In this new Territory the more important additions platted were Barth's, H. C. Brown's second, Case & Ebert's, Downing's, Ford's, Horner's, Hyde Park, Kountze's, McMann's, Porter's Park Avenue, Provident Park, Riverside, San Rafael, Schinner's, J. W. Smith's, Witter's second, and part of Wyman's.

The next large extension of the city limits was that of February 13, 1883, which added 4,625 acres to the southern and western portions of the city and bordering on Alameda and Gallup Avenues. Since then there have been several other great extensions, that of March 11, 1889, including 2,400 acres in the eastern part of the city and of which the City Park is a part. To specify all of them would be unduly tedious.

Large additions have also been made to the city by the annexation of former suburban towns, such as Highlands and South Denver; and a considerable portion of the area at present within the city's boundary lines is that of various other suburban towns that still retain their independent village form of government. Other large areas within the city limits, which now embraces nearly fifty square miles, are still unimproved expanses of prairie, though a large portion of this open country is platted into city lots. In certain directions, especially on the west, in Jefferson county, extensive outside tracts are also platted into lots.

View on Larimer street just prior to erection of the City Hall.

After the first one, in November, 1861, city elections were held annually in April up to and including April, 1877, and all officers were chosen for one-year terms with the exception of Mayor Barker who, in April, 1874, was elected for two years. The first State Legislature, in 1877, changed the time to October so as to have city elections coincide with those of the State; and at the election of April, 1877, city officers were chosen to serve until the following October, when another election was held for terms of one year. The Legislature of 1879, to again keep city and State elections together, changed city election time to November; and at the election held in October, 1879, officers were chosen for terms ending in November, 1880. The Legislature of 1881 made another change, providing for a return to elections in April, and city officers chosen in November, 1882, were for short terms ending in April, 1883, when others for full terms of one year were elected. Annual elections in April then continued until and including April, 1885, when, in consequence of an act of the Legislature approved March 16th in that year, which also made other changes, city officers were chosen for terms of two years. Since then our city elections have been biennially held in April.

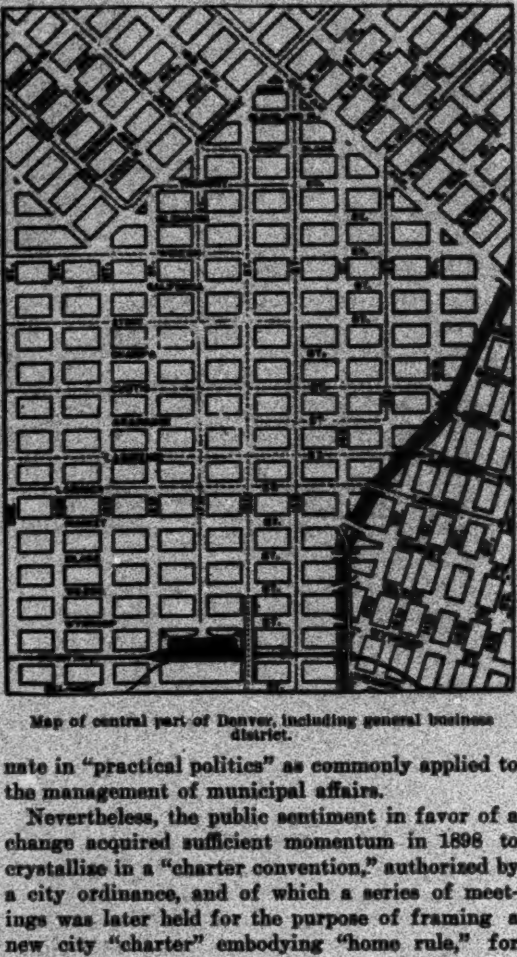
That act of the Legislature of 1885 reduced the law incorporating the City of Denver and the several acts amendatory thereto to one act, revising and amending the older legislation, and making some changes in the form of our city government. At that time and under the previous dispensation, the officers consisted of a Mayor, two Aldermen from each ward, a City Clerk, City Attorney, City Engineer, Police Magistrate, Building Inspector, City Collector, City Assessor, City Auditor, City Physician, and City Treasurer. By the act of 1885 the Legislature created an additional body in the city's legislative department—a Board of Supervisors, consisting of five members to be elected from the city at large. This Board, which continues, constitutes the upper branch of the City Council, corresponding somewhat to the Senate of the State Legislature. The first Board of Supervisors, elected in April, 1885, consisted of O. L. Smith, Thomas Nichol, C. J. Clark, Fred Cramer, and C. D. Cobb. The act also reduced the number of Aldermen from two to one from each ward, and provided for other elective city officers as follows: a City Treasurer, City Clerk, City Attorney, City Auditor, City Engineer, Water Commissioner, and Street Commissioner; the first of the last-named two being an entirely new position, and the latter a revival of an old one. It was at that time that the two-years terms of office were inaugurated.

The Legislature of 1887 made various amendments to the law of 1885, but provided for no important changes in the form of government. The Legislature of 1889, by an act approved March 11th, attacked what was thought by some citizens to have become by that time a serious problem in Denver's government, and made a revision that instituted a radical change. This was the introduction of a Board of Public Works consisting of three members to be appointed by the Governor of the State, at least one of whom to be of a political faith different from that of the Governor. The term of office of the Board members was fixed at two years, and the first Board was to enter upon its duties June 1, 1889. In compliance with this law Governor Cooper appointed Freeman B. Crocker, F. A. Keener, and D. C. Dodge as members of Denver's first Board of Public Works. The other executive officers, Mayor, Treasurer, Attorney, Auditor, Clerk, Engineer, Street Commissioner and Water Commissioner remained as they were provided for by the act of 1885, and were elective. The act of 1889 also re-defined the city's boundaries and extended them.

In 1891 the Legislature made another radical innovation by creating a second appointive Board. An act approved March 4th established the Denver Fire and Police Board consisting of three members, to be appointed by the Governor for a term of two years, and to be divided in partisanship the same as the Public Works Board. The act declared an emergency to exist, and provided that the Board should enter upon its duties on March 10th—only six days after its passage. Governor Routt appointed as members of the first Fire and Police Board, Robert S. Roe, Egbert Johnson, and Robert W. Speer. The other executive offices remained as they stood in 1889.

These two Boards, now constituting the more important agencies in the city government, possess a very large share of administrative authority. The Board of Public Works controls and directs the execution and maintenance of all public improvements authorized by the city, except for school, hospital, work-house, fire, and police purposes, but including street improvements paid for by assessments on abutting property; the street cleaning and engineering work is under its control; it alone is authorized to sell bonds of the city, other than those for school purposes, that may be issued; and until the Park Board was created, it had the management of the parks in its hands. The Fire and Police Board has exclusive jurisdiction over the Fire and Police Departments, which the law contemplated should be placed on a non-partisan, tenure-during-merit basis. It was authorized to, and did, organize the corps of detectives. It also has licensing jurisdiction over all places where intoxicating liquors are sold. One of its members acts as Excise Commissioner, while the other two are, respectively, Fire and Police Commissioner; the Board as a whole being the absolute governing body in all Fire Department, Police and Excise matters. This Board in conjunction with the Health Commissioner also constitutes the Board of Public Health and Safety.

These Boards are wholly the creatures of the Governor of the State; and the power of summary removal of any of their members is vested in him; the preference and power of the people of the city having naught to do with them except as may be recognized by the Governor. After a decade of experience with these Boards, there has arisen a considerable public demand for their abolition, and for a return to what is called "home rule." Their members being the appointees of the Governor, though the membership must be bi-partisan, it is charged, and also denied, that these Boards are made, through the dominance of the majority members, political machines to aid the fortunes of the party in State control, and especially to assist the personal ambitions of the man who may be occupying the chair of the Chief Executive of the State. However, the opinions of warring partisans, whose strifes are seldom conducted under low pressure in Denver, may not be the safer testimony. While much has been said adversely to the Boards along these general lines, an impartial judgment would probably reach the conclusion that the difference between "Board government" and "home rule" lies rather more in the beauty of the latter's theory, than in practical betterments to arise from a municipal government wholly elective and controlled by the influences that usually dominate in "practical politics" as commonly applied to the management of municipal affairs.



Map of central part of Denver, including general business district.

Nevertheless, the public sentiment in favor of a change acquired sufficient momentum in 1898 to crystallize in a "charter convention," authorized by a city ordinance, and of which a series of meetings was later held for the purpose of framing a new city "charter" embodying "home rule," for submission to the Legislature. One of the propositions that grew out of this movement was to form a new, unified city-and-county government—that is, to consolidate the two into one, wholly elective by the people. This plan involved a division of Arapahoe county by cutting twelve miles off its western end. This detached territory was to constitute a new Arapahoe county, and the city area was to be co-extensive with it; the remainder of the county to be made into a new one with the county seat at Brighton. During the session of the Legislature of 1899 there was much talk, both in it and out of it, about "home rule for Denver," but the session closed without any important legislation affecting our city government; and that movement to secure a new "charter" became inanimate and passed out of public notice. However, a renewal of the demand for "Home Rule" was being vigorously pressed upon the Thirteenth General Assembly at the close of our record.

Aside from the legislation we have specifically mentioned in the foregoing, there has been much other affecting our city government, but it concerned itself with details. Each Legislature has done more or less tinkering and patching against the inroads of the "practical" local politician. By "An Act to Revise and Amend the Charter of the City of Denver," approved April 3, 1893, all preceding legislation pertaining to the city and its government was reduced to one act. It was an elaborate act defining in much detail the powers and duties of the various divisions of the city government and of their officers, but beyond establishing the Park Commission, re-defining and extending the city boundaries, and authorizing the addition of a few minor appointive officers, it embodied no new legislation of special importance. In 1895 the positions of Water Commissioner and Street Commissioner were abolished, the duties of the two being consolidated in a new appointive office—that of Highway Commissioner. This left as elective city officers the Mayor, Supervisors, Aldermen, Clerk, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney, and Engineer; and at that they now stand. The positions of Chief of Police, Chief of the Fire Department, Police Magistrate, Highway Commissioner, Health Commissioner, Building Inspector, Boiler Inspector, Electrician, Plumbing Inspector, Superintendent of Street Sprinkling, Superintendent of Street Cleaning, Superintendent of Supplies, and several others of lesser consequence, being appointive. The Police Magistrate is appointed by the Governor, and the others by the two Boards and the Mayor. The President of the Fire and Police Board receives a salary of $3,000; the other members $2,500 each. The President of the Board of Public Works receives $4,000; the other members $3,000 each.

There exists among the citizens generally a rather settled belief that the municipal machinery is, in some respects, needlessly complex; that there is unnecessary division of authority and duties; and that the establishment is made top-heavy by a surplus of executives in positions of minor importance. In other words, that the municipal ship is found to be structurally defective when she encounters the billowy proposition that municipal administration must conform to strictly business principles and methods.

The amended "city charter," as it now stands, contemplates the extension of the city into Jefferson county Section 1, Article I, of the act says:

> "The inhabitants of the City of Denver in Arapahoe county and Jefferson county, in the State of Colorado, are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate by the name and style of 'The City of Denver.' "

Notwithstanding this, and that considerable areas in Jefferson county have been platted into city lots, the city's west boundary has not yet been extended beyond Sheridan Avenue, the dividing line between Arapahoe and Jefferson counties in the city neighborhood; but it will not be long until it will nominally, as it now does actually, encroach upon the area of our adjoining county.

Thirty years ago the entire expenditures by the city government aggregated less than $50,000 for the year; and were inside an average of $4,000 each month. This is not stated in the sense of making a comparison of economy or extravagance between that period and this, but rather to emphasize the remarkable growth and development of the city in every direction. The assessment of the spring of 1871, of real and personal property produced a valuation of but $6,772,908; and the tax levy for that year was seven mills. The city's entire income for that year from taxes, licenses and other sources, was only $50,245. The expenditures for all city purposes under the jurisdiction of the city government, including a few permanent improvements, were $47,079.89; or $3,165.11 less than the receipts.

Quite different figures are required to express present annual expenses. In 1900 the payments for all general city purposes (exclusive of public schools) aggregated $950,866.87; but deducting paid floating debt of preceding years, the expenses, proper, approximated $825,000. Estimates for 1901 call for about $940,000. These expenditures, however, do not include street paving and other public work provided for by special assessments on abutting property. The tax rate fixed in 1900 (for 1901) was 15.3 mills, and the 1900 valuation of city property for taxation was $62,202,405; perhaps about forty per cent. of real values. The largest assessment in the city's history was that of 1893, $76,849,420. Thence it shrunk to $58,425,000 in 1899. The bonded debt, proper, is relatively small, now being $1,929,300; or about fifteen dollars per capita of population. The paving and other special indebtedness raises the present outstanding obligations to an amount exceeding $3,000,000. The constitutional limit to the city debt, proper, is three per cent. of property valuations for taxation.

During the first thirty-four years of Denver's corporate existence "straight" party tickets, Democratic and Republican, were put in nomination for

View westward from electric light tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues in the autumn of 1882.

each election, excepting at times prior to 1866, and during all that period the Republicans were sufficiently successful to retain general control of the city government. Usually they were in absolute control. In the spring of 1895 came the first interruption, Mr. T. S. McMurray being elected Mayor. Personally he was and is a Republican, but the movement and ticket which he headed that year, were non-partisan and pledged to reforms and economy, and to some extent reflecting a public sentiment rendered abnormally sensitive by the great financial reverses of 1893-94. In 1897 Mr. McMurray and the policy and purposes he represented again received the favor of the electors. In the spring of 1899 a most unexpected and extraordinary election result occurred. Four city tickets were before the people: the "straight" Republican, with Russell Gates as the candidate for Mayor; the "Teller Silver Republican," with Williard L. Ames for Mayor; the "straight" Democratic, with Henry V. Johnson, for Mayor; and the "Independent"—good government and so on—with T. S. McMurray as a candidate for a third election; each ticket having a full complement of candidates for the other offices. To the profound astonishment of everybody, including themselves, the Democrats were triumphantly successful; the vote for the head of the Republican ticket being 7,999; for the "Teller Silver Republican," 7,351; for the "Independent," 8,172; and for the Democratic 9,324—a plurality of 1,252 for Mr. Johnson, who enjoys the distinction of being at the head of the first practically complete Democratic administration of city affairs in Denver's history. While it is true that the Democratic vote was but little more than one-fourth of the total of 32,846—omitting the "scattering"—yet, the result was a distinct victory for that party.

The following is a list of Denver's Mayors from the legal beginning in 1861 to the present time, together with the periods of service:

Charles A. Cook	November, 1861, to April, 1862.
Charles A. Cook, (re-elected)	April, 1862, to April, 1863.
Amos Steck	April, 1863, to April, 1864.
H. J. Brendlinger	April, 1864, to April, 1865.
George T. Clark	April, 1865, to April, 1866.
M. M. DeLano	April, 1866, to April, 1868.
William Clayton	April, 1868, to April, 1869.
Baxter B. Stiles	April, 1869, to April, 1871.
John Harper	April, 1871, to April, 1872.
Joseph E. Bates	April, 1872, to April, 1873.
Francis M. Case	April, 1873, to April, 1874.
W. J. Barker	April, 1874, to April, 1876.
R. G. Buckingham	April, 1876, to October, 1877.
Baxter B. Stiles	October, 1877, to October, 1878.
Richard Sopris	October, 1878, to November, 1881.
Robert Morris	November, 1881, to April, 1883.
John L. Routt	April, 1883, to April, 1885.
Joseph E. Bates, (second term)	April, 1885, to April, 1887.
William Scott Lee	April, 1887, to April, 1889.
Wolfe Londoner	April, 1889, to April, 1891.
Platt Rogers	April, 1891, to April, 1893.
M. D. Van Horn	April, 1893, to April, 1895.
T. S. McMurray	April, 1895, to April, 1899.
Henry V. Johnson	April, 1899—

The history of the Denver Fire Department dates back to the spring of 1866 when the first volunteer fire company was organized; though it was not equipped for its work until several months afterward. The first movement to guard against danger from fire appears to have been that taken by the Legislative Council of the Provisional City Government organized in the autumn of 1860. The Council on October 12, 1860, provided for the appointment of six Fire Wardens, to inspect buildings and their chimneys, to prevent accumulations of inflammable rubbish, and so forth. A. Jacobs, Samuel Howe, A. Fenton, J. S. Travilla, J. C. Bradford, and J. P. Sears were appointed Wardens, but there is no record that they ever performed many important duties. Prior to the "great fire of 1863" there was a slip-shod, half-organized "bucket brigade," but it had neither coherence nor efficiency sufficient to entitle it to rank as a fire company; and so the city may be said to have gone along without one until 1866. The fire of 1863 was, for the town of that time, a conflagration that entailed heavy losses, but it did not impress upon the citizens the importance of immediately providing organized means of extinguishing fires. It was, however, generally agreed that "that fire ought to be a lesson to us," but that was about the extent of the lesson's influence in the direction of organizing a fire company. The newspapers continued reading the lesson to the people and insisting that it be heeded, but without much effect until late in the winter of 1865-66, when several fires occurred in quick succession, which were attributed to incendiaries, and which caused much commotion and alarm among property-owners; there having been three on one day.

A public meeting was called, and held in the old People's Theater on Larimer street, on the evening of March 22nd to consider what ought to be done; Captain Edward Scudder presiding. Of course, there were speeches in plenty, and the inevitable committee on resolutions was appointed. This committee reported in favor of creating "a committee of safety and vigilance to consist of ten or more of our property-holders, whose names shall be under no circumstances made public;" of appointing a Fire Marshal to have charge and direction of extinguishing all fires "until a Fire Department shall have been organized by the City Government and be in operation," to do which the Mayor promised to call a special meeting of the City Council the next day; and for the appointment of a committee to raise funds for the purchase of hooks, ladders and buckets. The city was called upon to immediately purchase a steam fire engine with at least one-half mile of hose, and the City Marshal was directed to appoint twenty-five special policemen to patrol the city as a guard against further incendiarism. But all these proceedings would not put out fires nor did they organize a fire company; and in practical results that meeting went no further. On the afternoon of Sunday, March 25th, a small number of citizens met quietly at the grocery store of Davis & Curtis, in the one-story frame building then on the northeast corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets, and within an hour or so organized the first efficient fire company in Denver—the Denver Hook and Ladder Company, No. 1. George W. McClure was made foreman; Frank W. Cram, assistant foreman; C. C. Davis, second assistant foreman; H. L. Rockwell, third assistant foreman; John B. Lesaul, Secretary; and Hyatt Hussey, Treasurer. From that small beginning Denver's present great fire-fighting organization has grown.

The reader may suppose that the first thing done by these pioneer firemen was to get some kind of effective apparatus for extinguishing fires; but it was not so. The first thing actually accomplished was to get uniforms, and they were not ready until about the first of July. On the 7th of that month the thirty members of the company paraded forth in all the bravery and glory of their black trousers, red shirts and leather hats, drawing a little home-made hook and ladder truck that had just been finished by the United States Quartermaster for use in protecting government property. It would have been hard to tell whether the greater pride dwelt in the breasts of the firemen or in those of the citizens, generally.

The City Council had provided the company with a few ladders and some wooden buckets, and in May had authorized A. Jacobs to contract in Cincinnati for a hook and ladder truck with an equipment of leather buckets and other belongings, at the city's expense. But the apparatus had to be built to order, and did not arrive in Denver until late in October, having been several weeks dragging across the plains from the Missouri river. The truck, which was a heavy, unwieldy affair, and its outfit, cost $1,685. It remained in service until 1873 when it was sold to Pueblo for $600.

In the meantime the city had bought a lot on the south side of Lawrence street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, and had built on it a brick building two stories high in front and one in the rear, and the company and its apparatus were installed there. That building remained the only fire-engine house for nearly ten years, and company No. 1 the only fire company for six. In 1867 the city purchased in Boston a 2,100 pound alarm bell for $1,200 which was used until 1873 when a larger one was ordered in Cincinnati by Phillip Trounstine who saw it made from an old Spanish cannon that had been captured in Mexico by American soldiers. This bell, which is still here, could make itself heard far beyond the city limits.

On April 9, 1872, the second company was organized. As the Holly system of the Denver Water Company had then been completed, this was a hose company—the James Archer Hose Company, No. 2, named in honor of the water company's President. Quarters were later provided for it in the building erected by the city for the company, and still standing at 1714 Curtis street. A month later the third company, the Joseph E. Bates Fire & Hose Company, No. 3, came into existence in "West Denver" and was quartered in a brick building rented for it on the west side of Eleventh street between Larimer and Market streets. It was named in honor of Mayor Bates who had given the fire companies much substantial assistance in their organization and maintenance, and "West Denver" was exceedingly proud of her fire company. On July 31, 1872, the fourth company was organized—the Woodie Fisher Hose Company, named for Redwood Fisher who had been foreman of Hook and Ladder Company No. 1, and who was killed on May 12, 1870, at Fourteenth and California streets, while endeavoring to stop a runaway team of horses. This company shared the Lawrence street building with Hook and Ladder Company No. 1. Next came the Denver Hook and Ladder Company No. 2, organized March 4, 1873. A second-hand out-fit was procured for it and established in an old shed on Twenty-third street between Lawrence and Larimer streets, but on July 4th the company moved into a building erected for it by the city at the southwest corner of Curtis and Twenty-sixth streets. In the autumn of that year the old apparatus was sold to the Boulder fire company and a rather inefficient Babcock chemical engine was substituted for it.

In 1875 the city built the Central Fire Station on the site of the pioneer one erected in 1866. The new building cost $20,000 and was completed by the close of that year, and occupied by the pioneer Hook and Ladder Company Number 1 and the Fisher Hose Company, in January, 1876. The building was handsomely outfitted by the city, and citizens subscribed funds enough to provide it with pictures, and with books to form a creditable library. This may be regarded as having been Denver's beginning in modern fire department methods, for the fire alarm telegraph also followed in 1876. Upon the completion of the City Hall in 1883 the Central Station was removed there and the older building sold. It is now a business house, Nos. 1532-34 Lawrence street.

In November, 1877, Hook and Ladder Company Number 2, organized from its members Hose Company Number 4, and took over the Woodie Fisher Company's old reel which had been displaced by a new one. In March, 1879, the Tabor Hose Company Number 5 was organized in "North Denver," the first one in that section of the city, and named for Horace A. W. Tabor. It occupied temporary quarters until November of that year when it moved into the two-story brick building built for it by the city, at old number 81 Fifteenth street. The Tabor Company became the last survivor of the volunteer organizations, having continued in service until the middle of February, 1885.

The foregoing accounts cover all the effective organizations that constituted the Denver Volunteer Fire Department before the paid system began its encroachments in 1881. There had been, several years before, another organization formed in "West Denver" and named in honor of General and Mayor Francis M. Case, but it seems not to have gone into active service. It was for this company that the Babcock chemical engine, used by Hook and Ladder Company Number 2, had been brought to Denver. The paid system was not at once applied to all the old companies, several of which continued in volunteer service some years afterward; and three additional ones were organized in 1881.

The old volunteer department had no Chief until 1872, the foreman of Hook and Ladder Company No. 1 being, ex officio, in command of everything and everybody at fires. On April 25, 1872, Phillip Trounstine was appointed "Chief Engineer of the Fire Department," and served capably until July 13, 1873, when he resigned. Joseph L. Bailey was appointed July 31, 1873, and served until April 21, 1875, when he was succeeded by Julius Pearse who held the position two years and was followed by Thomas S. Clayton who served until July, 1879. Of Mr. Clayton the old records say that the efficiency of the Department in that period was "largely due to his efforts in behalf of promptness and discipline, and to his spirit of enterprise, exemplary conduct, and kindness of heart." Clayton's successor was George Duggin, who served until November 15, 1881. It was under his administration in 1881 that the first paid companies were organized from the volunteer forces, and the first steam fire engine, a Silsby, in the Department was introduced. These companies were Hook and Ladder Number 1, Hose Number 1, and Engine Number 1. Prior to that time none of the companies had a water-throwing engine of any kind. The hose companies depended wholly upon the fire hydrants of the waterworks company, and that service usually met very satisfactorily every emergency in the Denver of that period.

The first steam fire engine brought across the plains to this region was not used by a fire department nor for extinguishing fires. In 1865 during the era of "speculative mining" an eastern mining company sent out here a steam fire engine that had been bought from a Brooklyn, N. Y., fire company; probably because of its inefficiency, for in those days the steam fire engine was a crude, uncertain kind of machine. It was sent out here—slowly hauled across the plains—for use in hydraulic mining in the gulches, and was expected to do good work. But it proved to be a failure, and what became of it no one seems to know. In those days all sorts of schemes and appliances for recovering gold were in vogue, but the introduction of a steam fire engine as a mining tool was probably the most unique of all that were tried.

The old volunteer fire companies, aside from the duties for which they were primarily organized, were really most influential nurseries of civic pride and public spirit. The service was more than a gratuitous one for the public welfare and safety, for the earlier organizations not only turned out and ran at the best of their speed to put out fires, but paid the expenses of doing it. In their organization it was provided that—"Each member shall supply himself with a uniform [for parade and holiday use] within sixty days after his election, and shall bear an equal proportion of all expenses incurred by the company, and shall have an equal and proportionate interest in all property belonging to the company."

The uniforms were usually of black trousers, red flannel shirts, and leather hats or helmets; but one company had white flannel shirts; and another dark blue trousers. The old-time "tournaments" of Colorado firemen were great and popular festivals; and, as a rule, the participating Denver companies carried off the trophies, to the great pride and satisfaction of themselves and their fellow-townsmen, women and children. To be a member of one of the old companies was a civic distinction the way to which was not open to every Tom, Dick and Harry. Members were men of consequence who had a stake in the community, but it is doubtful whether all their worldly possessions afforded them as much solid comfort and keen satisfaction as a parade of the company in uniform upon a gala day. Of course, at a fire, even in those earlier days of small and low buildings, there was much confusion, uproar, and wasted effort among the volunteer firemen, that would oddly contrast with the quick, systematic, precise and effective operations of the present paid department under its almost military discipline.

The old companies were influential social organizations as well as enemies of the "fire-fiend." Their annual balls were events anticipated with much eagerness and proved no disappointment to the favored ones, whose numbers were limited only by the size of the hall in which, as present-day "society editors" term it, the "function," was given. Everybody was glad of an opportunity to be "among those present." The first ball given by the Woodie Fisher Company occurred on the evening of November 25, 1874, at Guard Hall. A chronicler of that time has recorded that "every company in the city was present in full-dress uniform; altogether it was one of the largest and finest parties ever given in the city of Denver." Duly considering the effects of the "full-dress uniforms," it would seem not improbable that many fond hearts were breaking, after that Thanksgiving ball.

The Denver Fire Department, whatever may be the merits or demerits of controlling and directing it by an appointive Board, is a finely equipped organization of very high efficiency, and equally high standing in the esteem of our citizens. As we have stated, the paid system was introduced in 1881 to a limited extent, but several of the old volunteer companies continued to form part of the Department, with three additional volunteer ones that were organized in 1881. One was the Broadway Hose Company Number 6, organized February 27th, and for which the present engine house at Broadway and Colfax Avenue was soon afterward built; the company continuing in service until the spring of 1884. The second of these late-time volunteer companies was the James Archer Hose Company Number 4, the second one of that name. The original one disbanded in April, 1881, and a month later the second was organized, and occupied the house at 1714 Curtis street. It was in service until the spring of 1884. The third company was the J. W. Richards Hose Company Number 7, organized in the autumn of 1881, and named for the then owner of the Crescent Mills. This company was located at Twenty-first street and McNassar Avenue, and also remained in service until the spring of 1884.

"Dress Parade" of one of the old volunteer fire companies, on Fifteenth street near Larimer.

As already stated, the conversion of the volunteer into a paid system was begun in the summer of 1881 while George Duggan was Chief of the Department. On June 2nd, of that year, the City Council ordered Denver's first steam fire engine, a Silsby machine, which arrived on August 13th and was placed in the Lawrence street Central Station. To use it, Engine Company Number 1 had been organized, and on August 19th went into service. On September 1st Hose Company Number 1, succeeding the volunteer Fisher Hose; and Hook and Ladder Company Number 1, succeeding the pioneer volunteer company of the same number, also went into service at the Lawrence street station; the remaining volunteer companies continuing duty. The Bates Company was disbanded in the spring of 1882, and year by year immediately thereafter the paid system was further extended until, in February, 1886, the Tabor Company, the last of the volunteer organizations, was displaced. Since then the number of paid organizations has been increased with the growth of the city, until there are now fifteen of them.

To operate the Department now requires the services of one chief, two assistant chiefs, one secretary, one assistant secretary, fourteen captains, fourteen lieutenants, seven engineers, seven assistant engineers, twenty-two drivers, twenty-five hosemen, thirteen laddermen, four wardens, three custodians, one carpenter, one telegraph lineman, and one assistant lineman; a total of 117 men. "Civil service rules" govern appointments in the Department, the tenure of position depending solely upon meritorious services. While the Department has not been exempt from fatalities in service, the number of deaths and serious injuries to firemen has been gratifyingly small. The most serious misfortune of this kind in its history was that attending the fire in the St. James Hotel on March 28, 1894, when four men—Captain Harold W. Hartwell, Frederick S. Brawley, Richard D. Dandridge, and Stephen Martin, of Hose Company Number 3—lost their lives; the last-named three having been colored men.

The present equipment consists of seven steam engines—each with an accompanying hose wagon, one chemical engine, five chemical and hose wagons, and three hook and ladder trucks; requiring the use of sixty-five horses. The companies and apparatus are well distributed over the city in good buildings at the following-named locations: an engine company and a hook and ladder company at the central station in the City Hall building, an engine company and a hook and ladder company on Curtis street between Twentieth and Twenty-first streets, an engine company at Broadway and Colfax Avenue, an engine company at Colfax and Santa Fe Avenues, an engine company at 1817-23 Blake street, an engine company and a hook and ladder company at West Third Avenue and Evans street, an engine company at Marion street and Park Avenue, a hose company at South Broadway and Center Avenue, a hose company at Arapahoe and Thirty-third streets, a hose company at Lincoln Avenue and Twenty-eighth street, a hose company on Highland Avenue between Boulevard F and Grove street, and a hose company at Erie street and Fairview Avenue. The total cost of maintaining and operating the Department in 1900 was $149,995.

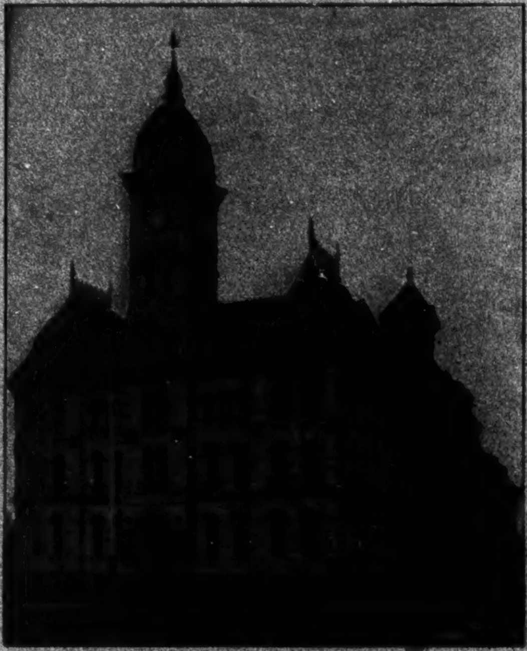
The fire-alarm telegraph was introduced in the summer of 1876, and as then completed, at a cost of $5,600, consisted of eight miles of wire and fifteen signaling boxes. From that small beginning it has been enlarged until at this time it requires several hundred miles of wire to which are attached 163 boxes.

Losses by fire have never been seriously heavy in Denver. We have elsewhere told of "the great fire of 1863" which was only relatively a heavy loss. The statistics of the Fire Department show that during the twenty-one years from 1880 to 1900, inclusive, and covering the period of systematic records, the fire losses have aggregated $3,804,689; an average annual loss of almost $181,176 through that period. The greater aggregate loss in any of those years is charged to 1885 when it was $367,263; and the lowest annual aggregate is credited to 1884 when it was only $72,033. The loss in 1900 was $357,140. The basis of these aggregates represents estimates having a strong tendency toward the maximum. The city has been fortunate in its experience with fires and, as we have said, has never had since pioneer times a fire that would relatively rank among those of the first magnitude. In the history of the paid department the most costly one, in property value, was the burning of the Union Passenger Station in March, 1894. At no time since 1863 has there been a fire that got beyond control and became a conflagration. The rule is, and with but few exceptions, that fires are confined to the structures in which they originate. Considering that Denver has upward of 30,000 buildings, and that the area to be covered by the Fire Department is relatively very large, the record is somewhat remarkable. However, the freedom from great aggregate annual losses is largely due to the non-combustible character of nearly all the buildings in Denver. There are few frame structures, and most of them belong to a past era. The city's exacting regulations affecting buildings, and the practical prohibition of frame structures have placed serious fires in Denver among the extreme improbabilities.

There have been but three men in the position of Chief of the Fire Department since the paid system was fairly established. George Duggan, whose term covered part of the transition from volunteer to paid men, was succeeded by Thomas S. Clayton as "Chief Engineer" on November 15, 1881. Under the ordinance of December, 1881, providing for a re-organization of the Department, Mr. Clayton became "Fire Marshal," and perfected the foundations of the paid system; of which he is generally regarded as the father. He served one year, and was succeeded by Julius Pearse whose term continued until April, 1894. William E. Roberts (present incumbent) followed him for a term of one year, when Pearse again became Chief, serving from April, 1895, to September, 1897. Mr. Roberts was then re-appointed, and has since continuously been at the head of the Department.

The Denver Police Department, as such, dates from the spring of 1874. The first city government, that under the "Jefferson" "charter," had a City Marshal; and the Provisional Government of the autumn of 1860, also included such an officer. The

Legislative Council of that Provisional Government, on October 12, 1860, provided for eight policemen to serve under the Marshal. Between 1861 and 1874, excepting a brief interval in 1862, the policing of the city was done by a City Marshal and a few deputies. A Marshal was, as we have stated, elected in November, 1861, at the first election held under the city "charter" enacted by the first Territorial Legislature of Colorado. The first City Council created the appointive office of Chief of Police, but abolished it in June, 1862. It appears, also, that in 1862 the City Marshal was commonly called the "Police Marshal;" but thereafter the other title was resumed.



The City Hall

The city got along very well with its Marshal and his deputies through a dozen years or more; but not quite so well as some of the citizens ofttimes thought it should. However, in 1874 the office of City Marshal was abolished and that of Chief of Police substituted; a few men constituting the police force under the command of the first Chief. From that time to this the increased number of men employed seems never to have kept pace with the growth of the city; though the present force is many times larger than that of 1874. But even at the present time it appears small when the great area of city territory, and the fact that duty must be performed twenty-four hours each day, are duly considered.

While the Police Department, in itself, is merely a natural development following the expansion of the city, and possessing little of historical interest as an organization, the annals of its operations would, if presented in much detail, more than fill a volume the equal of this one in size. Parts of them have been put in book form of not small dimensions dealing with only the more conspicuous events in Denver police history. The subject is one of such extent that we could see no way to include even a summary of it. A mere summary would be of little value; and treatment in circumstantial detail is prohibited by the limitations necessarily placed upon this work. Therefore, and regarding Denver's criminal annals as constituting a special subject to be more properly dealt with separately, as it already has been in more or less comprehensive forms by other writers, we have not, beyond some events in pioneer times, entered upon its consideration in this volume.

It is due, however, to our Police Department to state here that during its existence it has had to deal with more desperate men, trained professional criminals, and miscellaneous human dregs of society than any similar organization in any city of equal size in this country has encountered. Notwithstanding that there are stains upon its history, that there was a time that certain of its former members were in collusion with criminals years ago, the Denver Police organization as a whole, has a record for efficiency of which it need not be ashamed, and that places it above the passing ebullitions of unreasonable or purblind fault-finding. The ninety and nine successful efforts for the protection of the community are not to be forgotten in the din of outcries over one that proved a failure; or that was not made, at all. Furthermore, there is something in the fate of the not few members of the Denver police force who have perished by violence while in the discharge of their duties, that points to as high a standard as men usually establish for their line of conduct.

There were, in December, 1900, 121 persons employed in the various branches of the Police Department, including clerks, jailers, and janitors. Active duties were divided between the Chief, two Captains, three station Sergeants, the Chief of Detectives with a staff of six men, two Surgeons, two matrons, and two wagon-men; leaving a daily average of about sixty patrolmen on duty. As the period of duty is of eight hours, the present small force does not admit of much more than twenty men being on duty at one time, except in emergencies. Considering the large territorial area of the city to be protected by so small a number of men, the results indicate a very high standard of efficiency. The total expenses of the Department during the year 1900 were $132,505. The following named men have served as Chiefs of Police during the terms stated:

George E. Thornton	November, 1861, to June, 1863.
(office abolished June 12, 1863; re-established April, 1874.)	
J. C. McCallin	April, 1874, to April, 1876
D. W. Mays	April, 1876, to October, 1877.
C. S. Stone	October, 1877, to October, 1878.
W. R. Hickey	October, 1878, to November, 1880.
D. J. Cook	November, 1880, to November, 1881.
J. M. Lomery	November, 1881, to April, 1883.
W. A. Smith	April, 1883, to April, 1885.
A. W. Hogle	April, 1885, to April, 1887.
H. T. Brady	April, 1887, to April, 1889.
John F. Farley	April, 1889, to March, 1893.
James Veatch	March, 1893, to July, 1893.
A. W. Kellogg	July, 1893, to March, 1894.
Hamilton C. Armstrong	April, 1894, to February, 1895.
George Goulding	February, 1895, to February, 1896.
I. L. Russell	February, 1896, to May, 1897.
W. H. O'Brien	May, 1897, to September, 1897.
John F. Farley (present incumbent)	since November, 1897.

During March and part of April, 1894, at the time of Governor Waite's "war on the City Hall," and when there were dual Fire and Police Boards, there were also, but nominally, dual Chiefs of Police. Kellogg had resigned, and one Board appointed John F. Stone, while the other appointed John F. Farley; but the latter declined to serve, and Armstrong was chosen after the war was over. The Police Department has been made, through the decade just closed, to figure more or less in partisan politics during campaign times; though probably not to so great an extent as partisan accusations might indicate. Nevertheless, tenure of position as a member of the Police force, is theoretically at all events, dependent upon merit.

Denver's park system is beginning to assume proportions in harmony with the city's size, importance, and prospective growth. It is almost entirely a creation of later years. In a preceding chapter we have said that the pioneer founders and platters of the city made practically no provision for parks in their "cities." That is the reason we have none in the older parts of the city. The Aurarians, it is true, designated on the plat of their town one block, upward of a mile south-east from the mouth of Cherry creek, as a "park," but it was far out, and was cut off by the lines of the "Congressional Grant;" and that was the last of it. "Denver City" had not even one block set aside for park purposes. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the acquisition of parks was first seriously urged by Mayor Joseph E. Bates in 1872, but it was some years before anything effective followed his far-sighted suggestions. However, the actual though nominal beginning of our park system may be said to have been made in that year in the cession by Congress to the city of the land now constituting Congress Park, secured at that time by Jerome B. Chaffee who was then the Colorado Delegate in the House of Representatives at Washington; and about that time the Lincoln Park land was donated to the city by former Territorial Governor A. C. Hunt, who had contemplated that it should become the site of the county Court House. Hunt had a large ranche in that vicinity and his residence stood on the park tract. At the time of the Congress Park cession the ground was still in use, as it had been since the first settlements were made here, and as it was for several years afterward, for cemetery purposes. It has not yet been improved as a park, partly owing to pending litigation over title to a small portion of it, and partly to lack of sufficient funds.

Properly speaking, the park system had its beginning during the administration of Mayor Richard Sopris, and it was largely through the instrumentality of Henry Lee and Jacob Downing that it was inaugurated. Mr. Lee was a member of the lower branch of the Third General Assembly and Chairman of its Committee on Public Lands. He and Major Downing, co-operating with other citizens, caused a bill to be introduced in the House providing for sale to the city at a nominal price and without competition of two sections of school lands for park purposes. One of the sections was that of which the present City Park is the south half; the other, which was not to be an individual section, but an equal amount of land made up of parts of sections, was to have been around and west of Sloan's Lake; a half-section of it lying within Jefferson county and bordering on the present Sheridan Avenue. The bill passed the House providing for the sale of these tracts, but in the Senate it met opposition and was considerably disfigured. Many citizens also opposed it because they neither saw nor appreciated the necessity, value nor utility of parks, and could not have foreseen the development that was to come to the city within the next dozen years. So, when the bill finally got through, the Sloan's Lake part of the proposition providing for what was proposed to become Edgewater Park, had been eliminated, and the area of the proposed City Park had been cut in half. But the founders of our park system accepted the half-loaf as being far better than none and the City Park, the real beginning of the system, entered upon its existence, though destitute of every park-like aspect. Washington and the other small parks followed by purchases of lands at intervals since that time. The failure of the Edgewater part of the plan has proved, as the years have passed, to have been a public misfortune. The proposed two large parks, of 640 acres each, would have been, due east and west, about equidistant from the center of the city; and the Edgewater land, which then could have been secured for a small sum, is now probably worth a million dollars.

In the beginning, control and management of the parks were vested in the City Council, but in the spring of 1889, when the Board of Public Works was created, they passed to the care of that body. In those years they were directly under the care of an appointive Commissioner of Public Parks, former Mayor Sopris having filled the position for about ten years—1883-01. In 1893 the Ninth General Assembly, as already mentioned, in revising the city "charter" provided for placing the park system under the charge of a Park Commission, consisting of three members, appointed by the Mayor. John L. Dailey, President; E. Monash and J. T. Cornforth constituted the first Commission, the first meeting of which was held April 20, 1893. The greater part of park development has been by the Commission, the present members of which are Stuart D. Walling, President; Henry Youngs, and Henry Lee.

In Denver's park system there are now twelve established parks, in number rather fairly distributed over the city; the City, Congress, Curtis, Dunham, Fuller, and Park Avenue in "East Denver;" the Chaffee, Highland, and Jefferson in "North Denver;" and the Lincoln, Platt, and Washington in "South" and "West Denver." However, five-sixths of the total park area is in the City and Congress parks in the eastern part of the city. The area of Chaffee, Curtis, Dunham, Fuller, and Platt is but one city block each; and that of Highland and Jefferson two city blocks, each. The so-called "River Front Park" skirted by the Sixteenth street viaduct is not a park nor city property. The land is and long has been owned by J. Brisben Walker, of the Cosmopolitan Magazine, New York. Before the Union Passenger Station was built he had a plan for building such a station on that land, and the stone building now standing there was erected by him for some purpose connected with that plan.

In the City Park.

The combined present areas of the twelve parks is equivalent to about 436 acres. The City Park embraces 320 acres; Congress, 40; Washington, 80; Park Avenue, 10; Lincoln about 9; Highland and Jefferson about 6, each; Platt, Curtis, Dunham, Chaffee and Fuller about 3, each. Washington, Jefferson and Highland Parks are new ones and, with Congress, rank as "unimproved," the land for them having been recently purchased at an aggregate cost of $53,000. The expenses of the Park Department in 1900 for administration, improvements, and maintenance approximated $67,000. The park tax-levy as fixed in 1900 (for 1901), and contemplating extraordinary improvements, is nine-tenths of a mill.

Beyond the magnificent view of the mountains from several of them, especially from that of Congress, nature had done little toward preparing the localities of our parks for the purposes to which the land has been devoted; the lands of the plains possessing almost no natural picturesqueness or other feature commonly associated with park-like aspects. But by the application of intelligent landscape engineering, creation of artificial lakes, and lawn, tree and flower culture, the managers of our parks are overcoming natural deficiencies and are converting what were weed-grown or barren areas into blooming gardens. In our City Park the well-advanced beginning has been made upon what bids fair to become one of the notable large parks in this country. Looking forward and anticipating construction of boulevards connecting the larger parks, it would seem that Denver's park system is capable of being developed into one that will equal that of any other city possessing corresponding opportunities and resources.

The most complete collection of Colorado fauna preserved by the processes of taxidermy, that has ever been made, is that of the late Professor Edwin Carter, of Breckenridge, Summit county. In 1899 he generously offered to convey it to either the State of Colorado or the City of Denver on terms that would have made it practically a gift. Governor Charles S. Thomas, John F. Campion, Joseph A. Thatcher and other public-spirited citizens of Denver arranged with him to secure it for the city, but Professor Carter died (in January, 1900,) before the transfer had been made. Subsequently they purchased it from Carter's heirs, for $10,000, and had it shipped here and stored in the Capitol building, where it remained at the close of our record. An organization was then formed to establish the "Colorado Museum of Natural History" and to erect in the City Park an appropriate building for housing the collection, and that will also accommodate later additions to the exhibit; thus providing for what is destined to be a most interesting and valuable Museum of Natural History. In December, 1900, the City Council included in the city tax levy an amount sufficient to produce $35,000, to which the museum association agreed to add $30,000, for the purpose of erecting the museum building. With the Carter collection installed in a fine permanent building in the park, and with the increasing number of wild creatures in the zoological collection already there, the visitors to that pleasure ground will have unusual opportunities for becoming familiar with the appearance of the almost extinct wild animals of Colorado.

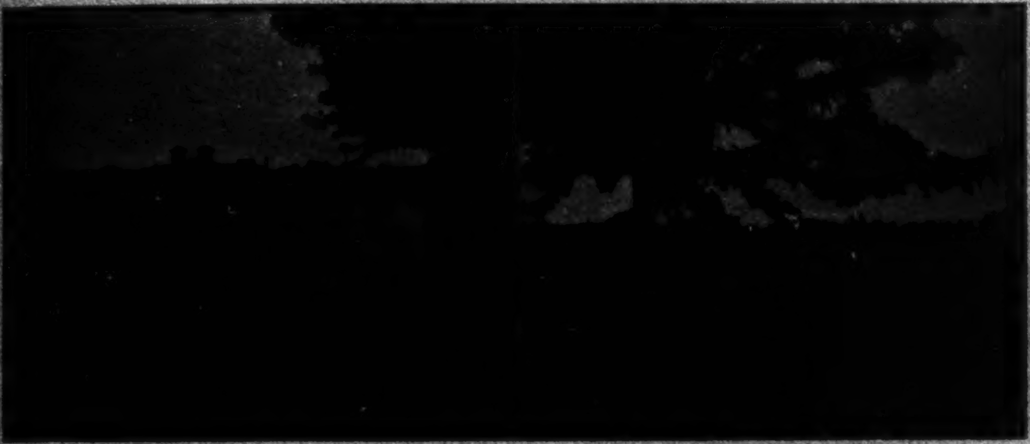
The Park Commissioners late in 1900 decided to add a rather unique object of historic interest to the attractions in the City Park. The log building that stood near Cherry creek, on Market street in "West Denver," which was the first home owned by the Rocky Mountain News, and the first structure erected in all this Rocky Mountain country for a newspaper printing office, was removed from the site it had occupied since the autumn of 1859, to be re-erected in unchanged appearance in the park. It is anticipated that this ancient structure may ultimately shelter a collection of objects of general historical interest.

Prior to the erection of the present City Hall the city government for many years occupied rented quarters in various private buildings, after the fashion set by the county. In pioneer times there was a "City Hall" owned by the city, but it was not a structure of great dignity nor value. This was a small building on stilts that stood in, or on, the bed of Cherry creek, on the north side of Blake street. That choice of location appears to have been made to satisfy the two sections of the city divided by the creek; as it was about midway between them. That establishment with all it contained was, as we have already narrated, utterly destroyed by the Cherry creek flood of May, 1864. After that the municipal headquarters occupied different rented buildings for several years until they were installed in the Bartels Building on the east side of Fifteenth street, near the northeast corner of Blake street, where they remained until the erection of the present City Hall was decided on. However, they were removed from the Bartels Building to the second story of the old Central Fire Station on the south side of Lawrence street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets before the new City Hall was erected, and stayed there until 1883, when the new municipal Capitol was finished.

The city government has not had occasion to engage in the construction of many large public works. Neither sewerage nor street grading has entailed the slightest engineering difficulties, and a few short bridges have overcome the not very serious obstacles interposed by the Platte river and Cherry creek. The City Hall and the Fourteenth street viaduct are the two conspicuous structures erected by the city.

The City Hall, completed in 1883, is in many respects a regrettable edifice. As a building it is a fine and substantial one, but it is lamentably destitute of attractive architectural elements. Its location is unfortunately bad, and the configuration of the plot of ground on which it stands was the chief obstacle in the way of making it such a building as the permanent home of Denver's city government should have been. Including the site it represents an outlay of about $325,000, a sum that should have produced a structure far more creditable. However, it is to be said that the City Hall in its exterior aspects does not do itself justice; and so far as capacity and utility can compensate for architectural poverty it is entitled to generous consideration. During its period of construction and for several years afterward its name and fame were associated with certain processes which, in the public mind, are regarded as almost inseparable from the application of "practical politics" to the management of large municipal expenditures. How much of truth and how much of mere surmise there were in these theories would be hard to specify; and would be of little value or importance now, even if some one should come forward and tell us all about them. In that period building was an expensive business.

The great viaduct, which is practically an extension of Fourteenth street to "North Denver," was opened to traffic late in September, 1899. Though



Looking across upper lake, Casino in distance. From bank of upper lake, lower lake in distance.
Views in City Park—Photographed by James H. Brown, Jr.

the approach to it at the "East Denver" end extends from Market street, the structure, proper, begins at Blake, spans the numerous railway tracks between that street and the river, crosses the Platte, and terminates at Platte street; a distance of 4,276 feet, or about four-fifths of a mile. Its cost was $367,068, which was assessed on about 30,000 different city lots more or less benefited by the improvement; the assessments ranging from $4.35 to $71.80 per lot. This fine improvement, of such great benefit to "North Denver," was first proposed back in the middle "Eighties." Its construction was primarily undertaken by property-owners on both sides of the river who, in the winter of 1887-88 organised the Fourteenth Street Viaduct Association, of which M. J. McNamara was elected President, and C. B. Gurley, Secretary; with General R. W. Woodbury as Trustee for the interested property-owners. The Association obtained some financial aid from the city and from the State, and began construction which was slowly continued three or four years. Financial conditions then incapacitated the organization for further progress, and work was suspended for several years. Finally, the Board of Public Works took the viaduct in hand and built it as it now stands. It is quite a different structure from the one contemplated by the Association, and the elaborate plans upon which it was fortunately built required the displacement of nearly all construction made by the old Association.

The viaduct extending Twenty-third street across railroad tracks and the river, a distance of 2,790 feet, was built in 1887. Excepting a few spans of steel bridge, it is a ramshackle wooden trestle affair unworthy to long exist. Of the Sixteenth street and Larimer street viaducts, which were built by the old Denver City Cable Railway Company, some account is given in our history of the street railway system. The Board of Public Works had under consideration at the close of our record the construction of a great viaduct of steel from the intersection of Seventh and Colfax Avenues in "West Denver," across the river, on the line of Colfax, bifurcating it on the west side to Boulevard F, and toward Villa Park. The plans for this improvement call for expenditure of about $700,000.

In the approximately fifty square miles of territory within Denver's corporate limits—an area about double that of the city of Cincinnati—there are about 830 miles of dedicated streets, the general width of which is sixty feet, though some are wider. To be sure, in parts of the outskirts they are not all very well-developed streets, but everything can not be done at once. At the close of 1900 there were, wholly in the business and Capitol Hill districts, 16.40 miles of asphalt-paved streets; 2.29 of stone block; 2.07 of macadam; and 3.26 miles of miscellaneously paved alleys; making a total of 24.02 miles of paved public ways, at a total cost of $2,000,258; with preparations made for very extensive immediate additions to this paved mileage. The first asphalt paving was laid down in 1892, the stone block paving having been introduced several years before. The mileage of the broad, smooth, stone side-walks is practically co-extensive with that of the graded streets, and reaches somewhere far up in the hundreds of miles—probably quite enough to make a wide foot walk from Denver to Omaha and from there down to Kansas City.

Denver was without a sewer system for nearly twenty years after its founding, having depended on surface drainage during that period. The public need for a general system of sewerage had become apparent as early as 1873, and at that time was the subject of much discussion. But the proposition did not take practical form until 1875-76, when the beginning of the underground work was made. Engineer H. C. Lowrie planned the first system, the construction of which was largely done under his direction. Though it was laid down with a view to future needs as well as those of that time, the estimates of what the future would bring were far short of the later development. Therefore the original system had to be greatly amplified in the districts it was planned to serve, and new and independent systems laid down for the later and vastly expanded built-up area of the city. The general sewerage system now comprises 254 miles of underground work, that cost $2,906,087; with new construction for several large districts pending at the time of this writing. All discharges are received by the Platte river, and it would seem probable that that small and often attenuated stream will presently be unable to move the discharges from the growing city, and thus compel the adoption of other methods of sewage disposition. Between the demands upon it for irrigation and the burdens imposed by the city sewers, the Platte is destined soon to become a most disreputable water-way.

The population of Denver is, to an unusual proportion, of American birth, the ratio as compared with that of sister cities in the United States being as follows:

Denver	76.14	Jersey City	67.27
Cincinnati	75.95	Buffalo	65.00
Alleghany	75.15	Boston	64.73
Omaha	75.05	Minneapolis	63.24
St. Louis	74.57	Cleveland	62.85
Philadelphia	74.26	Milwaukee	61.08
Rochester, N. Y.	70.29	Detroit	60.31
Providence, R. I.	69.45	St. Paul	60.06
Newark, N. J	69.44	Chicago	59.02
Pittsburgh	69.29	New York	57.77
Brooklyn	67.54	San Francisco	57.59

The census of 1890 enumerated 106,713 inhabitants of Denver, of whom 81,249 were born in the United States, and 25,464 in other countries. Of the native born, 15,282 originated in Colorado, these having been when that census was taken mostly young people and children. The 65,967 born elsewhere in the United States were, according to that census, distributed as follows:

New York	8,545	Michigan	2,021
Illinois	7,693	Wisconsin	1,963
Ohio	6,731	Kentucky	1,506
Pennsylvania	5,477	Nebraska	1,381
Iowa	4,899	Maine	934
Missouri	4,577	Virginia	855
Indiana	3,093	Connecticut	807
Kansas	2,662	Other States and Territories	10,655
Massachusetts	2,148		

The 25,464 of foreign birth were credited as follows:

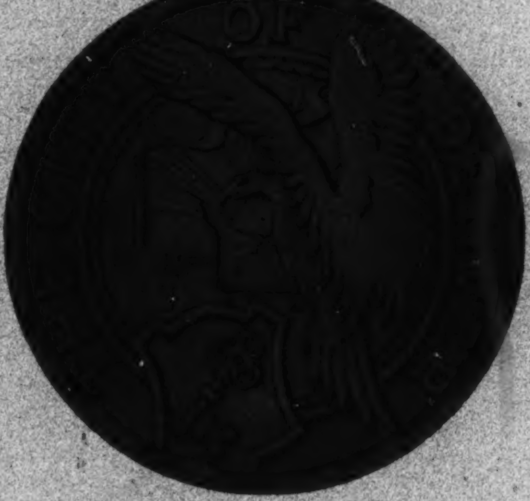
Germany	5,373	Canada	2,672
Great Britain	5,061	Italy	608
Ireland	4,216	Other countries	3,912
Sweden	3,622		

All the foregoing statistical figures are from the report of the census of 1890, that being the latest authority in which such analyses are found in trustworthy form. Similar statistics based on the census of 1900 will probably not be available until late in 1901; but they will show very largely increased proportions of native-born, and especially of Colorado-born, persons.

The population of Denver on June 1, 1900, according to the United States census, was 133,859,—about one-fourth the population of the State—a gain in ten years of 27,146. For convenience we repeat here the figures for 1880, and 1890: in 1880 the population was 35,629; in 1890, 106,713, a gain in ten years of 199.51 per cent. The percentage of gain from 1890 to 1900 was 25.44. In a subsequent chapter some reference is made to circumstances and conditions tending toward an explanation of this much reduced percentage of decennial gain.

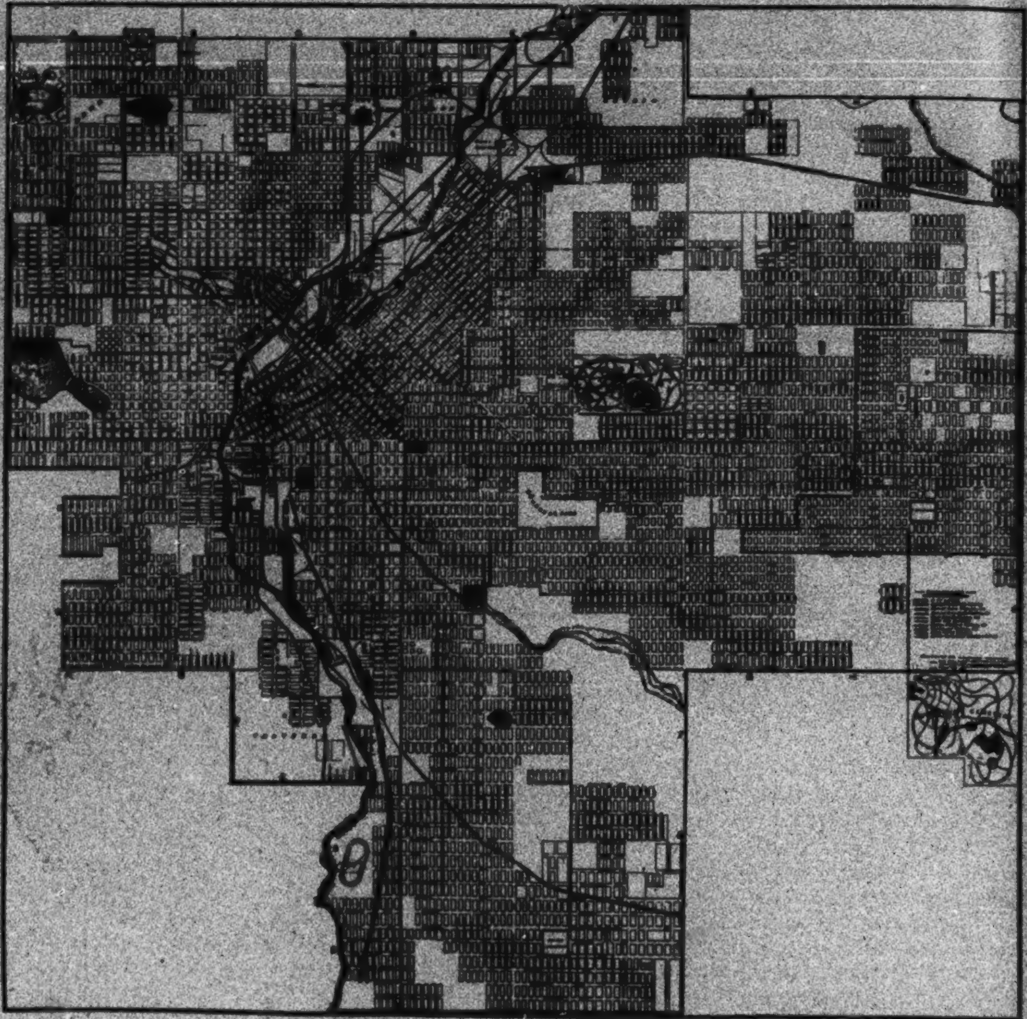
Since 1890 our Bureau of Health had based its mortality ratio upon the presumption of a greater annual increase of the city's population than the census of 1900 confirmed. The population estimates of the Health Bureau were, for 1891, 113,874; for 1892, 120,000; for 1893, 125,000; for 1894, 140,000; for 1895, 145,000; for 1896, 150,000; for 1897, 160,000; for 1898, 167,000; for 1899, 170,000; and for 1900, 175,000. Using these estimates as a basis, the mortality ratio appeared to be unusually low; excluding fatal cases of consumption contracted elsewhere, the deaths annually in each 1,000 of population were about 9.50. But as the recent census proved these population estimates to have been much too high, the corrected mortality ratio, based upon mortality in 1900 and the official census, is 13.63, excluding deaths of non-residents who had been sojourning here; but including deaths of such persons the ratio is about 17.50. While the ratio directly chargeable to the city is not a high one, it is greater than that of either of several other American cities with which Denver may be classed in population statistics. Usually, however, the maximum ratio is taken for comparisons, and in this Denver pays a penalty for the genial, attractive, health-restoring climate she possesses.

There were 2,356 deaths in Denver in the year 1900, tuberculosis having claimed far the larger number of victims, with pneumonia, heart disease, and death by violence, as specific causes, standing next, in order as named. Of every 1,000 recent deaths in Denver about 250 were due to tuberculosis; but in the great majority of cases the malady was contracted elsewhere. A rather curious feature of the city's vital statistics is the fact that in births male children distinctly predominate. Of the 2,401 births in the city in 1900, 1,322 were of males and 1,079 of females. In the United States, east of the Mississippi river, the ratio is generally favorable to girls.



Seal of the City of Denver, designed by Henry Read and adopted February 28, 1901.

Denver has not yet reached the stage at which suburban towns supply a great public need. There is yet no crowding, nor does it seem that Denver ever will become a crowded city, for there is no lack of room for expansion. Still, there are nearly a score of suburban localities bearing distinctive names. A portion of them are separate civil divisions, while others have been politically annexed to the city, proper; though when established the latter were also separate communities. The city's great corporate area includes nearly all these suburban places, several of which have their own municipal governments and are not under the city's jurisdiction—small wheels working independently within the larger one. By the census of 1900 these still independent towns had populations aggregating about 7,000. All these suburban places are accessible by the electric railways, and in most



Map of Denver in 1900. Reduced from the Rollandet Company's copyrighted map.

instances the lines of demarcation between city and suburban towns are not apparent to the casual observer.

Argo, in the central-northern part of the city was, as we have previously stated, established in 1878, when the Boston and Colorado Smelter was removed to Denver and located in that section of the present area of the city. The incorporation of Argo was authorized at an election held November 22, 1879, and its certificate of incorporation was filed with the Secretary of State January 12, 1880. Though within the city limits, it continues under its own village form of government, and by the census of 1900 had a population of 443. All the following suburban population figures are those of the census of 1900.

Aurora, a hamlet beyond Montclair and outside the city's eastern limits, was established in 1891, but it does not appear to have been incorporated, has no municipal history, and did not figure in the census.

Barnum, in the southwestern part of the city, on a branch of the Denver, Lakewood & Golden railroad, was platted on land acquired early in the "Eighties" by P. T. Barnum, the one-time famous showman, and for whom it was named. It was incorporated as a village August 27, 1887, and on September 3, 1896, was annexed to the city. Barnum is now a well improved part of Denver.

Berkeley, in the northwestern corner of the city area, was formerly the outlying village of "North Denver," a repetition of the common designation applied to that general section of the city to the north and northwest of the Platte river. This village of North Denver was incorporated June 25, 1892. On April 13, 1898, a certificate changing its name to "Berkeley" was filed with the Secretary of State. It has a population of 707 people, and they still prefer to retain their village government.

Colfax, across the Platte, in the western part of the city, was incorporated as a village May 14th, 1891; and on February 1, 1895, was annexed to Denver. It was one of the consequences of the city's rapid expansion in 1888-93.

Elyria, in the central-northern part of the city, was platted in March, 1881, by A. C. Fisk, President, and C. F. Laimer, Secretary; of the Denver Land and Improvement Company. On July 21, 1890, its citizens voted to incorporate as a village, and the certificate was filed August 2, 1890; and it has since continued under its independent local government. Its population is 1,384.

Fletcher, just beyond Denver's eastern boundary, and a close neighbor of Aurora, was incorporated as a village May 1, 1891, and has a population of 202. It remains an independent municipality, but like Aurora, it is a hamlet in fact; the population of that entire district not being very large.

Globeville, in the central-northern section of the city, on the westward side of the Platte and between Elyria and Argo was, as elsewhere mentioned, a consequence of the Globe Smelter having succeeded in that locality the former small Holden Smelter in 1889, at which time the town was laid out. It was incorporated as a village July 9, 1891, and is still under its independent government. By the census of 1900 Globeville had a population of 2,192—sufficient to advance it to a city of the second-class, under State law.

Harman, in the southeastern part of the great area included within the city's present boundary lines, was founded by L. B. Harman, in March, 1882. It appears that at an election held October 26, 1882, its citizens voted to incorporate, but its certificate of incorporation was not filed with the Secretary of State until November 19, 1886. It was annexed to Denver on February 20, 1895.

Highlands, having had in 1890 a population of 5,161, and now constituting a large portion of the "North Denver" section of the city, was laid out early in the "Seventies," and incorporated as a village by the County Commissioners on April 8, 1875, upon petition of H. B. Bearce, F. D. Hager, P. H. McGowan, Owen E. Le Fevre, John H. Hager, J. H. Newcomb, C. J. Wolff, T. R. Warner, S. Ferguson, H. A. Sleight, J. H. Morrison, W. H. Hager, C. W. Wright, T. W. Poole, J. E. Ayers, John Howland and A. P. Taylor; the town's area embracing almost two square miles of territory—nearly the whole of Sections twenty-nine and thirty-two. On November 4, 1885, it was incorporated as a city, as which it independently continued until July 24, 1896, when it was annexed to Denver. Its citizens had voted in favor of annexation some time before that, but a minority opposed the union which was not accomplished until after rather vigorous litigation finally confirmed it and directed that the will of the majority should have effect.

Manchester, on the west side of the Platte, south of the city, is the hamlet location of the Overland Cotton Mills to which the existence of the place is due. It is not an incorporated village.

Montclair, two miles east of the Capitol building by way of Colfax Avenue, and within the city's boundaries, is regarded as the most attractive of Denver's suburban towns. It was founded and platted in May, 1885, by Mathias F. Cochrane, and incorporated October 5, 1888; Cochrane becoming its first Mayor. At that time his domain was mostly open and unoccupied prairie, and his town had a hard time in getting a start, as it was then far outside the city. It now contains some fine residences, among them being a large one built of stone by the late Baron W. B. Richthofen in the fashion of a castle on the Rhine. He was one of Montclair's most active promoters, and died a few years since. Montclair retains its village form of government and scorns all proposals for an union with Denver. Its population is 415.

Petersburg, on the east side of the Platte, and adjoining the city on the south, was laid out in September, 1873, by former County Commissioner Peter Magnus, who came to Colorado in 1859, and was elected to his first term as Commissioner in the autumn of 1866. The town has not yet had very much development, and has not been incorporated. 506 people in that election precinct.

Sheridan, lying between the southwestern limits of the city and the Fort Logan reservation, was laid out by Isaac E. McBroom in November, 1887. Its incorporation was authorized at an election held February 18, 1890, but its certificate was not filed until April 16, 1892. The town includes a large area with a population of 442.

South Denver, another of the annexed towns, was laid out in March, 1874, by William Hodgson, Joseph H. Hodgson, Susan E. Poole, Theodore W. Poole, Francis M. Hawes, and William J. Morgan. While it is now mostly a built-up part of the city, it was when platted, some distance outside the Denver of those days. Its territory was that now traversed by south Broadway beyond Alameda Avenue, and east of the Platte river. South Denver was not incorporated until August 14, 1886. It remained under an independent village government until February 7, 1894, when it was annexed.

Valverde, on the west side of the Platte, in the southwestern part of the city area, was laid out in July, 1882, but was not incorporated as a village until September 29, 1892. Several manufacturing establishments are located there, and the place has a local government with a population of 665.

Villa Park, the last of the list, is merely a locality in the western part of the city, having, like Aurora and Manchester, a distinctive name of its own. It is a constituent part of Denver that was never independently incorporated, and did not figure separately in the census.

CHAPTER LVIII.

Pioneer Newspaper Annals—Rocky Mountain News—Rocky Mountain Herald—Mountaineer—First Typographical Union—Pioneer Conditions—Denver Gazette—Newspapers and Newspaper Enterprises of the Middle Period—Special and Miscellaneous Publications—Denver Tribune—Later History of the Rocky Mountain News—History of the Denver Times, of the Denver Republican, and of the Denver Post—Character of Denver Daily Newspapers—Present Special and Miscellaneous Publications—"Newspaper Graveyard."

In various preceding chapters of this volume has appeared much of the history of the pioneer newspapers of Denver, as their relations to and associations with other events required accounts of them to be given in somewhat chronological connection with those of the historic work of laying the foundations of this city and State. In this continuation of newspaper annals, intended to outline their more important features to the close of the Nineteenth Century, some repetition of statement is intentionally made for the reader's convenience and for convenience of reference.

The appearance here on April 23, 1859, of the Rocky Mountain News, marked an epoch in the affairs not only of the pioneer community at the mouth of Cherry creek, but in those of the whole Rocky Mountain country. The paper preserved much of the primitive history of that eventful year in this region, and no other single agency did so much to hearten the people, to uphold the right, and to lead the way through the many difficulties that beset the paths of those who founded Colorado and its Queen City. It was the valiant champion of the new country under oft discouraging conditions; and the defender of faith in the ultimate triumph that would come to those who were steadfast. It rose above the trials and disappointments of the day and pointed, with what would now seem to have been the gift of prophecy, to that which the future held for town and country.

Still, the fact that Auraria possessed the only newspaper published at the mouth of Cherry creek, was a sore grievance to the people of "Denver City" in the spring and summer of 1859. The Directors of the Denver Town Company determined to do something toward removing that disadvantage, and after the arrival of Horace Greeley and Albert D. Richardson in June of that year, solicited the latter to supply the not long-felt but much-felt want. Richardson was then inclined to permanently remain here, and so gave the matter serious consideration. Therefore, we find the following entry in the record of the Denver Town Company under date June 24, 1859:

> "Board met to make arrangements with A. D. Richardson to establish a paper in Denver City. A proposition was read from Mr. Richardson to print a weekly News paper equal in size to the Rocky Mountain News. The Board voted a donation of 25 lots in Denver City; 2 select & 23 draw lots for the establishment of said paper, with stipulations to be agreed upon."

But the "stipulations" were never agreed upon, Richardson abandoned the enterprise, and the lot subsidy was later "rescinded" by the Directors. In the meantime, in September, the News had been removed from the second story of Wooton's building to the east side of Cherry creek to temporary quarters in a log building that stood on or near the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Market streets. Byers and Dailey had acquired from the Auraria Town Company some lots on the north side of Market street between the creek and Thirteenth street, and the change to the east side was intended as a temporary arrangement until they could erect on one of those lots a hewed log building of their own as a home for their paper. Having failed with Richardson, the Denver City Directors thought they saw in these circumstances, an opportunity to permanently secure the News for their town. Therefore, on October 8th Hickory Rogers was appointed "a committee of one to negotiate with Mr. Byers in reference to him locating his press permanently in Denver City." On October 15th Mr. Rogers reported favorably on his negotiations, and the action indicated by the following was then taken by the Directors:

> "On motion of Judge Smith a donation of 4 select lots and 20 draw lots be given to W. N. Byers for making his paper a Denver City paper, and Denver City his place of business."

Director William Clancey was appointed a committee "to close contracts with Mr. Byers," and at a meeting of the Directors held on December 5th their record says "the committee on the Byers case reported that Mr. Byers would accede to any proposition we might require of him." So, at their meeting of December 12th, on motion of Mr. Curtis, it was resolved "that an agreement be drawn up between the Denver City Town Co. and Mr. Byers Binding him to issue his paper for one year in the City, and the Secretary be instructed to give him a Certificate for his lots by his So doing." But "the Byers case" was not to be summarily disposed of by a one-sided arrangement, and he was not willing to "accede to any proposition." Meanwhile Byers and Dailey had erected on one of their Market street lots in Auraria—the one on the westward corner of the alley—a long, one-story and attic hewed-log building. Caring little for the pending negotiations, they moved the News into it on December 27, 1859; thus re-locating the paper on the Auraria side. As we have previously mentioned, the front part of the building was occupied by the printing office, and Mr. and Mrs. Byers lived in the rear portion.

But this move did not cause the Denver City Directors to abandon hope of having the News moved back to their side. Thinking a little coercion might be effective, they resolved on January 9, 1860, that "the Secretary be instructed to notify Mr. Byers he is requested to Either accept or reject the donation tendered him by the Company by next meeting of the Board as the Board cannot extend the donation." This failing dismally, the Directors abandoned the old negotiations and undertook an entirely new treaty which on February 14th was by resolution committed to the care of Judge N. G. Wyatt. While this new phase of "the Byers case" was pending, another publisher proposed to supply the want in Denver City, but the Board held him off on March 12th, under which date their record says: "The subject of donating lots to Conklin for printing press &c being brought before the board, on Motion the same was laid on the table." Some weeks thereafter, Judge Wyatt concluded an agreement with Byers and Dailey by which the latter were to build a new printing office in the bed of Cherry creek at the Market street crossing, and thus place the News practically as much in one town as in the other; the Denver Town Company having claimed the creek bed and having platted lots in it. By that time Byers and Dailey, as related toward the close of this chapter in some further account of the News, had taken two newcomers, Rounds and Bliss, into partnership, the four doing business as the "News Printing Company."

On June 25th the Denver City Directors con-

William N. Byers, a native of Ohio, was born near the village of West Jefferson, Madison county, that State, on February 22, 1831. His father, Moses W. Byers, was a farmer who had located in that Ohio county when that country was but little changed from the conditions of a wilderness; and his mother, Mary A. Brandenburg, was of a family that early settled in what is now Miami county, Ohio, in the beautiful Miami valley. The subject of this sketch spent his boyhood on his father's farm, attended the primitive district school of the neighborhood in his earlier years, and then entered the West Jefferson Academy where, with his other studies, he learned surveying. When he was about seventeen years old he was employed in hauling ties for the old Cleveland, Columbus & Cincinnati Railroad; his father having taken a contract to supply ties for a long stretch of that pioneer Ohio road, which passed through the home farm. In 1850 the elder Byers with his family removed to Muscatine, Iowa; and at that time what was called the "frontier" was about half way across that State.

Young Byers did not long remain at Muscatine, though for some years afterward he regarded it as his home. In 1851 he joined a United States surveying party organized for work in western Iowa—on the Missouri river slope of that State—and with which he was engaged through that season and in the spring of 1852. In the summer of 1852 he joined a party bound for Oregon, and with it crossed the plains by way of the Platte river and Fort Laramie, and thence to the Pacific coast by way of the old Oregon Trail. The party was 145 days on the journey and, after a few days' travel from the Missouri river, saw no white men's habitations except those at Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, the fur-trading posts of Forts Hall and Boise, and the Umatilla Indian Agency, until arriving at Oregon City, on the Willamette river. In Oregon Mr. Byers was attached to an United States surveying party engaged in work in that region, and remained with it until the close of the summer of 1853. While thus employed he ran the first township lines in what is now the State of Washington. In the autumn of 1853 he traversed the gold-fields of California, and then went to San Francisco.

Mr. Byers returned to Iowa by way of the Pacific ocean and the Isthmus of Panama late in the autumn of 1853, reaching his home at Muscatine in the last week in December of that year, where he remained but a short time. Congress having in the spring of 1854 created the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, an inviting field for enterprising and ambitious young men was opened west of the Missouri river. In the summer of 1854 Mr. Byers located in Omaha, a metropolis then represented by a partly surveyed and platted town-site of magnificent distances and one lonely log-cabin. He was soon employed in completing the platting of the town, and afterward on survey work in the eastern part of the Territory for the United States. On this last-mentioned work he ran the first Township and sub-division lines in that Territory. He was, also, elected a member of the first Legislative Assembly of Nebraska Territory, and in that position assisted in putting in motion the official machinery of the new Territorial government. Upon the organization of the municipal government of the "city" of Omaha, he was elected a member of the Board of Aldermen, and for two years served in that position. He remained a citizen of Omaha until early in 1859. He had heard the reports from the Pike's Peak country in the summer and autumn of 1858, and had resolved to cluded that "Byers & Co. be asked to give bond for compliance with contract, and to build house on lots to value of $500 in 90 days." As the contract did not provide for a bond, and as "Byers & Co." had prepared to do better than the bargain required, they declined to give bond; and rendered one unnecessary by immediately constructing a roomy frame building on stilts right over the bed of Cherry creek, on the northward side of the Market street crossing, but on the west side of the creek bed; yet practically midway between the main divisions of the city. On July 13th the Denver City Directors "rescinded" their action of June 25th and instructed their Secretary "to issue certificates of Stock" to the proprietors of the News; and so ended "the Byers case."

The "News Company" moved into their new quarters that midsummer, and on August 27, 1860, issued from that building the first number of the Daily Rocky Mountain News. The paper remained in that home builded upon the sand until the building and all it contained were carried away by the flood of May, 1864. Among the equipment was the first power printing press brought to the Rocky Mountain country—a clumsy Northrup cylinder "thrashing Machine."

The Aurarians having soon learned of the later negotiations afoot for the permanent location of the News in Denver City, had at once cast about for a successor newspaper in their town. They were several weeks in finding a prospective publisher, but at a meeting of the Auraria Town Company's Directors held March 13, 1860, they

"Resolved, That there be given to R. W. Furnas a liberal donation for the location of a Press for the publication of a local News Paper, provided he arrives by about the first of June."

Furnas failed to arrive with his press "by about the first of June," or at any other time. But, as we have seen, Auraria had not been deprived of the pioneer News, nor was she until a long time afterward. However, instead of being paperless in the spring of 1860, as she had anticipated, she had another beside the News.

The reader will recall our earlier statement that Thomas Gibson the partner of William N. Byers in establishing the News in April, 1859, sold his interest in it to John L. Dailey about three months later, and, having previously traded for Merrick's little printing outfit, took it to Mountain (Central) City and there began publishing the "Rocky Mountain Gold Reporter and Mountain City Herald," a small four-page paper. This paper did not survive the early snows of autumn, and its publisher

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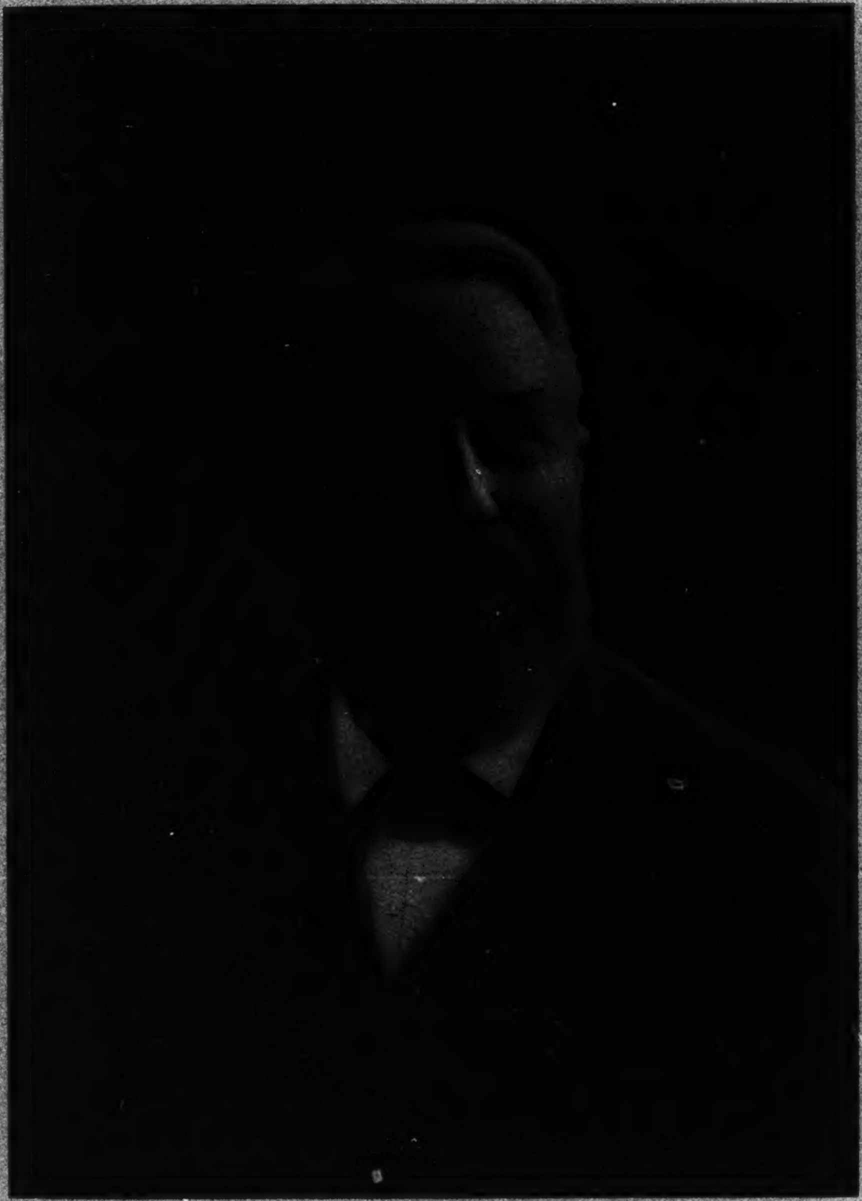
set out for it at once, but was prevented doing so by an accidental gun-shot wound that came near being a fatal one. In the meantime, being familiar with the Platte river route to the west, and having encountered several men who had returned from the Pike's Peak region late in the autumn of 1858, he prepared and published his "Pike's Peak Guide" to which we have elsewhere referred.

Though he had had no experience whatever as a newspaper editor and publisher, and with but limited means at his command, Mr. Byers decided toward the close of 1858 that he would effect arrangements under which he and others would take to the new gold region the equipment and material for the publication of a newspaper. Of the consummation of those arrangements, of the coming to Denver of that newspaper equipment, of Mr. Byers' arrival here on April 17, 1859, and of the appearance here of the Rocky Mountain News on April 23rd, all the circumstances are elsewhere in this volume related in detail.

The life-history of Mr. Byers since he became a citizen of Denver at that time, forms a large part of the history of the city as narrated in many Chapters of this work. As will have been seen by the reader, his name is encountered almost everywhere in the Story of Denver, in the preparation of which it became to the writer a matter of much personal interest to ascertain whether anything of commanding importance in the city's history had been consummated without Mr. Byers' personal participation. The reader who follows the Story to its close will not need to be told that the exceptions to the rule are very few, and that even in most of the exceptions the indirect influence of this eminent figure in the annals of Denver is apparent. For this reason it is not deemed necessary in this note to enter into the particulars of his long and useful life in this city; for they are interwoven in the larger part of the contents of this volume. Nor is it needful to refer at length to his personality. The thousands who personally know him know what it is, and know the sterling worth of our ranking pioneer; and those who do not so know him, may see the man's nature revealed in the lines and expression of the accompanying portrait from a recent photograph, and in the picture read the character that made him a leader among men as it has made him beloved by the people of a great community and a great State.

It has been the fortune, or the opportunity, whichever it may be termed, of but few men to have witnessed so wonderful a development of an empire as that which has come within the lifetime of William N. Byers, and to have so conspicuously participated in the causes that wrought it. He has seen the majestic panorama of civilization unroll from the Mississippi river to the Pacific Ocean over the plains and mountains he traversed as a pioneer in the vast domain; and it would seem, than he, no man bore a nobler, more unselfishly useful, part in preparing the way for it.

With the establishment of the News in April, 1859, the local record and perpetuation of the history of Denver and of Colorado began. In that and succeeding pioneer years Mr. Byers carefully explored, and intelligently described in his newspaper, nearly every part of the area now within the State, pointing out the great natural resources and urging their development, tracing the streams to their sources, witnessing the founding of towns and hamlets, and giving to the outside world through his reports its earliest and best intelligence of the possibilities and development of the Denver region; and in two notable instances as elsewhere related, he was directly instrumental in locating in



William N. Byers.

returned east for the winter. In the spring of 1860 Mr. Gibson came to Denver with a new printing outfit which he installed in a building on the southwest corner of Larimer and Twelfth streets; and, on May 1, 1860, made the first issue of the "Daily Rocky Mountain Herald," the first daily newspaper in the Rocky Mountain country. A furious warfare soon broke out between the Herald and the News which continued about as long as Mr. Gibson published his paper, and into which was injected a great deal of unseemly and unnecessary acrimony, notwithstanding that the two papers were of the same political faith. On July 1, 1862, the name of the paper was changed to the "Daily Commonwealth and Republican," Thomas Gibson & Co., publishers; and enlarged to six columns to the page. In that issue it declared itself to be "a Republican Union Journal." At the time this change was made it was rather generally understood that Governor Gilpin had become the partner of Mr. Gibson and was represented by the "Co." of the firm name. At the close of 1863 the paper was sold to Major Simeon Whitely who took possession on January 1, 1864, and Mr. Gibson retired from the Denver newspaper arena and returned to Omaha where he lived thereafter. While Whitely was the nominal purchaser and owner, it was no secret that he in reality acted for Governor John Evans. Within a month after the Rocky Mountain News establishment had been utterly destroyed by flood, Byers and Dailey completed negotiations for buying the Commonwealth and its equipment, and resumed publication of their paper; the Commonwealth then passing out of existence.

Office of the Rocky Mountain News destroyed by the Cherry creek flood of May, 1864.

The little press with which, as mentioned in

Colorado two great colonies of eastern people about the time the first railway was completed to Denver. Having passed through all the storms of the primitive era here, he was a leader in every movement to secure Statehood for Colorado, and in every other that promised improvement in conditions and advancement of the people's welfare. The favorite of the people, nothing but the unworthy strifes of contending political factions kept him from becoming the first Governor of the State; a position for which he was in every way most eminently qualified.

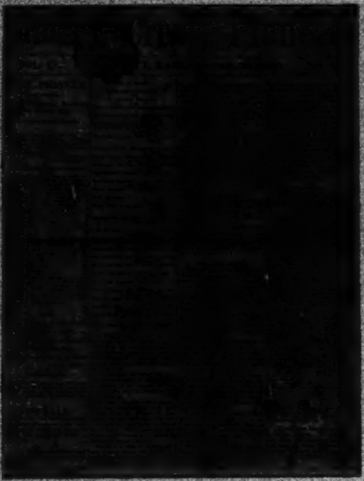
Though, as already said, Mr. Byers had had, prior to his coming hither with the material for publishing the Rocky Mountain News, no experience in editing and publishing a newspaper, he immediately developed into an editor of unusual ability, and of physical and moral courage of the highest type. His energy and fearlessness, the intimate knowledge of the entire region that he made his business to acquire, his faith in its resources and destiny, his incessant labors for its development and welfare, resulted in a personal identification with affairs and events in the progress of this city and this Commonwealth that has rarely been equalled anywhere. At the time he retired from the News, he had become the embodiment of the annals of the city and State in which he had for nineteen years been one of the chief directing forces; and in the esteem of the people he seemed, more than any other man, to personally represent and recall all that had been done here. The growth and character of his newspaper had, also, reflected in its own advancement the rise and progress of the city, and of the Territory that had two years before become at last a State of the Union; and for each and all of which its editor had so tirelessly labored through the years of his service.

Mr. Byers had been appointed Postmaster at Denver in 1864 and, after a little more than two years, had resigned on account of the pressure of his private business. Having sold and retired from the News in May, 1878, he was again appointed Postmaster, in March, 1879, and served through a term of four years and a few months. At the close of his term he withdrew from his more active participation in business affairs and gave attention to his accumulated interests in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado. When the Tramway Company was proposed he took part in the organization of that corporation, and ever since has been interested in and identified with it, having long been, as he now is, its Vice President.

Although, at the time of this writing, Mr. Byers has just passed his seventieth birthday, he is yet a hale and sturdy man who might readily lop off ten or fifteen years from the figures of record, notwithstanding his earlier adventurous life of many hardships and perils. With the old-time spirit as young as ever, his interest in the progress and well-being of his city and State is undiminished, and as of old he continues to promptly respond to many calls for his services from them and from his fellow-citizens.

In November, 1854, Mr. Byers married Miss Elisabeth M. Sumner, of Muscatine, Iowa—a granddaughter of former Governor Lucas of Ohio and later Governor of Iowa—and that union formed nearly a half-century ago, remains unbroken. Mrs. Byers did not accompany her husband on his first journey to Denver, but soon after he had established the News he went to Omaha where she had awaited him at their home in that town, and they crossed the plains that summer, arriving in Denver on August 3rd. They have two surviving children; Frank S. Byers, of Grand county, Colorado; and Mrs. William F. Robinson, of Denver.—J. C. S.

Chapter XXV, Merrick printed the first and only issue of his "Cherry Creek Pioneer," later became of great utility to Colorado newspaper founders. After Thomas Gibson discontinued his Gold Reporter at Mountain City, the press (which was the first one brought to Denver) and its accompanying small equipment were sold by him about the close of 1859 to the "Boston Company," as the founders of Golden called themselves. The new custodians established at Golden the "Western Mountaineer," which was printed on the Merrick press, but in a few months the paper was enlarged and the old press discarded. The little machine was next taken to Canon City where, in the winter of 1860-61, it was used in printing the Canon City Times which existed only a few months. The press was next used in printing a little paper at Buckskin Joe in the South Park, in the spring of 1862, and which soon suspended. The press then came back to the News office in Denver and laid idle for several years. In January, 1866, a young man who had been employed on the News took the press to Valmont, near Boulder, and on it printed the Valmont Bulletin which was later moved to Boulder and became the enlarged "Boulder Valley Herald." The press was then taken to Elizabethtown, New Mexico, where it was again used for printing a small newspaper, and where it finally disappeared. Merrick, its one-time owner, returned east at the out-break of the civil war and served three years in an Illinois regiment. He then became an officer in a Kansas regiment of veterans, and while serving as Provost Marshal at Leavenworth was shot and killed.



First page of the Cherry Creek Pioneer.

The Western Mountaineer, at Golden, was published about one year. Through the winter of 1859-60 it was edited by Albert D. Richardson and Thomas W. Knox, who had been sojourning at Cherry creek, and who later became, for eastern newspapers, war correspondents of National reputation; and still later authors of wide repute. Both in after years published volumes of much interest in which they recounted their experiences in the west, including those in and around Denver; and from their writings we derived accounts of many interesting events in our pioneer times.

The summer of 1860 was a rather active one in Denver newspaper circles, for it brought still another new newspaper enterprise, which the vigilant Directors of the Denver Town Company secured for their division of the theoretically united community. On August 18th they met and—

"Resolved, That James T. Coleman proprietor of the Press be donated ten lots in Denver City, provided he Establishes & Maintains said paper in East Denver City."

John C. Moore, who was then "Mayor" of Denver under the "Jefferson Territory" "city charter," and whose authority and "city government," had by that time become extremely emaciated, became associated with Coleman in this venture. On August 25th they issued the first number of the "Daily and Weekly Mountaineer." The office was in the second story of William Graham's frame two-story building then on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, now commonly known as the "Riethmann corner." The Mountaineer was the first Democratic paper in this part of the country, and before its brief career closed it had become a paper of strong southern sentiments. Early in 1861 its publishers became anxious to dispose of their mechanical outfit in order that they might leave Denver and join the southern forces. One day in March of that year the proprietors of the News made them an offer for their little equipment and within ten minutes the deal was closed; and so the publication of the Mountaineer ceased. Coleman and Moore later became capable officers in the Confederate army.

It would seem that three daily newspapers in such a town as Denver was in 1860, were more than enough. Yet, in proportion to population their circulations were very large. In the isolated situation almost every man was eager to read a newspaper; and as the tension of political affairs in the States increased, the demand for the Denver papers became greater, both in the city and in the various mining camps; large numbers regularly going to the last-named places. The pioneer newspapers were ably conducted, with an individuality, intensity of purpose and profound earnestness that still strongly impresses one who studies their old files.

The business as well as the editorial rivalry between the Herald and the News had soon become very keen. Late in the autumn of 1860 the "News Company" arranged with the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company for a

View from intersection of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets looking across "West Denver" the morning after the Cherry creek flood of May, 1864.

daily news report to be transmitted by that company's Pony Express from St. Joseph to Denver. The first report, that of Abraham Lincoln's election was, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, received and published on November 13, 1860. As an example of newspaper enterprise this was, duly considering all the circumstances, equal to anything accomplished nowadays. This example was immediately followed by the Herald, and both papers were soon giving daily the substance of important news that was but a few days old. Then both papers opened branch business offices in Central City in the heart of the Clear creek mining districts, and both dispatched their papers thither and to intervening and adjacent towns by pony expresses of their own. For a short time in the autumn of 1860 the News issued a second daily edition called "The Bulletin," which contained much general information about the country and the progress of its development. The Mountaineer was less vigorous in its operations, and suffered from the rather common belief that it would not long endure, and which proved true. Editorially it was exceedingly peppery in its politics. In the autumn of 1860 the yearly subscription price of each daily paper was twenty-four dollars, and single copies sold for twenty-five cents.

Before a year had elapsed after the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News, the pioneer printer-compositors had organized an union. Among those who worked on the News was Charles S. Semper, a young compositor who set type for the first issue of the paper, and was mechanically engaged on it for several years afterward. In the autumn of 1859 he built a frame dwelling in Auraria, and on April 12, 1860, Denver Typographical Union, No. 49, was organized in that house, with John L. Merrick as President, George L. Sanborn, Secretary; and Semper, Treasurer. This was the first labor organization in what is now the State of Colorado. A scale of wages for printers was fixed, and the rules and regulations of the New Orleans Typographical Union temporarily adopted. Mr. Semper is still a citizen of Denver and still engaged at his old-time calling.

The foregoing part of this chapter deals with the history of the really pioneer newspapers of Denver—of those of the times when the nearest railroad was still on the Missouri river border, and which struggled against the trying circumstances and conditions of the strictly pioneer years. Although the pioneer era in Denver's history is considered in this volume as having continued until railroad construction reached the city, the conditions for newspapers were different and better in and after 1865. Still later in that decade the advancing railroads further improved these conditions and relieved newspaper publication here of many of its former difficulties and embarrassments.

In pioneer times the Denver newspapers were often troubled by delay of printing paper in the long haul across the plains. The plains freighters would make no contracts or assurances to deliver freight on or before a date desired by the consignee; nothing better than "we'll deliver when we get there" could be obtained. Therefore the pioneer publishers had to borrow and lend, the size of the papers was frequently reduced to fit anything that could be had, and occasionally editions were printed on colored and wrapping papers. Freights in those days were always much more than the cost of the paper at the Missouri river. During the Indian blockade beginning in the autumn of 1864 publishers were put to sore straits for stock, and the wrapping paper expedient was frequently in evidence. Upon several occasions even wrapping paper was not available.

One of the conspicuous local events in the spring of 1865 was the appearance of a new newspaper. On May 13th Frederick J. Stanton, who had been local editor of the Mountaineer of the earlier years and had done other newspaper work, issued the first number of the Denver Daily Gazette, a four-page paper, five columns to the page. Stanton had been what was then known as an Union, or "War," Democrat, and his paper, of which there was a weekly edition, also, was very ably Democratic in politics. The publication office, at first located on the east side of Fifteenth street, between Lawrence and Larimer streets, was later in that year removed to the north side of Blake street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, where it occupied the second story of the old Elephant Corrall building. Stanton published his paper until late in 1869. In September of that year he changed its name to the Denver Daily Times, and a month or so later sold the establishment to George Barnett and E. H. Saltiel who had theretofore been, respectively, associate editor, and local editor, of the paper. Under Barnett and Saltiel the Times collapsed, and about the close of 1869 ended its career. They soon afterward took a part of its mechanical equipment to Wyoming where they again tried their fortune in newspaper publishing.

Mr. Stanton, who is still a citizen of Denver, is a native (December 22, 1826,) of Northampton, England; the home of the Washingtons. Coming to America in 1851, he later located in Iowa, and in 1857 was Cashier and book-keeper of one of the banks in Des Moines. He came from Dubuque, Iowa, to Denver in 1860, and since then, with the exception of several years of service as Geologist of Wyoming, has been identified with the city. As will appear on a later page of this chapter, the Gazette was not his only newspaper undertaking in Denver. Since 1876 he has given almost exclusive attention to his profession of Geologist and Mining Engineer, and to affairs incident thereto; and is now so engaged.

The later years of the decade, 1860-70, were not prolific of new journalistic undertakings in the city. The only newspaper event of that period that was of commanding importance in results was the founding of the Denver Tribune that appeared in small form and under a modest name in February, 1867, but later became a vigorous and influential newspaper. On other pages of this chapter an account in some detail is given of the origin, advancement, and ultimate decline and disappearance of the Tribune from the Denver newspaper field.

In 1868 O. J. Goldrick, Denver's pioneer school teacher of whose services something further is told in Chapter LXI, established a weekly newspaper for which he revived the name of Thomas Gibson's pioneer daily, the "Rocky Mountain Herald." In the earlier times Goldrick had been a writer for the Rocky Mountain News and became regularly attached to that paper; a relation that continued until 1865. He then went to Salt Lake City and became interested in the publication of the "Daily Vidette," an anti-Mormon newspaper. Returning to Colorado, he became editor of the Central City "Daily Times" in 1867. Goldrick continued publication of his weekly Herald at Denver until his death in 1886. Subsequently the paper

John L. Dailey. From a recent photograph.

John L. Dailey is a native (November 19, 1838,) of Seneca county, Ohio. Learning the printer's trade in Fort Wayne, Ind., he went to Omaha in 1855 and worked on the Nebraskian, and later published the Dakota City Herald for upward of two years. His next move was to the mouth of Cherry creek in the spring of 1859; his subsequent connection with the printing business in Denver being related in this chapter. After his permanent retirement from it in 1874 he was interested in various other business enterprises until elected Treasurer of Arapahoe county in 1877; a position to which he was re-elected in 1879. He is still an honored citizen of Denver, and is now, as he has been for a long time, engaged in real estate transactions.—J. C. S.

was purchased by Halsey M. Rhoads who still continues it as a vigorous member of Denver's family of weekly publications.

The foregoing pages of this chapter contain all of noteworthy importance and interest in Denver newspaper annals in the pioneer era. After Goldrick began issuing his Herald, Denver's journalistic family received no additions that left definite footprints on the sands of time until the young metropolis had become fairly accustomed to the distinction of being a railroad town.

Frederick J. Stanton. Photographed about 1890.

Completion of railroads to Denver in 1870 was not, however, followed by so much of an upspringing of publications in the city as might have, under the stimulating consequences, been expected. The first city directory of the regular and uninterrupted series that is still continued was issued early in 1873. In that issue, under the classification, "Newspapers and Publications," are named the following six, their locations having been given according to the old street-names:

Colorado Journal, German, weekly, W. Witteborg, publisher and proprietor. E. side G street between Larimer and Holladay.

Colorado Monthly, J. H. Wilhelm, editor. N. side Holladay street, between F and G.

Daily Denver Times, R. W. Woodbury, editor and proprietor. E. side F. street between Larimer and Lawrence.

Rocky Mountain Herald, weekly, O. J. Goldrick, editor and proprietor. Tappan's Block, Holladay street, between E and F.

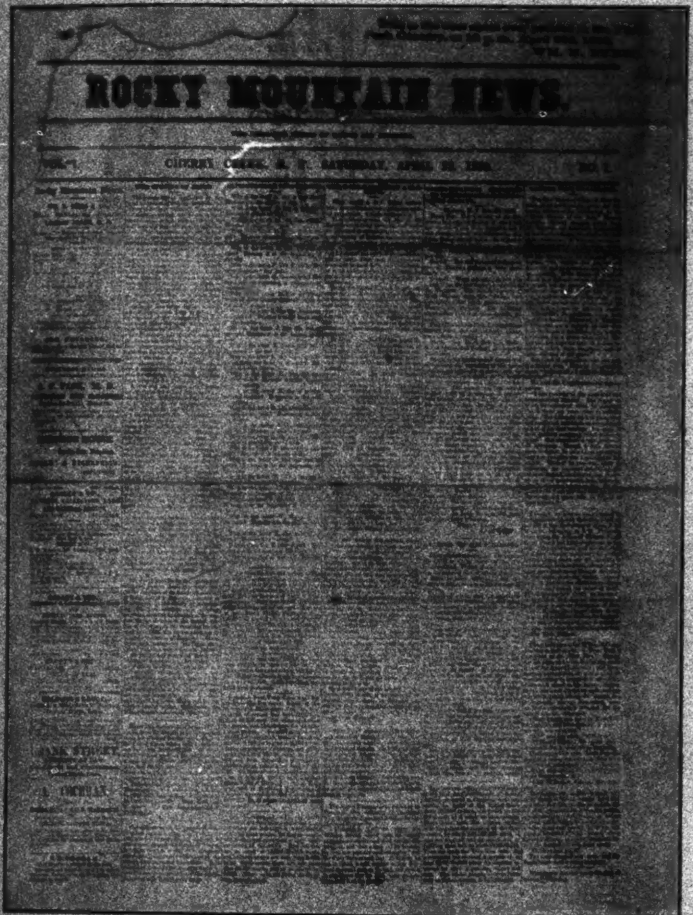
Rocky Mountain News, daily and weekly. W. N. Byers, editor and proprietor. News Block, N. side Larimer street, between F. and G.

The Denver Tribune, daily and weekly, Henry C. Brown, proprietor. F street, southeast cor. of Holladay.

Later in 1873 several new newspapers made their appearance in the city. August Gueck began publishing the weekly Colorado Courier at the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets; J. Bliman, the Denver Commercial, at (old) number 353 Market street; the Denver Daily World, a small sheet by the "World Publishing Company, proprietors," at (old) number 379 Market street. Each of these existed about one year. The fourth product of 1873, established in the autumn, was Stanley G. Fowler's Denver Mirror, published at (old) number 391 Lawrence street. This was the city's first Sunday newspaper, and was published by Fowler until late in 1876 when the Denver Mirror Company succeeded, and began issuing it on Saturday afternoon. Fowler continued as its editor until the paper passed out in the latter part of 1879.

The most important newspaper enterprise in Denver in 1874 brought into existence the Colorado Democrat. Previous efforts to permanently maintain here a Democratic newspaper had, as the reader has seen, proved unsuccessful; though Stanton's Gazette of the preceding decade had been continued upward of four years. In the spring of 1874 Thomas G. Anderson undertook the task of filling the apparent newspaper void in the city, and began publication from a moderately equipped establishment on the east side of Sixteenth street between Larimer and Lawrence streets, of the Colorado Democrat, daily and weekly; each issue being about the same size as that of the other city papers of that time. Anderson published the Democrat about six months when he sold it to Frederick J. Stanton, the former founder and publisher of the old Denver Daily Gazette. Anderson had made the Democrat a rather lively paper, but Stanton made it much more so. Immediately after buying it from Anderson he also had bought the steam job printing office of John L. Dailey & Co., (Dailey and Smart) then located on the north side of Market street (old number 379) between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, consolidated the two offices, and occupied Dailey and Smart's location. As proprietor and editor of the paper, Stanton made the Democrat one of the forceful institutions of the city, and published it until late in 1876 when, owing to financial reverses, he ceased to be its owner. In 1875 the publication office had been removed to (old) number 322 Blake street.

However, Stanton's misfortune did not terminate the Democrat's existence. The property immediately passed to Thomas G. Anderson (the paper's founder), Joseph Farmer and Benjamin D. Spencer, who continued publishing both daily and weekly editions with the name of the daily changed to Denver Daily Democrat; Spencer figuring as business manager. The publication office was removed to a small building at (old) number 371 Larimer street—about where the Railroad Building now stands. In 1877 J. D. Bristol became general manager, Spencer having withdrawn his interest and the paper having been published in that year and 1878 by "Farmer & Anderson, Proprietors." The Democrat was continued at 371 Larimer street under these proprietary interests until June, 1879, when it passed out of existence under circumstances the particulars of which are part of the initial history of the present Denver Republican, and which are related in our account of that newspaper appearing on a subsequent page.


ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS.

First page of the first copy of the Rocky Mountain News. The dimness is due to the "form" having been wet, thus preventing proper inking with the hand-roller.

The Colorado Journal, weekly, established in 1872 by W. Witteborg, was Denver's first German newspaper. Witteborg continued it until, in 1880, it passed to the Colorado Journal Publishing Company, in which he was an owner and manager. Later, Witteborg became identified with the Denver Herold, and altogether was engaged in German newspaper publishing here for many years. The Colorado Journal is now published at 1452 Blake street by the German Publishing Company, under the editorial and general management of Carl Moritz.

In the spring of 1875 Smith & McDonald began publication of the Colorado Sentinel at (old) number 386 Market street. The Sentinel was a small daily, with a weekly edition, also. The paper was continued a year or so and then gave up the ghost.

At the beginning of 1876, the year of Colorado's Statehood, there were only nine existing publications in the city; the city directory, published in January of that year, having named them as follows, the old name of Market street and the old street-numbers having then been in use:

Colorado Democrat, daily and weekly, Fred J. Stanton, editor and proprietor, 322 Blake street.

Colorado Farmer, weekly, J. F. Wilbur, manager. 210 Sixteenth street.

Colorado Journal, (German), weekly, W. Witteborg, proprietor. 402 Holladay street.

Colorado Sentinel, daily and weekly, Smith & Macdonald, editors and proprietors. 386 Holladay street.

Denver Mirror, published every Saturday morning, Stanley G. Fowler, editor and proprietor. 391 Lawrence street.

Denver Times, daily and weekly, R. W. Woodbury, editor and proprietor. 387 Lawrence street.

Denver Tribune, daily and weekly, Herman Beckurts, proprietor. Tribune Building, southeast corner Sixteenth and Holladay streets.

Rocky Mountain Herald, weekly, O. J. Goldrick, editor and proprietor, Tappan Block, southwest corner Fifteenth and Holladay streets.

Rocky Mountain News, daily and weekly, W. N. Byers, editor and proprietor. News Block, north side Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets.

As will be seen, five of these were daily and four weekly.

The later years of that decade (1870-80) brought forth several newspapers of brief endurance. In the summer of 1878 A. Macready launched the "Colorado Greenbacker"—the name standing for the provocation—a weekly paper published about fifteen months at (old) number 380 Market street. About the same time in 1878, Saxby, Owers & Co., began the Journal of Commerce, a weekly, at (old) number 389 Lawrence street, that lived a year or so. Early in the autumn of 1879 the Rocky Mountain News Printing Company established the Colorado Post, a German semi-weekly, the publication of which was suspended late in 1880. The Post was the first German paper between the Missouri river and California to be issued oftener than once a week. In 1879, also, the Saturday Call made its appearance from (old) number 367 Market street; W. H. Fisher, editor and proprietor. The Call passed away before the close of 1880.

The city directory issued in January, 1880, named the "Newspapers and Publications" then existing in the city as follows—a total of fourteen:

Colorado Farmer, weekly, J. S. Stanger, editor and propr, 380 Holladay street.

Colorado Journal, German, weekly, W. Witteborg, propr, 345 Holladay street.

Colorado Mining Review, weekly, Warden Cumming, pubr, southwest corner Fifteenth and Holladay streets.

Colorado Post, German, semi-weekly, Rocky Mountain News Printing Co., proprs, 389 Larimer street.

Daily and weekly Times, R. W. Woodbury, propr, 387 Lawrence street.

Denver Advocate, H. D. Calvin, propr, 367 Holladay street.

Denver Daily Hotel Reporter, W. H. Farnham, propr, 344½ Larimer street.

Denver Republican, daily and weekly, C. B. Wilkinson, propr, 371 Larimer street. (Weekly edition, also.)

Denver Tribune, daily and weekly, Herman Beckurts, propr, southeast corner of Sixteenth and Holladay streets.

Rocky Mountain Herald, weekly, O. J. Goldrick, editor and propr, Tappan Block, southwest corner Fifteenth and Holladay streets.

Rocky Mountain Mining Review, weekly, Blake & Elliott, pubs, Fifteenth, corner of Holladay street.

Rocky Mountain News, daily and weekly, Rocky Mountain News Printing Co., proprs, 389 Larimer street.

The Financial Era, weekly, F. C. Messenger & Co., pubs, 380 Holladay street.

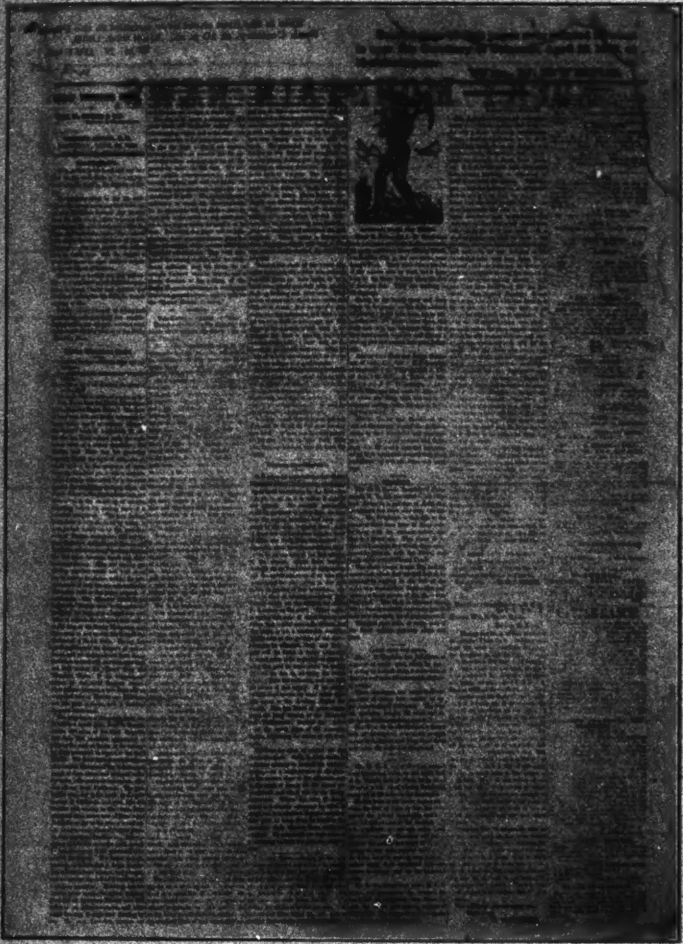
The Saturday Call, W. H. Fisher, propr, 367 Holladay street.

It was not until after the advent of the railroads that publications devoted to special interests made their appearance in Denver. Prior to that time both the town and the Colorado field were too limited, the one in size and the other in development, to afford sufficient sustenance for such issues; and exploitations of the advantages and prospects of the city and proclamation of the results in and resources of the Colorado country were part of the regular work of the city newspapers, proper. An early special publication was The Presbyterian, a religious monthly founded in 1871 by S. Jackson, and that did not survive a great while, though it appears to have been later revived. In the spring of 1873 T. E. Picott established here the weekly Real Estate and Mining Review that appears to have lived but a few months. About the same time in 1873 Feebles & Phillips began the weekly Colorado Farmer at (old) number 210 Sixteenth street, and which soon underwent successive changes of ownership. In 1874, the Colorado Farmer Company had it; in 1875 J. F. Wilbur figured as its manager; and in 1876, J. S. Stanger became its editor and proprietor and held on several years; the paper having been continued by others thereafter until late in 1885. Picott's publication, and the Colorado Farmer, were represented to have been the pioneers of their kinds. In the autumn of 1873 Strahorn & Schlapp, at the northeast corner of Fifteenth & Blake streets, established the Colorado Agricultural and Stock Journal, a weekly issue. In 1874-75 James R. Hill was its proprietor, but it did not survive 1875. In 1874 the American and European Mining Association began issuing the weekly Denver Mining Journal that was continued about a year. In 1876 the weekly Mining Review was started by the Mining Review Publishing Company at (old) number 400 Market street, but it did not live into its second year. In 1879 Warden Cumming instituted the weekly Colorado Mining Review, but it lapsed before the close of 1880. In 1879, also, the weekly Financial Era, the character and purposes of which were indicated by its name, was brought into existence by F. C. Messenger & Co., and would seem to have been the first financial publication in the city. It was published at (old) number 380 Market street but did not survive the year 1880. In the last-named year the same publishers began issuing the Argus which, also, was short-lived.

As the reader has seen many of the minor publications instituted prior to 1880 were more or less ephemeral, and only by a close shave were most of these we have mentioned of sufficient importance to receive even the brief record herein given them. They, with numerous later ones having various aims and soaring ambitions, now sleep in the "newspaper graveyard."

After 1880 the number of miscellaneous and minor publications became, with the few exceptions hereinafter mentioned, too great to be taken into the kind of consideration we have given the earlier ones. To do so would be unduly tedious and probably also be of no historical value. While in the earlier part of the period since 1880 these publications followed each other at what might have been no more than a fair pace, as the years wore on into and through the times of the great "boom" they began to tread upon each other's heels; and in very recent times, under the restoration of prosperity, several new ones have sought and are now receiving public favor. In the names of some now flourishing we have revival of some of those that figure in annals of preceding periods; and while some of those still with us originated in the early times, the majority of the ante-panic miscellaneous and minor publications launched at various times back to 1880 have passed away, and but few of that majority are now recalled in current journalistic reminiscences.

A special publication that deserved to be not forgotten came into existence in Denver in 1880. This was the monthly "Colorado Antelope," published by Mrs. C. M. Churchill, and "Devoted to women's political equality and individuality." Harmonizing that name with the noble purposes declared is a task that must be left to the reader. The Antelope gambolled about two years when it was discontinued by its publisher who then began issuing the Queen Bee that buzzed until 1889.



Second page of the first copy of the Rocky Mountain News; printed by a wet "form."

Another product of 1880 was the Evening Bulletin, a small daily sheet published by Jeffries & Wynne at (old) number 480½ Lawrence street, and that had a career of about a year. In 1881 the Evening Truth, published by John M. Scanland at the northwest corner of Twelfth and Larimer streets, followed the Bulletin, but appears to have been crushed to earth within twelve months. It was in 1880, also, that the somewhat famous M. M. ("Brick") Pomeroy appeared in the Denver newspaper arena. In that year arose the rather flamboyant weekly Great West, Pomeroy & Glafcke, publishers and proprietors, at (old) numbers 433-35 Larimer street. The Great West lasted about two years, and was followed by Pomeroy's Democrat, a weekly issued at (old) number 483 Larimer street by John Keller, publisher, and having Pomeroy for its editor. It, also, survived about two years. Both these publications, beside being very decidedly Pomeroyish, were also employed in exploiting various other enterprises in which the noted "Brick" was engaged in Colorado. Still another publication originating in 1880, and worth mentioning, was the Inter Ocean, of which Henry M. Feldwish was editor and manager, but that was really an undertaking by John Brisben Walker, now owner and publisher of the Cosmopolitan Magazine. The Inter Ocean was published at (old) number 340 Larimer street, first as a weekly, but, we believe, became a daily later in its life. It did not survive the year 1884.

In 1882 another "World" swung into view—the Denver Evening World, daily and weekly, published by the World Printing and Publishing Company at (old) number 407 Arapahoe street. Like its predecessor of the same family name, it made little history for itself and left no permanent impressions of its yearling life. In 1882, also appeared Denver's first "labor" publication—the Labor Enquirer, a weekly, published by Buchanan & Laverty at (old) number 370 Larimer street. The Enquirer lived until about the close of 1888.

Among the less unimportant publications instituted in the last half of that decade was the third attempt to make a "World" go in Denver. In 1887 the daily Denver World was started on its orbit by George H. Gray at 1541-43 Market street. About one annual revolution was all this orb succeeded in making. Beside the World, there appeared in 1887 the daily Volksblatt, (German), issued by the Volksblatt Publishing Company at 1019 Sixteenth street. This first daily German paper in Denver (we have none now) proved unsuccessful after several months of rather earnest effort. Yet another enterprise of 1887 was one bearing a name made familiar to our reader

—the Denver Daily Democrat, R. F. Stapleton editor and manager. This last attempt to have a Daily Democrat in Denver was made by the Democrat Publishing Company, with an office in the Cass & Graham building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets. The period of its existence was measured by months, not years. About that time, a small daily, the Denver Afternoon, was begun by the Denver Afternoon Publishing Company, H. B. Jeffries, manager, at 1753 Lawrence street. Late in 1887 it appeared as, or was succeeded by, the Afternoon Reporter, published by John C. Kennedy, proprietor, at the same place. The latter was continued until about mid-summer of 1889.

With one more subject of these merely running reminiscences in which exactness and detail were not thought of very great importance, we will end them. With the tidal wave of Populism in Colorado that lifted Davis H. Waite into the office of Chief Executive of the State, there appeared in Denver a newspaper organ of that party. This was the weekly National Populist, published at 1638 Curtis street, and edited by H. E. Harris. About the time the advance clouds of the financial storm of 1893 appeared above the horizon, it was converted into the daily Denver Populist, under the editorial and general management of S. J. Shirley. After the worst of the tempest was over, the remains of the Populist were among those of other enterprises hopelessly buried in the wreckage.

Old Tribune building, Lawrence street. Photographed in 1868.

The famous old daily and weekly Tribune which, in one period of its career, was a great and influential newspaper of National renown, was founded by L. M. Koons, as "The Denver Daily," in 1867, its first issue having appeared on February 6th. The "Daily" was published every morning except Monday, and on May 15, 1867, appeared as the "Daily Colorado Tribune." It occupied the old Christian building that stood on part of the site of the Times Building, 1547-51 Lawrence street. Mr. Koons continued sole owner of the Tribune until January 4, 1868, when General Roger W. Woodbury and John Walker acquired proprietary interests in it. General Woodbury had been appointed city editor of the "Daily" early in March, 1867, and on June 7th was advanced to be associate editor, Mr. Walker succeeding him as city editor. Early in 1869, Koons sold his interest to his two partners who at the close of 1870 removed the publication office to the east side of Fifteenth street, between Market and Blake streets. Woodbury and Walker continued as proprietors and editors of the Tribune until December 31, 1871, when they sold the paper to E. P. Hollister, H. G. Bond and their associates who, on December 29, 1871, had organized "The Tribune Association." In July, 1872, the Tribune was removed to Henry C. Brown's building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets. In December, 1872, the Tribune passed to Henry C. Brown, to whom the company had become heavily indebted, and it was then made an evening paper. Mr. Brown continued its owner until November 15, 1875, when he sold it to Herman Beckurts. In 1880 the paper was purchased from Beckurts by Herman Silver, G. B. Robinson and their associates, who formed the "Tribune Company;" Silver becoming President and General Manager of the corporation. It was under this ownership and management that the Tribune reached the zenith of its greatness. In 1881 William A. Hamill bought the property and owned it about two years when he sold it to T. C. Henry under whose ownership the Tribune was consolidated on August 12, 1884, with the Denver Republican; Mr. Henry becoming Secretary of the "Tribune-Republican" corporation.

The subsequent practical extinction of the Tribune's name is part of the history of the Republican. At one time, say twenty years ago, the Tribune, was a power in Denver and in Colorado, and none of the Denver newspapers appeared at that time to have promise of a longer career or a more brilliant future than awaited it. An exceptionally capable group of newspaper men was then engaged in its service, but with subsequent mismanagement, or rather neglect of management, its decline set in and was accelerated by the vigor of its rivals; and its decadence continued until the paper sought and obtained refuge, and later found oblivion, in consolidation with the Republican.

Much of the history of the Rocky Mountain News has already appeared on the pages of this volume; yet, there remains more to be told. It was William N. Byers, then of Omaha, who, in the winter of 1858-59, conceived the idea of transporting a "Washington" hand-press, type, paper, and other materials across the plains to Cherry creek and establishing a newspaper in the new land of gold. Dr. George C. Monell, of Omaha, had an interest in the enterprise, but which he disposed of to his associates before the outfit reached Denver, and returned to Omaha. The press and other printing material had been used in printing a newspaper at Bellevue, a little frontier town a few miles below Omaha, and had been purchased as it stood, by the Rocky Mountain News "syndicate," as we say nowadays. Merrick, the other Denver newspaper publisher in April, 1859, and of whose single issue of the "Cherry Creek Pioneer" we have already told at length, had brought his little equipment from St. Joseph. Thomas Gibson, the active partner of Mr. Byers in the News enterprise was from Fontanelle, Nebraska. The party which accompanied the News' outfit to Denver consisted of Mr. Byers and Mr. Gibson, John L. Dailey, Robert L. Sumner, Edward C. Sumner, I. Sansom, P. W. Case, L. A. Curtice, W. J. Curtice, James Creighton, Henry Creighton, Harry Gibson, H. E. Turner and "Pap" Hoyt. The story of the journey, of the arrival, and of the issue of the paper has been told.

Its career in the pioneer times was attended by many disheartening events and circumstances well calculated to weaken faith, and to discourage men less courageous and determined than those in charge of its destinies. Beset by countless difficulties, enduring many hardships, repeatedly threatened with destruction of their lives and property, they steadily faced to the front and continued their newspaper upon the lines laid down for it, regardless of the daily trials and dangers. The history of the News is almost the equivalent of that of Denver and of Colorado. Within the many volumes of its issues during the forty-two years of its existence, are found the economic, social and political records of the rise and progress of the city and State.

The News was not long published by the two active partners who founded it and sent forth its first issue on that 23rd of April. In August of that year, as already stated, Thomas Gibson sold his interest to John L. Dailey who had from the start been in charge of the mechanical department; the firm name remaining W. N. Byers & Company. This continued until the spring of 1860, when Edward Bliss and H. E. Rounds each acquired a proprietary interest, the four partners doing business under the name, "News Printing Company." Bliss and Rounds had brought from Chicago that spring a small newspaper-printing equipment with the intention of establishing a new paper here. Gibson had then arrived with the Herald outfit, and Bliss and Rounds seeing the field rather well occupied, merged their equipment into that of the News and thus acquired an interest in the pioneer newspaper. This partnership continued until the spring of 1863, when Bliss and Rounds sold their interest to Byers and Dailey, and left Denver. After that there were no proprietary changes in the News until Byers and Dailey dissolved their partnership.

On November 1, 1871, Mr. Dailey sold his interest in the News to Mr. Byers who then became its sole owner; the retiring partner engaging in the job printing business with the first steam printing establishment of its kind in Denver. Prior to June, 1870, the News had been an evening publication, but since that time it has been issued in the morning. Mr. Byers continued as sole owner of the paper until May 5, 1878, when he sold the entire property to the late Kemp G. Cooper and his associates. The new owners organized the "Rocky Mountain News Printing Company," of which Mr. Cooper became President and Manager; and William F. Robinson, Secretary and Treasurer. Mr. Byers then, after eighteen years of service as editor and publisher, permanently retired from the newspaper business. Beside having been an able and most fearless editor through times when fearlessness brought greater responsibilities than it does now-a-days, he had been an explorer and miner, and as a mountaineer the first man to stand on the summit of Long's Peak; as a guide to visiting strangers he had been the friend and associate of Horace Greeley, Bayard Taylor, Albert Bierstadt, Major J. W. Powell, Samuel Bowles, and of Professor F. V. Hayden on his geological surveys.

Office of the Rocky Mountain News, erected late in autumn of 1859. First structure built for a newspaper printing office in the Rocky Mountain country. Photographed in 1900 shortly before its demolition.

On July 16, 1878, a controlling interest in the News company was purchased by the late W. A. H. Loveland, of Golden, who became its President, with James T. Smith as Vice President; William F. Robinson continuing as Secretary and Treasurer. Mr. Loveland's chief purpose in acquiring control of the News was of a political character, for, on July 17th he became the Democratic nominee for Governor.

At that time the News occupied its building on the north side of Larimer street next to the site of the present Good Building on the northwest corner of Larimer and Sixteenth streets. It was then a four-page, eight-column newspaper, without a Sunday issue, and had always been robustly Republican in politics. Mr. Loveland changed it to an eight-page paper, and began the publication of a twelve-page Sunday edition—the first Sunday issue of a Denver daily paper. The new dispensation also changed the political complexion of the News, and its conversion into a strongly Democratic journal was one to which the old-timers were several years in becoming accustomed.

New home of the Rocky Mountain News, south side of Welton street adjoining southeast corner of Seventeenth.

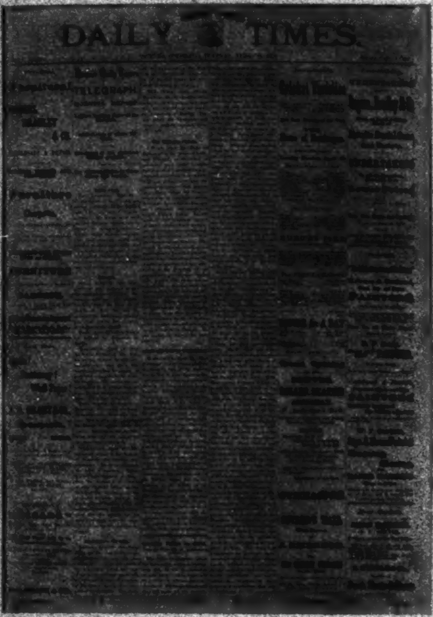
On June 14, 1880, Mr. John Arkins bought one-fourth of the News Company's stock from Mr. Loveland and became Vice President and General Manager of the company. There were no further changes until March 2, 1886, when Maurice Arkins and James M. Burnell joined John Arkins in purchasing the remainder of the stock from Loveland; the three becoming equal owners. On August 9, 1890, Mr. Thomas M. Patterson bought the interest of Maurice Arkins (then deceased) and that of Mr. Burnell, which transaction established the proprietary interests in the News as they now exist—two-thirds in Mr. Patterson and one-third in the estate of John Arkins.

Since W. A. H. Loveland bought control of the News in July, 1878, the political character of the paper has not always been what is sometimes called "straight Democratic," though it has not been Republican. During the eight years it was under Loveland's control and through several thereafter, it was pretty regularly Democratic; but upon the rise and in the subsequent progress of the Populist party in more recent times, it gave aid and comfort to that organization. Otherwise it has, upon the whole, been a Democratic paper under its present ownership, and strongly supported William J. Bryan in 1896. It is now recognized as one of the great exponents of that party in the west and is, as it always has been, a newspaper of powerful influence in Colorado.

Since Senator Patterson acquired control of the News it has occupied quarters in the Markham Hotel building on the southwest corner of Lawrence and Seventeenth streets, but at the close of our record work was in progress on a fine new structure, exclusively for the paper's uses, on the south side of Welton street near the southeast corner of that street and Seventeenth.

Throughout its long career the only interruption to the regular daily publication of the News was that caused by the complete destruction of its establishment by the flood in May, 1864, but the courage and determination of its owners limited that interruption to one of only a few weeks. It is the historic newspaper of the Rocky Mountain country, and its name will always be historically associated with the humble beginning, the retarded progress, and the subsequent magnificent development of our city.

The present Denver Times, the afternoon newspaper by which this History of Denver is published, and now, among the daily papers of the city, next to the Rocky Mountain News in age, is not, as the reader has seen, the first Denver newspaper of practically the same name. It is, however, the outgrowth of an exceedingly humble beginning, and one for which no such evolution was anticipated. On August 1, 1870, Clarence E. Hagar, a newspaper compositor, began publishing a little sheet called "The Lorgnette." It was merely a theatrical programme used in the old Denver Theater, and in other amusement places as occasion offered. In addition to the theatrical programmes, the sheet carried advertisements and a few "stage notes," and was printed at a job printing office. Gradually local news items crept into the Lorgnette, and in 1871 the sheet was enlarged and the name changed to "The Daily City Item." At the time the little sheet abandoned theatricals and became a local evening newspaper, Mr. Hagar was joined in the enterprise by S. T. Sopris, who had been employed on the other city papers. As the Item, the paper appeared in enlarged form, well provided with the local news of the town, and possessing its own mechanical equipment; the publication office having been in a second-story room on the south side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets.


DAILY TIMES

First page of the Denver Times, issue of April 21, 1872.

At that time Denver had a population of 6,500, or thereabouts, and the Item was the third daily newspaper serving the people. It persisted in asserting its right to live, and soon became popular and fairly prosperous. It continued under its second title until the following spring when, on Monday, April 1, 1872, it appeared in enlarged form as the "Denver Daily Times," (daily, except Sunday). The paper was of four pages, with six columns to the page; but the columns were but one and one-half inches wide, and the full page less than half the size of one of the fourteen pages of the Times' present usual week-day edition. At that time the publication office was still on the south side of Larimer street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets. Not having a press capable of printing it, its publishers had the first and many successive editions of the Times printed at the steam job printing office of John L. Dailey & Company; Mr. Dailey having engaged in commercial printing in company with N. A. Baker who had entered the business office of the News in 1868.

On April 20, 1872, Hagar sold his interest in the Times to A. J. Boyer, the publishing firm becoming Sopris and Boyer. On June 10th, of that year, Sopris also sold his interest to Boyer who became sole proprietor and editor, and plunged into an enthusiastic support of Horace Greeley for President. This performance lasted about three weeks when, on June 24th, Mr. Boyer sold the property to Edward Bliss who, as heretofore stated, in 1860 and for three years thereafter had had a proprietary interest in the Rocky Mountain News. Bliss suspended the Greeley demonstration, but was in command only a few weeks. On August 10, 1872, the property passed to General Roger W. Woodbury by purchase, and that last of the rather numerous changes of ownership in 1872, marked the beginning of the Times' career as a great newspaper. As already related, he had been editor and one of the proprietors of the Denver

The "Times Building" at 1547-51 Lawrence street as erected in 1881.

Tribune for several preceding years, and had sold his interest in that paper in the previous December.

During the ensuing ten years General Woodbury was the directing spirit of the Times. Soon after buying the property he organized "The Times Printing Company," of which he was practically the sole owner, and also President and Manager. The paper was provided by him with a new and adequate mechanical equipment, enlarged in form, and placed in new quarters on the east side of Fifteenth street between Larimer and Lawrence streets. In 1874 he purchased the old Tribune Building property that was part of the site of the present Times Building, 1547-51 Lawrence street, and removed the Times from Fifteenth street to these premises that he had formerly occupied as one of the proprietors of the Tribune; the old building remaining the home of the Times until, in 1881, it was torn down to make way for the new Times Building. Temporarily removing the paper to other quarters, General Woodbury erected the Times Building (of which some further account appears in Chapter LXXIV) in 1881, and then made it, as it ever since has been the newspaper's home.*

General Woodbury was editor as well as manager of the Times for several years after purchasing it, and gave the paper a prosperous life and a high standing. In December, 1879, Judge Albion W. Tourgee, the author of several books famous in their time, was called to the editorial chair by General Woodbury who continued in general management. Judge Tourgee remained but a few months, when General Woodbury again took editorial charge. On May 20, 1882, he sold the paper to Frank W. Woodbury (his son), Thomas F. Dawson, and R. G. Dill. In October, 1883, Dawson and Dill sold their interests to Frank W. Woodbury who, as sole proprietor, published the Times until May 28, 1888, when it was purchased by William H. Griffith. Griffith re-equipped it mechanically, provided it with a Scott perfecting press, and remained its owner until January 1, 1891. He then sold it to H. W. Hawley and W. E. Brownlee, who formed a new corporation—"The Denver Times Publishing Company"—and who became, respectively, business manager and editor. About a year after this change, Hawley bought Brownlee's interest, became practically sole proprietor, and so remained until the summer of 1894. As will have been seen, the Times was under corporate ownership through these various changes which were merely transfers of stock holdings.

Immediately after Griffith sold the Times to Hawley and Brownlee he prepared to enter the morning field with a new paper, and on March 6, 1891, there appeared on the streets of Denver the Colorado Sun, a full-fledged, well-equipped, well-edited newspaper, Republican in politics, with its publication office at 1224 Fifteenth street. Griffith published the Sun until the spring of 1893 when, in consequence of a business transaction, it became the property of Earl B. Coe who changed it to an evening paper and continued its publication.

In July, 1894, Mr. Coe, having procured an option on the Denver Times, organized "The Times-Sun Publishing Company," with capital stock of $500,000, of which he purchased a controlling interest. In that month this new corporation bought the Denver Times and the Colorado Sun and consolidated the two papers. The daily issue was continued as the Denver Times, while the weekly became the Colorado Times-Sun. This name of the latter was retained until the autumn of 1900 when the "Sun" end of it was dropped, the paper then becoming the Colorado Weekly Times; the last vestige of the Sun as a newspaper passing into oblivion. The Times, since the consolidation, has been controlled by Mr. Coe who has a majority of the stock and is, as he has been since the company's organization, President of the Times-Sun Publishing Company. In 1900 the establishment was supplied with new mechanical appliances, a huge Goss

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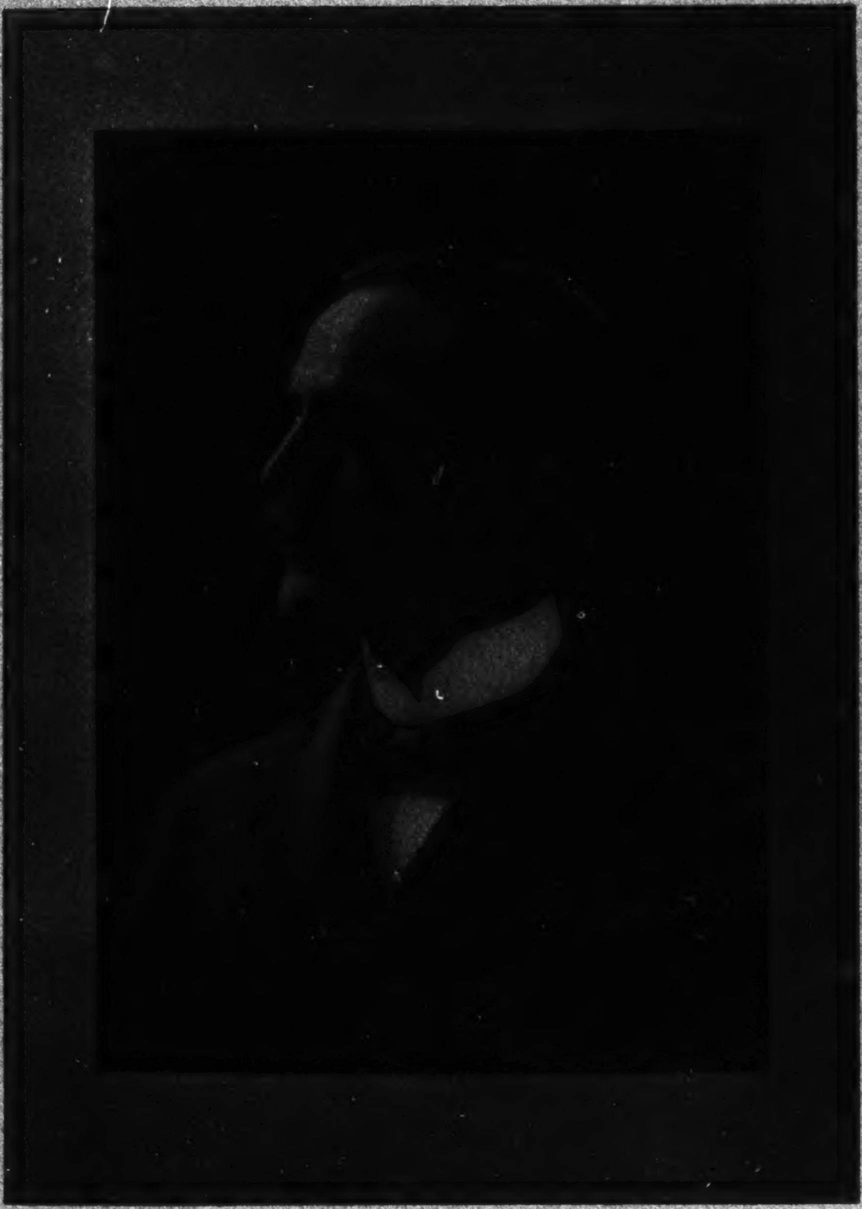
*While this work was in press the Times was removed to new and farther up-town quarters in the Charles Building on the south-west corner of Fifteenth and Curtis streets.

Earl B. Coe, President of the Times-Sun Publishing Company, the corporation proprietary of the Denver Times, was born in Oswego, N. Y., on July 15, 1858. After the usual terms in the public schools of that city he entered the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor where he was graduated in the Law Department of that institution in 1880. Coming to the west in the autumn of that year, he located in Omaha where he established himself in the practice of his profession. After about one year of residence in Omaha, he removed to Denver, practiced alone a few years, and then formed a partnership with Edward L. Freeman, under the firm name of Coe & Freeman, that continued until Mr. Freeman's death in 1891. Mr. Coe then joined Samuel L. Carpenter in a law partnership under the firm name of Coe & Carpenter. This relation existed until the spring of 1893 when Mr. Coe became the owner of the Colorado Sun newspaper. The particulars of his subsequent organization of the Times-Sun Publishing Company, of the acquisition of the Denver Times newspaper property, and of the consolidation of the Times and the Sun, are related elsewhere on these pages. These transactions took him out of legal practice and, while he has been and is connected with various other business enterprises, he has, since 1894, given the greater part of his time and attention to the Times and its proprietary company. In 1892 Mr. Coe was the Republican candidate for Congress in the First (Denver) District, but that not having been a prosperous year for Republican candidates in Colorado, he shared the common defeat that befell his party. He was chiefly instrumental, as related in chapter LXIX, in the comparatively recent introduction in Colorado of the sugar beet industry, which has already grown to large proportions and bids fair to become one of great magnitude in the State.—J. C. S.



Earl B. Coe.

perfecting press capable of hourly printing 48,000 eight-page papers, having been among the added equipment.

During almost its entire career the Times has been, as it now is, strenuously Republican in its politics. But in the campaign of 1896, and in the presence of what was then believed by our people to be an emergency in Colorado affairs chiefly due to the then almost ruined condition of the silver-mining industry, the Times supported William J. Bryan for President of the United States, and Alva Adams for Governor of Colorado. It was, however, the first of the Denver newspapers to accept the National verdict on the leading issue in 1896, and in the State campaign of 1898 was found at its old-time political moorings. It has, moreover, become one of the great newspapers of the western country, and was never so vigorous in all that it undertakes to do as at the present time.

The Denver Republican, one of our present two morning papers, and which now stands third in order of age among the Denver daily newspapers is, as a historical fact, of Democratic antecedents. We have already related the history of the daily Democrat founded in 1874, and that in 1879 was published in an old building on Larimer street, about where the Railroad Building now stands, by Joseph Farmer and Thomas G. Anderson—Farmer & Anderson. The owners of that paper possessed ample capital, but as has so often been demonstrated, something beside that is necessary to a successful newspaper. While the Democrat was edited with considerable ability it did not win its way among the people.

About midway of Farmer & Anderson's proprietorship, the Rocky Mountain News had, as we have seen, passed to W. A. H. Loveland, by him had been made a vigorous Democratic newspaper, and had soon become too strongly intrenched in its new political position as the great Democratic newspaper of Colorado to be easily disturbed; and this change in the situation seriously affected the Denver Daily Democrat's fortunes.

Farmer died in December, 1878, leaving the proprietary interests of the Democrat in his estate and in Thomas G. Anderson. Realizing that the field would not support two Democratic daily newspapers, Mr. Anderson and the heirs of Farmer sold the Democrat, in June, 1879, to Henry Ward, W. H. Price, and W. G. Brown. The new owners, being Republicans, made a radical change in the Democrat, which then ceased to be, and the "Denver Republican" succeeded it, as a morning newspaper. Three months later—on September 16th—the Republican was sold to Charles B. Wilkinson, formerly of St. Joseph, Missouri. Although Wilkinson was a man of much experience in the newspaper business, the Republican did not have a full measure of prosperity under his management, and because of that he sold the property on November 1, 1880, to General Joseph C. Wilson, George T. Clark, and Amos Steck. On November 12th the new owners organized the "Republican Publishing Company," with a capital stock of $50,000, with General Wilson as President, and George T. Clarke, Secretary and General Manager.

At that time the Republican occupied a building on the north side of Lawrence street (old number 339), and just east of the present Chamber of Commerce building. General Wilson and his associates enlarged and much improved the paper, but they found in the Times, and in the Tribune which was then at the height of its prestige, business competitors as Republican daily newspapers that made its daily life one of many trials, although the paper was ably edited. Chiefly because of business reasons, General Wilson and his associates, on June 20, 1881, after about seven months of ownership, sold the entire stock to the late Senator N. P. Hill and the late Kemp G. Cooper and their associates.

The able business and other management that followed that change removed all obstacles to a successful career for the paper. The capital stock of the company was increased to $100,000, and Mr. Cooper elected President and General Manager; both of which positions he filled until the summer of 1884. The new owners bought the site of number 1118 Sixteenth street and erected there a fine permanent home for the Republican, and equipped it with a new mechanical outfit. Under Mr. Cooper's general supervision the paper entered upon a career of remarkable vigor that soon placed it upon broad and sure foundations and in a position of great influence.

On August 12, 1884, the Tribune, as already stated, was consolidated with the Republican under the name "Tribune-Republican," the Republican Publishing Company, proprietor. With that change the capital stock was increased to $300,000; Henry R. Wolcott became President of the new company; Kemp G. Cooper, Treasurer and General Manager; and T. C. Henry, of the Tribune, Secretary; an organization that continued with the substitution of Crawford Hill as Secretary, until December, 1887. The dual name of the paper was retained until January 1, 1887, when "Tribune" was dropped and the former distinctive name resumed; that of the associate passing from public notice. However, the Republican, at the left of the first page date-line, still carries in small letters a record of each paper by name, and that is the only existing reminder of the erstwhile duality and of the once powerful and influential Tribune.

In December, 1887, Senator Hill had, by additional purchases, become owner of four-fifths of the company's stock, and Mr. Cooper held the remainder. This was immediately followed by Wolcott's retirement and by the election of Cooper as President and General Manager; Crawford Hill, Secretary; and William F. Robinson, Treasurer—

The Denver Times

THE NATION'S LEADING MEN PAY TRIBUTE
TO THE MARVELOUS PROGRESS OF THE WEST

New Year's issue of the Denver Times, December 30, 1900—Forty-four pages.

the latter retiring about two years later. In 1888-89 Senator Hill served as President, Cooper being Vice President and General Manager, with Crawford Hill as Secretary. In the next year, however, Cooper again became President and General Manager, with Crawford Hill as Secretary, and both continued in these positions until after the death of Senator Hill in May, 1900. Crawford Hill then became President; and William Stapleton, long associated with the paper as editor, was made General Manager, also; which executive arrangements were continuing at the close of our record. Mr. Cooper, who died September 26, 1900, had not, on account of ill health, actively participated in the paper's management for several months prior to these last changes.

Until the "silver question" became an acute one to and for the people of Colorado, the name of the Republican had always very clearly indicated the political character of the paper. In 1896, in common with nearly all other Colorado newspapers of the same political faith, it found itself out of sympathy with certain policies of its party, and supported the Democratic propositions and candidates. After that year it favored the organization known in our political annals as the "Silver Republican" party, and continued to do so until the summer of 1900, when it resumed its very able support of Republican policies.

The history of the Denver Post, the younger of the city's four newspaper dailies, began in 1892. On August 8th of that year "The Post Publishing Company" was incorporated by Hugh Butler, George D. Herbert, Caldwell Yeaman, R. T. McNeal, M. C. Jackson, I. C. Cross, and M. J. McNamara, with a capital stock of $50,000. The certificate named as the company's first Board of Directors, George D. Herbert, W. P. Caruthers, A. B. McKinley, Charles J. Hughes, Jr., and Platt Rogers. The publication office was at 1744 Curtis street, W. P. Caruthers having been General Manager of the paper which was a week-day daily, the first issue of which appeared on August 8, 1893.

It was a Democratic newspaper of rather high ideals and, it may be said, stood for the political methods and purposes then represented by Grover Cleveland. The events of 1893 not having made Mr. Cleveland's views extravagantly popular in Colorado, and the wreck and demoralization of that year having most gravely affected its fortunes, the Post of that time suspended publication on August 29, 1893. It had been a bright and well-edited newspaper, and because of its ideals and ambitions in its political aims some of its city contemporaries had re-named it "White Wings."

In that season of general disaster the original company did not resume publication of the paper, but in the summer of 1894 it was revived by a new company organized for that purpose. On June 22, 1894, "The Post Printing Company," with capital stock of $100,000, was incorporated by H. Y. Anderson, William Kavanaugh, and Frank J. Medina, Jr.; the certificate naming as the company's first Board of five Directors, Kavanaugh, Medina, E. E. Dorsey, Samuel W. Shephard and J. J. Cronan. This new corporation issued the paper as the week-day "Evening Post," the publication office having been at 1734 Curtis street. It was a Democratic newspaper, but the general and severe financial depression of that period reduced it to straightened circumstances. However, its publication was regularly continued by the Post Printing Company until the autumn of 1895 when, on October 28th, the paper and its property were purchased by Frederick G. Bonfils and H. H. Tammen. Frederick G. Bonfils had formerly resided in Kansas City, and H. H. Tammen had long been a citizen of Denver; but neither had had experience in the publication of a daily newspaper. On November 4, 1895, "The Post Printing and Publishing Company," with capital stock of $50,000, (which was later increased), was incorporated by H. H. Tammen, Frederick G. Bonfils, and Carl Litsenberger; the three incorporators having been named in the certificate as constituting the company's first Board of Directors.

The new company, of which H. H. Tammen was elected President, and Frederick G. Bonfils Secretary and Treasurer, took over the Post newspaper property and prepared to endue the paper with new life and vigor; the President, and the Secretary-Treasurer, becoming, as they remain, its active general managers. The publication office was removed to its present location, 1019 Sixteenth street, provided with a complete modern mechanical equipment, and its working forces reorganized. In these changes the Post had a new birth, and with them entered upon a new and successful career which has been one of rapid newspaper advancement. Having discarded its original partisan character, it has become independent in its political position, but with occasional leanings toward the party the principles of which it originally advocated. Since the organization of the present proprietary company the Post has undergone no change of ownership, officers, nor of management.

The four daily newspapers of Denver are metropolitan in their methods, size and character, and every day lay before their readers the news of all the world. Each of the four issues weekly and Sunday morning editions. In every respect the Sunday issues take rank with those in any city in the west. Indeed, it may fairly be said that there is no division of human activity in Denver in which more enterprise, greater energy, higher ability, are employed than in the production of our newspapers every day in the week. Political zeal in heated campaigns sometimes leads to perhaps undue manifestations of vigor but, after the Colorado custom that probably is an outgrowth of the altitude, or the climate, or the environment, our

New Year's issue of the Rocky Mountain News, January 1, 1901—Fifty-six pages.

newspapers are fearfully and wonderfully in earnest in whatever they undertake to do.

In addition to the special news-gathering facilities of each, each is a member of the Associated Press and receives the full reports of that great organization. The News and the Republican may be said to confine themselves to their regular morning editions, as they do not often issue extra editions; but the Times and the Post allow no reasonable provocation for an "extra" to pass unheeded whatever may be the hour of day or night. All but the Republican have color-printing attachments to their presses, and these machines with their apparent preference for red produce a gayety of effect that is sometimes made startling.

Denver, for a city of its size, is a voracious consumer of daily newspapers. While each of the four dailies has a considerable circulation throughout Colorado, western Kansas and Nebraska, and in southern Wyoming, the major part of it is here in the city. Unlike the older States in which the larger cities are surrounded by a thickly populated country, the Colorado field does not yet afford opportunity for great newspaper distribution away from the locality of production. As to which of the Denver daily newspapers has the larger circulation, is a question upon which we could not undertake to pass; as their several managers, who know more about it, are not in harmony upon it among themselves. Yet, it is quite safe to record that an aggregate of more than 100,000 copies of our four daily newspapers are now printed and circulated every day.

Beside these four daily general-news papers there are three daily publications devoted to special interests. For many years, as indicated heretofore, there has been a daily issue dealing with hotel affairs. These now have an exponent in the "Daily Hotel Bulletin." A recent consolidation of the "Denver Daily Stockman" and the "Denver Daily Live Stock Record," each of which had been published several years, resulted in the "Denver Record-Stockman," a daily publication of much importance, standing as it does for the general live stock business of the city, and published at 1840 Lawrence street by the "Record-Stockman Publishing Company." This company also publishes the "Colorado Price Current and Produce Record," which daily reflects the conditions of and prices current in the Denver and other Colorado general markets, and which is the third of these daily special publications in the city.

As a whole, the Press of Denver includes a representative of almost every division of human thought and action. Politics of all shades, religion of various creeds, education, mining, commercial and manufacturing affairs, railways, labor organizations, the learned professions, secret societies, the women's clubs, and several other interests are represented by one or more publications which, as a rule, are conducted with much ability. Many of them go far abroad, and some of the weeklies and monthlies are authorities upon the subjects with which they deal.

Beside the weekly editions of the several daily newspapers in the city, there are now about seventy-five regular publications issued in Denver, once a week or less frequently, with a tendency toward an increase in the number. Fifty-four are weeklies, nineteen monthlies, and one, each, semi-monthly and bi-monthly. Those that may be classified as being political, or independent, or non-political, or as representing social life and women's clubs, aggregate thirty; those devoted to agriculture, live-stock and kindred interests, six; the secret and benevolent orders have six; religious, five; mining, four; educational, medical, labor, railroad, three each; financial, and commercial and manufacturing, two each; legal, one. Three are German, one Swedish, and one Italian; and two are edited and published by colored men.

Among the weekly publications are several that are by no means inconspicuous because they issue but once-a-week. Some of the weeklies may be termed local to the divisions of the city in which they are published. "North Denver," "West Denver," and "South Denver" each have one or more local weeklies. There are, also, two or three weeklies that rank as illustrated publications, and as such are well presented. Among the monthlies "Outdoor Life," secure in its established position, stands foremost. It is a finely illustrated magazine dealing with subjects such as are suggested by its name.

We have on a foregoing page made passing allusion to Denver's "newspaper graveyard"—a possession common to all cities of or above fair size. To that silent place of buried hopes Merrick's Cherry Creek Pioneer, after its one gasping effort at life, was the first to go. Within two years, as the reader has seen, the Mountaineer followed it; and a few years later they were joined by the Commonwealth continuation of the earlier Herald. Next, the Gazette took up its abode with them; and the Tribune of the later era and that once bid fair to have a life of vigor so long as the city might endure, is also there. To extend the list by adding the names of only the more important others now slumbering within its bounds and whose more or less brief and troubled lives began and ended since the close of the pioneer era, would result in no more than a needless summary of much that has just been told on preceding pages. Between the longer hillocks that remind us of these more worthy departed ones, are seen in far greater numbers the resting-places of the ephemera, the weaklings, and the misbegotten, of widely varied types and of missions sadly unfulfilled. These would be numbered by dozens if anyone cared to recall and record their names; but to do so here would hardly be worth while.

CHAPTER LIX.

OUR BENCH AND BAR—DENVER'S FIRST LAWYER—UNPROMISING SITUATION FOR LAWYERS—GOVERNMENT IN THE MINING DISTRICTS—CONDITIONS IN CHERRY CREEK TOWNS—PLURALITY OF GOVERNMENTS—"JEFFERSON" JUDICIAL SYSTEM—TERRITORIAL COURTS—DENVER BAR IN 1861—COMPLEXITIES OF COLORADO LITIGATION—QUALIFICATIONS OF THE SUCCESSFUL DENVER LAWYER—STRENGTH OF THE DENVER BAR—STATE JUDICIAL SYSTEM—UNITED STATES COURTS—ROSTER OF JUDGES—BAR ASSOCIATIONS—OUR COURTS THE GUARDIANS OF THE RIGHTS OF MEN.

The first lawyer and jurist who came to the mouth of Cherry creek was the Cherokee Indian, George Hicks, Sr., who, as we have told, was a member of the Cherokee contingent in W. Green Russell's historic expedition to the Pike's Peak country early in the summer of 1858. But as Judge Hicks came as a gold-seeker and not as a lawyer or jurist, and stayed only a few days, we can not accord him the honor of having been the pioneer member, and founder, of the Denver Bar; though gold-seeking was not altogether outside the professional purposes of those who constituted it in pioneer times, nor is it foreign to the inclinations of those who now contribute to its honor and dignity.

The earlier parties of autumn immigrants to the Pike's Peak country in 1858 were destitute of lawyers, and it was not until December 1st of that year that the first one who became a citizen of the new country and of the new settlement that had sprung up at the mouth of our historic creek, reached what is now Colorado. He was David C. Collier, an excellent man who has already figured in our narrative of pioneer times. Besides having been the first of his profession to locate in our city and in the region now our State, Mr. Collier became in 1859, as we have elsewhere mentioned, the first Superintendent of the first Sunday School established in Denver or anywhere in the Rocky Mountain country. Thus, it will be seen, the founder of the Denver Bar set an example the good influences of which, it may be hoped, but not asserted, have clung to its members from that time to this.

Mr. Collier came hither to engage in the practice of his profession, and it is not known that any other lawyer followed him here in 1858; if there were others among those who arrived here during the closing months of that year they did not make themselves known, nor were they known, as lawyers. But with the incoming hosts of 1859 there was a full ratio of pioneers more or less "learned in the law," and before the close of that year their numbers were, in proportion to others who had determined to remain and erect here a new Commonwealth, rather above a normal ratio and quite sufficient for the business there was to do.

The pioneer lawyers of 1859 found themselves strangely circumstanced. They were in a region in which there was no law in practical force except that of self-preservation which each man had to be prepared to execute for himself; there was no government; no Courts. The situation and conditions would seem to have offered few attractions and slender opportunities for lawyers. However, a lawyer's first impulse under such circumstances would be to at once set up some kind of legal machinery even if he had to improvise it, just as the miners were contriving rockers, sluice-boxes and flumes for working their placer claims; though the legal placers did not promise to be anywhere near so rich as many of the others. Our record shows that the initial movement toward providing some form of government was instituted in the spring of 1859 by men who were not lawyers, but before anything definite grew out of it the pioneer attorneys and counsellors had done much constructive work.

Within a year the condition of no law, no government, no Courts, was changed to one of extraordinary plentitude of all, as we have in detail set forth in other chapters of this work. The lawyers then had a varied assortment of "jurisdictions" to offer their clients, and a still greater variety of "laws" under which to proceed. He would have been an exceedingly captious man who could not have suited himself among the many brands of "law" and "jurisdiction" which his attorney offered. These conditions, as the reader will understand, were those of the town communities, and did not prevail to any extent in the mining districts.

Of all the primitive forms of government established in the pioneer times in Colorado, the Miners' Courts were the most compact and effective. They were called into being by the supreme law of Necessity which supercedes all others. These Courts were organized at a general meeting of the inhabitants of a proposed District, at which codes of "laws" or regulations, civil and criminal, were enacted, the boundaries of the district defined, officers elected and their duties and compensations specified. In a general sense these regulations were the same in all the districts, differing only in minor details called for by some special local conditions. They were based on similar practices in California and Nevada where like emergencies had been met and provided for by pioneer populations similarly circumstanced.

The officers of a Miners' Court usually were a President, a Probate Judge, a Sheriff or Constable, a Collector, and one who was Surveyor and Recorder combined, and ex-officio Secretary and Treasurer of the district—a man of many duties and responsibilities. All officers were accountable to a Miners' Meeting, which was an ever-ready Court of Review, and final, arbitrary jurisdiction. Thus, these Mining Districts were little, individual republics in the government of which every citizen directly, personally, participated.

The "Probate Judge" was the chief executive of the district, subject always to the approval or disapproval of any act of his the consideration of which might come before a Miners' Meeting. The region being actually within the bounds of legally constituted Territories of the United States, he and his associate officers were theoretically assumed to act under the authority of Territorial laws. But, as a matter of fact, they recognized no law but that which expressed the will of the popular assemblages which placed them in office, and which was always in readiness to call them sharply to account for any dereliction of duty, or misconduct. Under such a system malfeasance, misfeasance, or oppression by officials were lapses from the straight and narrow path not to be meditated by those entrusted with public duties. It is to be said that there is no noteworthy instance of record of any officers of a Miners' Court becoming implicated in practices forbidden by the expressed or implied will of their constituents, or adverse to the welfare of the little communities they served.

As we have heretofore stated, the first of these

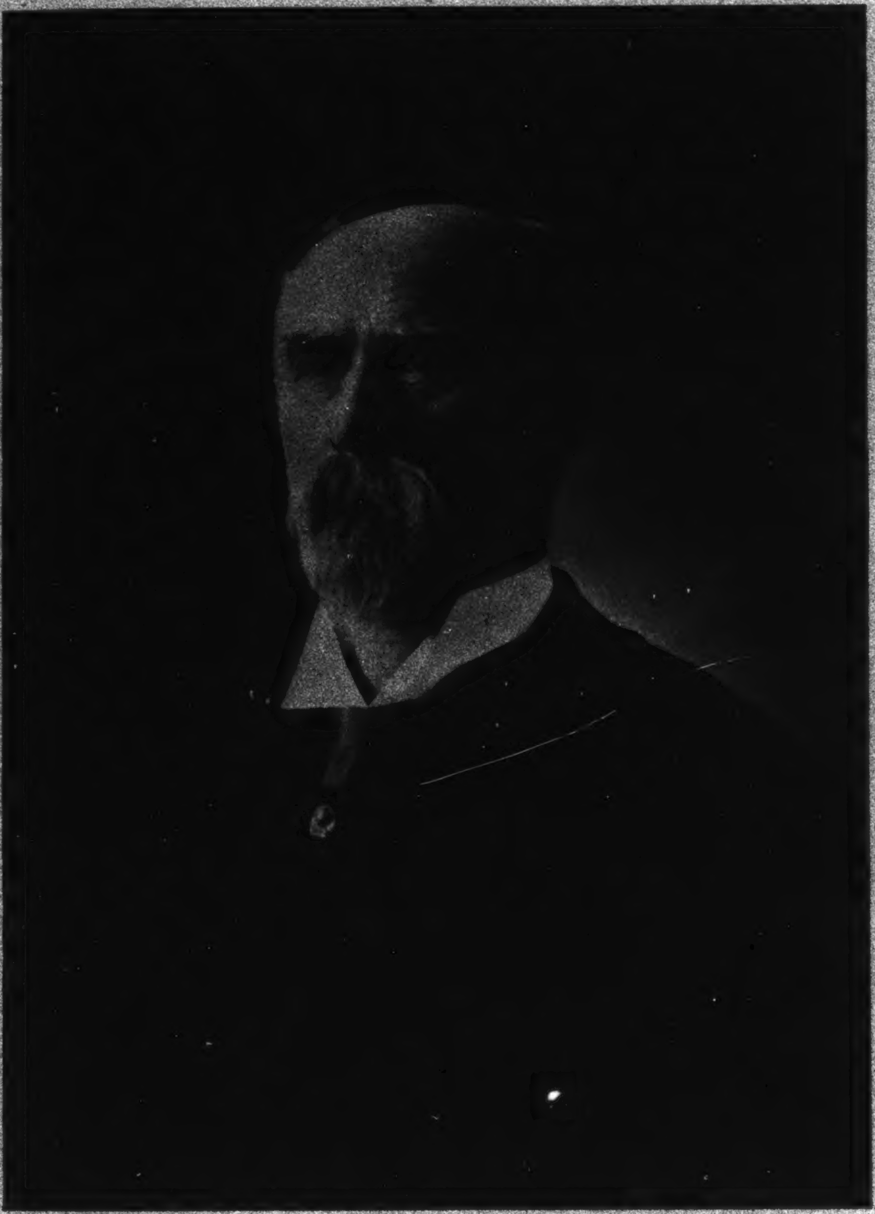
The life history of Judge Wilbur Fisk Stone is one of unusual interest. A descendant of an old English family, representatives of which were members of the Guilford, Conn., colony, he was born at Litchfield, Conn., in 1833. In 1839 his father removed to the west and after brief successive residences in western New York, Michigan, and Indiana, located in 1844 upon a large tract of farming land near Oskaloosa, in the then Territory of Iowa.

Our subject lived and worked with his father on the Iowa farm until he was eighteen years old, when he went to Indiana to build upon the educational foundation that had been laid in country schools previously accessible to him. After two years in the Rushville, Ind., Academy, in which during part of that time he was an assistant teacher, he entered Asbury University at Greencastle, Ind., where he remained until the close of his junior year, having earned his tuition by writing prize essays, and having provided for his personal needs by teaching country schools during vacations, in the good old fashion. Concluding another round as a country school teacher, he joined the senior class of the Indiana State University at Bloomington, and after having been graduated with it, began the study of law while serving as a tutor in the classical department of the University; a position to which he had been appointed soon after his graduation as a Senior. He subsequently entered the law department of the University and was graduated therein in 1858. During those years at Bloomington young Stone's natural ability as a reasoner and a writer had been given some expression in various contributions to the Bloomington and other Indiana newspapers.

Upon completion of his course in the law department of the Indiana State University, Mr. Stone located at Evansville in that State to engage in practice, but was soon called to the editorial chair of the Evansville "Daily Enquirer," and which he occupied upward of a year, though in the meantime devoting part of his energies to legal work. In the autumn of 1859 he went to Omaha, Neb., on legal business, and was detained there by it through the following winter. Partly to relieve the tedium and partly to provide means of support, he became assistant editor of the Omaha "Nebraskian," of which the present "World-Herald" is the successor. Having acquired the art and mystery of short-hand writing, then a rare accomplishment, Mr. Stone reported verbatim the proceedings of the Nebraska Territorial Legislature in session at Omaha during that winter. None of the legislators had ever seen that kind of writing, and most of them refused to believe that it could be translated into anything of meaning; though they were mystified by the exactness of the reports as they appeared in the Nebraskian, a daily issue of which was published during that session, and which was the first daily newspaper ever printed in Nebraska, and the first between the Missouri river and San Francisco.

Mr. Stone remained at Omaha until the spring of 1860, when, having been exposed to the Pike's Peak contagion, he crossed the plains to Denver. In the summer of that year he joined the mining community at Tarryall in the South Park, where he became a prospector, miner, and a practicing lawyer; and with that general section of the Territory he was identified during the ensuing five years. Soon after Canon City was founded he went there as a settler, and with the late George A. Hinsdale formulated a code of laws for the first "People's Court" of that district. Upon the organization of Colorado Territory he was elected a Representative from Park county in the first Territorial Legislature, and in 1864 was again elected to that position; and in 1862-65 served as Assistant United States District Attorney under General Samuel E. Browne.

After his marriage at Bloomington, Ind., in the winter of 1865-66 to Miss Sarah Sadler of that city, Mr. Stone located in Pueblo and resumed practice of law. In 1868 he was appointed District Attorney of the Third Judicial District and was subsequently elected to that position for a full term. In 1868, also, when the Pueblo "Chieftain" newspaper



Wilbur F. Stone.

districts and Miners' Courts was organized immediately after the discovery of the Gregory Lode in May, 1859, and was named the "Gregory District." It became the example for many others which soon followed.

The legislation "enacted" by these People's meetings was clear-cut in its primitive crudeness, and the simplest man could readily comprehend the meaning of the "laws," which afforded little opportunity for technical "construction." The criminal code was about the same in all the mining districts, and the following extracts from that of the Spanish Bar district are examples of this curt but comprehensive frontier legislation:

"Sec. 1. Any person guilty of willful murder, upon conviction thereof, shall be hung by the neck until he is dead."

"Sec. 2. Any person guilty of manslaughter, or homicide, shall be punished as a jury of twelve men may direct."

"Sec. 3. Any person shooting or threatening to shoot another, using or threatening to use any deadly weapons, except in self-defense, shall be fined a sum not less than fifty nor more than five hundred dollars, and receive, in addition, as many stripes on his bare back, as a jury of six men may direct, and be banished from the district."

"Sec. 4. Any person found guilty of petit larceny shall be fined in a sum double the amount stolen, and such other punishment as a jury of six men may direct, and be banished from the district."

"Sec. 5. Any person found guilty of grand larceny shall be fined in a sum double the amount stolen, and receive not less than fifteen nor more than three hundred lashes, on his bare back, and be banished from the district, and such other punishment as a jury of six men may direct."

The conspicuous feature of these concise laws is the provision that enacts measures for permanently ridding the community of convicted offenders. This was clearly understood in every mining district. Section One specifies hanging for willful murder, a most effective form of banishment; but for other offenses, the reserved clause, "such other punishment," or the optional form of punishment to be designated by the jury, made it possible that enforcement might also have a coil of rope in connection with it.

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began publication, Mr. Stone became its editor, having George A. Hinsdale as his associate; and continued editor of that paper until 1873. He was instrumental in organizing in 1869 the first Board of Trade in Pueblo, and became its Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary. One of the active promoters of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, and a member of the company, he served as its General Attorney until his election to the Supreme Bench of the State in 1877. In 1874 at Boston he arranged with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Company details of plans and agreements for extensions of its lines through southern Colorado. A member from Pueblo county, of the convention that framed the constitution of the State in 1876, he served as chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, as a member of several other important committees, and had been the choice of his party for President of the convention. The constitution having been ratified, Mr. Stone was unanimously nominated by the Democratic party as its candidate for Associate Justice of the new State's Supreme Court but, in common with the rest of the ticket, failed of election, by a narrow margin.

In 1877, Judge E. T. Wells, who had been elected a Supreme Judge for the long term of nine years, at that first State election, resigned. To nominate a candidate to succeed him, a convention of the lawyers of the State, representing both political parties, was held at Colorado Springs, and by which Mr. Stone was unanimously chosen for the high position. His election followed in the autumn of that year without opposition. Such recognition of popularity and professional ability was unprecedented, and of these proceedings that placed Judge Stone on the Supreme Bench of the State there has been no repetition.

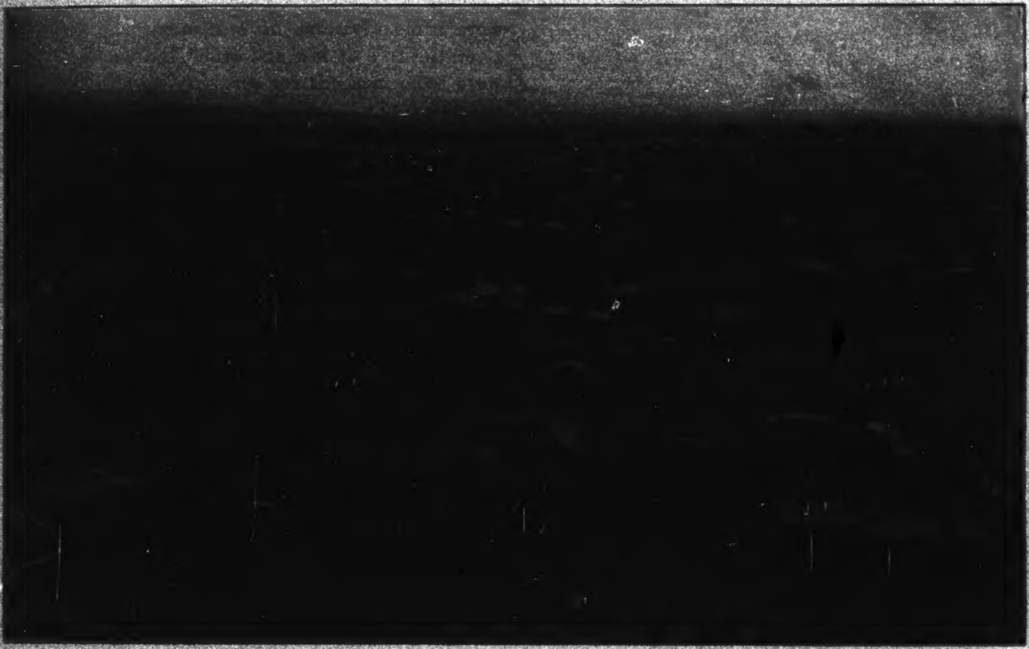
Judge Stone's term expired in 1886, and in 1887 he was appointed by Governor Adams Judge of the Arapahoe county Criminal Court, in which position he served until the spring of 1889, when the Court was abolished by legislative enactment. He then engaged in the practice of law in Denver which he continued until the summer of 1891. Congress, by an act approved March 3rd of that year established the "Court of Private Land Claims," for the purpose of adjudicating Spanish and Mexican land-grant titles in accordance with the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, its jurisdiction extending over Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico; the Court to consist of five Judges appointed from different States by the President. On June 10, 1891, President Harrison in response to requests from Colorado men of both political parties, and in recognition of his ability and fitness, appointed Judge Stone one of the Judges of that Court, which judicial position he yet fills. His intimate knowledge of the western and southwestern country, of the Spanish language, and of the Mexican people to whom much of the business of the Court extends has made him one of its most efficient members. He was selected by the Court to visit Spain to investigate the archives at Madrid for information bearing on old Spanish grants in what is now Colorado and New Mexico territory; and on this duty, upon one of his several visits to Europe, he spent the winter of 1894-95 in the Spanish capital and at Sevilla.

Scholarly, versed in French and German as well as in Spanish and his mother tongue, Judge Stone is, aside from his learning and ability as a lawyer and a jurist, a man of high attainments, and a writer who clothes his subjects with many charms of expression. In the earlier days he was a frequent and always welcome contributor to Colorado newspapers. He has written freely upon the history of southern Colorado and New Mexico, and the historical review of Pueblo for the National Centennial Records of the United States Government was prepared by him. His description of Mount Lincoln and its surrounding scenic magnificence, written and published in 1864, still stands without equal as a word-picture of the majestic grandeur and beauty of Nature's work in the Colorado mountains.—J. C. S.

The civil code was just as straightforward and concise. Section Twenty-three deserves a shining place in the annals of human liberation, for it defines citizenship on the broadest possible lines, without any restriction as to age, sex, color or previous condition of servitude. Its brief but all-embracing language was as follows:

> "Any person owning a claim, or working, or living in this district, shall be entitled to a vote and all the rights of citizenship."

While it is probable that this section was intended to apply only to white men over twenty-one years of age, there was nothing in its language to forbid persons of any age, sex, and color acquiring and exercising "all the rights of citizenship" in that mining district in 1859.



View northward from electric light tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues in autumn of 1882.

The officers of these districts exercised an extended authority. They discharged the duties of District, Probate, and Criminal courts, and by virtue of their offices were county, city and village executives. Records of mining claims, of pre-emptions, and of transfers of real property were duly made by the Recorder in books which were accessible to every one; he also kept the public accounts of the community and served as its treasurer. The President presided at the miners' meetings and at Courts in the absence of the Judge, and in cases wherein that officer might be interested. If the President were absent the Judge presided at the general meetings. The Sheriff's duties were such as that functionary usually performs in regularly organized counties; and the Collector attended to gathering in the dues, fees, and other obligations to the public treasury. All the officers gave bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties.

With this simple machinery the "laws" of the mining districts were administered with efficiency, promptness, and fairness. It constituted their government until Congress by regular enactment created the Territory of Colorado in 1861. The miners, as a class, did not take kindly to the proposed "State of Jefferson," nor to the attempted "Territory of Jefferson," and did not give much heed to the "acts" of the latter's "Legislature." Their own simple but alert district governments suited most of them far better than that of a sporadic Territory with no more legal authority back of it than their local organizations possessed.

Their regulations concerning the rights of property were comprehensive and well considered. They specified what should constitute a lode discovery and regulated the size of each mining claim on the lode, explaining what was necessary to ownership and proper title in them. They also regulated the extent and boundaries of mill-sites, water powers and rights, and gulch and placer claims; and made suitable provisions for recording and confirming transfers of other kinds of real property. These enactments while lacking the legal forms, technical terms, and exactness of expression of later statutes by Territorial and State authority, were usually plain enough in their literal meaning. If any man were disposed to quibble over possible verbal obscurities of meaning, or a not improbable grammatical eccentricity, the power that formulated the alleged defective "law," would soon convince him of the uselessness of pointing to an uncrossed "t," or an undotted "i," as means of salvation for his cause. Therefore, there was little inclination to grasp at literary defects in the "statutes" for help in a suspicious situation.

But things were quite different in the town communities, and especially so in the Cherry creek towns, as the reader has seen in various preceding chapters. The difference was due to several causes. There was less unity of common purpose among the town-dwellers and a greater variety of character. The mining communities were composed almost wholly of men who were hard at work every day, while in the towns a considerable proportion of the population was of a kind bent upon a parasitic livelihood that did not involve manual labor. This class did not encourage the enactment of such "legislation" as that governing the mining districts, and was quick to point out the "illegality" and the "irregularity" of the provisional governments that were organized here in 1859 and 1860. Lawbreakers, men who habitually disregard the law and the rights of their fellow-men, have in all times and everywhere been great sticklers for the forms of law duly and properly enacted and applied; and by those of that class in Denver prior to 1861 the absence of lawfully constituted government was not allowed to be forgotten. Furthermore, the intense jealousy and rivalry between Auraria and Denver City were undoubtedly in part responsible for the laxness that existed.

Among the substantial citizens, those who had a stake in the permanent welfare of the community and who were very largely in the majority, there were some divisions of sentiment. All these desired the rule of law and order, but the differences were as to methods for securing it. All were conscious of the technical correctness of the contentions made by the community's parasites, and this consciousness reinforced by partisanship that had

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Samuel H. Elbert was born in Logan county, Ohio, in 1833. His father, a physician of prominence in his profession, removed in 1840 to the then Territory of Iowa where young Elbert passed his boyhood on his father's farm. Having made the best of the advantages offered by the pioneer schools in Iowa, he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware in 1848 and was graduated with honors there in 1854. He then studied law at Dayton, O., and was admitted to the bar in the autumn of 1856. In the spring of 1857 he located at Plattsmouth, Neb., engaged in the practice of his profession, and became identified with the political affairs of the Territory.

In 1860, Judge Elbert was a delegate from Nebraska Territory in the National Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency; a choice he most earnestly advocated. Taking an active part in the campaign of that year, he was elected to the upper branch of the Nebraska Territorial Legislature, where he served with characteristic ability. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed him Secretary of Colorado Territory to succeed Lewis L. Weld. He arrived in Denver in April of that year and at once entered upon his duties.

During the remainder of his life Judge Elbert was very prominently identified with the political and other affairs of Colorado. While Secretary of the Territory he was, by virtue of his office, frequently the Acting Governor; and, as elsewhere related, was Acting Governor in the winter of 1864-65, when the Indians were so gravely menacing Denver, and had executive charge of the improvised military preparations for the city's defense. An ardent supporter of the government during the civil war, he was a delegate from Colorado in the National convention at Baltimore that re-nominated President Lincoln. In 1865 he took an active part in the movement of that year for Colorado's admission to the Union, and in the election of Governor Evans and Jerome B. Chaffee as Senators from the prospective new State. His service as Secretary of the Territory terminated in May, 1866, and he then formed a law partnership with the late John Q. Charles and began practice of his profession in Denver. In 1869, he was elected a member of the Territorial Legislature, and became a leader in that body.

In the spring of 1873, Judge Elbert was appointed Governor of Colorado Territory, his term extending from April in that year to July, 1874. Than Judge Elbert, no man more sincere in his efforts to give the Territory a capable and good government ever occupied the executive chair.

Upon Colorado's admission to the Union in 1876, Judge Elbert was one of the three Justices elected to constitute the State's first Supreme Court, and under the provisions of the constitution his term was the one for the six years ending in 1883. In January, 1880, under the constitutional provision, he became the Chief Justice of the Court and so served until the close of his term. In 1885 he was again elected a Justice of the Supreme Court, for a term of nine years, but owing to the pressure of his private affairs for attention, he resigned in September, 1888. Judge Elbert's record as an able, conscientious and distinguished Judge has not been surpassed by that of any of the profound men who have served in the highest Court of our State. During his term as Chief Justice the Ohio Wesleyan University conferred upon him the degree of LL. D.; having previously bestowed the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts.

The foregoing is but the briefest outline of Judge Elbert's active life of great and conscientious usefulness to his fellow-men. He devoted its closing years to the affairs of his estate and to extended travel, but his health became much impaired. In the autumn of 1899 he went to Galveston, Tex., expecting to remain there through the ensuing winter. His unexpected death occurred in that city November 27, 1899, and he was buried in our Riverside cemetery on December 3rd.

In June, 1865, Judge Elbert married Josephine, daughter of Governor John Evans. She and their only child, a son, died in 1868, and he did not again marry.—J. C. S.

Samuel H. Elbert.

arisen, led to divided allegiance to the provisional governments.

But it is not of record or of reminiscence that any pioneer lawyer during those days of makeshift governments ever sought in his practice to break down the frail barriers they interposed between the community and anarchy, by repudiating them on the ground of their illegality of origin and existence. On the other hand, the lawyers consistently upheld the provisional governments as they sprang up side by side, or succeeded each other, on the theory that any kind of government, even that of conflicting plural organizations, were immeasurably better than none. They well should have done so, for the provisional affairs, as well as the efforts late in 1859 to establish here the proper jurisdiction of Kansas Territory, were largely their work.

At this late day it may seem strange to some of our readers that recourse to the Kansas jurisdiction was not had at the beginning of attempts to establish government here, but the reasons therefor are found in the ambition to have an independent State or Territory; in the expectations that Kansas would become a State with reduced area much sooner than it did; in the remoteness of the Pike's Peak country from the Kansas seat of government then on the Missouri border; and, to some further extent, in rising partisanship; the particulars of all of which have been elsewhere related. So, as matters turned out, they had a curious and interesting jumble of conflicting jurisdictions, and a great abundance of "law."

It is doubtful if anywhere in the history of the United States will be found a parallel for the peculiar and complicated political and legal conditions which surrounded the pioneers of Denver and of Colorado before the country here became Colorado. In 1859 and 1860 many people who desired to be "law-abiding citizens" were hard put to it to decide how to act or where to bestow their allegiance to attain that end. The Kansas Territorial government was rightfully asserting jurisdiction over, and legislating for, them; the "Jefferson" government was doing the same things, but in a contrary direction; the "Miners' Courts" constituted another power and authority exclusively recognized by many, and which were about the best of the lot; the "Arapahoe County Claim Club," an association of town-lot and country-land owners that had been organized for mutual protection and common defense of property rights soon after the town companies had come into existence, was maintaining a limited but vigorous jurisdiction; and the new provisional municipal government of the city of Denver, through its "legislative council" and its common pleas and appellate "Courts," asserted legislative and judicial powers over them to an extent that made it much more like a Territorial government than that of a city; independent of all these, in 1860, were the "People's Courts" that took the flagrant cases of outrage and crime into their prompt and effective hands without consulting any of the other alleged executive or judicial powers.

Under such conditions and circumstances none of the governments had much vitality nor could it effectively enforce in grave cases and under the forms of law any authority it claimed to possess. This soon resulted in public indifference at times bordering on contempt for all of them, excepting the "People's Courts," which uniformly commanded the profoundest respect for their decrees. Until

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Ebenezer T. Wells, former Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Colorado and of the State of Colorado, was born in the town of Richland, Oswego county, N. Y., May 15, 1835. His father was a merchant and the son of Rev. William Wells of Brattleboro, Vt., who was an eminent clergyman of the Unitarian faith and who settled at Brattleboro soon after the close of the War of the Revolution.

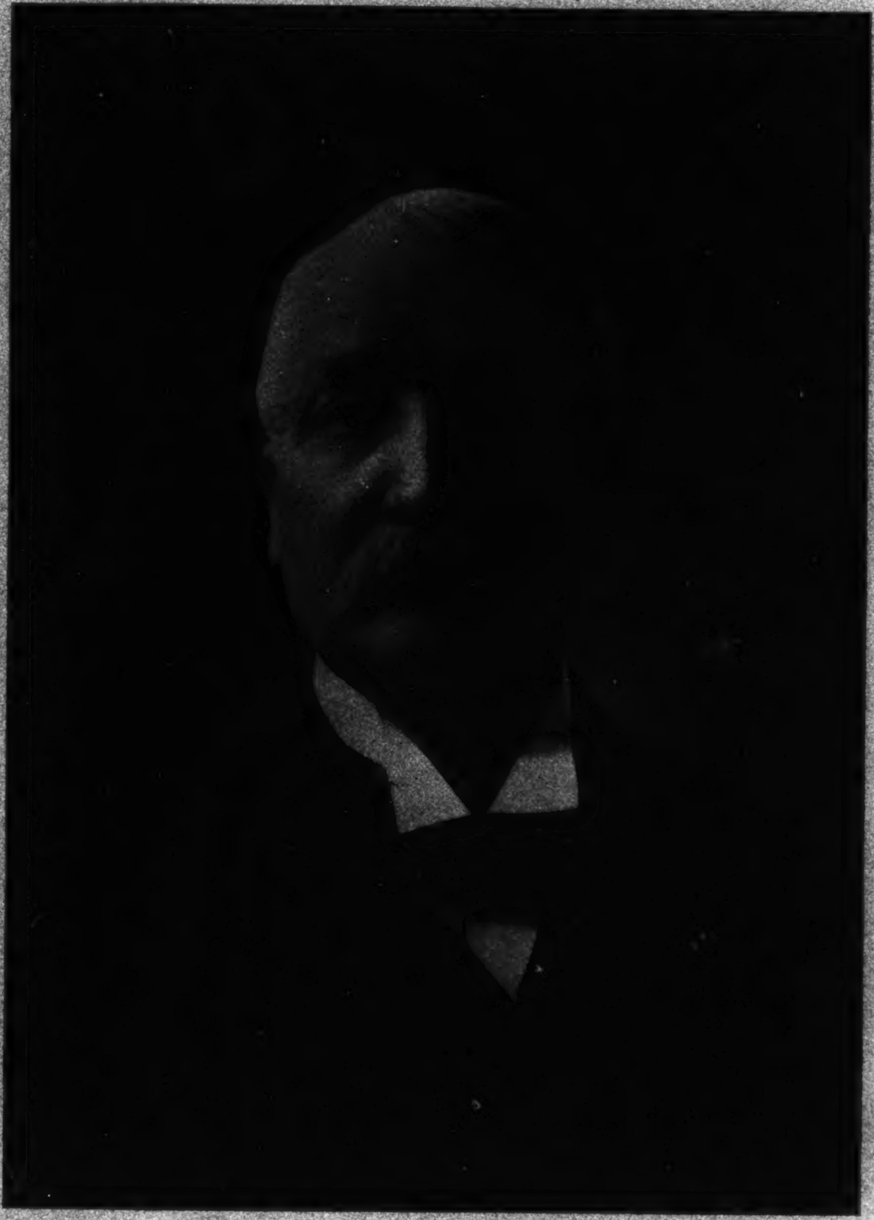
Judge Wells' father removed with his family to Henry county, Ills., in 1838, where the subject of this sketch spent his boyhood. Entering Knox College, young Wells was graduated there in 1854, and then began the study of law. Admitted to the bar in March, 1856, he located at Rock Island, Ills., and was there engaged in the practice of his profession until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Judge Wells saw much hard service throughout that war. Commissioned a Lieutenant in the Eighty-Ninth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry, he was soon promoted Captain in the same organization. Later, he was appointed by the President an Assistant Adjutant General, and his last year of service was as Assistant Adjutant General to the Third Division of the Fourteenth Army Corps and the Sixth Division of the Cavalry Corps, in the Army of the Cumberland.

Judge Wells came to Colorado in the autumn of 1865, and located in Gilpin county where he followed his profession until March 1, 1871, when he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory; a position in which he ably served four years. Upon Colorado's admission to the Union in 1876, he was elected to the Supreme Bench of the State, but resigned before the expiration of the first year of his term. Additional particulars of his service on the Supreme Bench appear elsewhere in this volume.

Judge Wells was a member of the Territorial Legislative Assembly in the winter of 1866-67, and framed the revision of the Territorial statutes known as the "Revised Statutes of 1868." Elected a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1876, he bore a prominent part in framing the fundamental law of our State. He has also been twice chosen as one of Colorado's Presidential Electors.

Upon his retirement from the Supreme Bench, Judge Wells became a citizen of Denver and has since been, as he now is, actively engaged in the practice of his profession. In politics he was long a Republican, but in recent years his convictions have led him to affiliation with the Democratic party.—J. C. S.



E. T. Wells.

the establishment of the Colorado Territorial government in 1861, the proceedings of the several "governments," each at variance with the others, that claimed and more or less exercised jurisdiction over Arapahoe county, became a fearfully confused tangle; and the wonder is that anything like order was ever brought out of it. To do so, however, some short cuts across lots had to be taken.

Fortunately, there was comparatively little litigation in the first two and one-half years after the beginnings of Denver had been made; but this resulted from no lack of "Courts," of which there was a large abundance and a great variety, as our reader will have seen. Probably their lack of legal standing had much to do with discouraging litigation, and therefore, also, their decisions and judgments did not command the highest respect. But aside from all that, there was but little litigation among the pioneers, and there is no record of a civil suit in which large and valuable interests were involved. Real estate in Arapahoe county was not worth enough to produce even a small crop of large lawsuits, and there were no mining claims in the county over which to go to law. Such cases as were taken into Court were often there by mutual agreement between plaintiff and defendant, and the proceedings rather like an arbitration instead of a judicial determination that could and would give effect to its decrees; for a defendant might, if he chose to do so, wholly ignore notice of suit against him, or snap his fingers at a judgment rendered against him by default. Where there were so many conflicting trial "Courts" and none by authority of unquestionable law, legal proceedings of a civil character could not command general respect and attention. After the city of Denver set up its new provisional government in the autumn of 1860, with its "legislative council" and its common pleas and appellate Courts, and went into the business of providing both legislative and judicial accommodations for the people in competition with the other organizations, an attempt, which strikingly reflects the condition of judicial affairs at that time, was made to harmonize things between rival Courts, to increase respect for them, and in effect to make them co-operative—suggestive in our times of a sort of Court "Trust." On November 27, 1860, the Denver "legislative council" adopted a resolution introduced by the late James M. Broadwell, one of its members, which provided as follows:

> "All judgments, decrees and proceedings now had and obtained before the Arapahoe County Claim Club, the Courts of Kansas, the Probate Court of Arapahoe County so-called, and the Provisional "Jefferson" Government Courts within the jurisdiction of the Government, which have been obtained according to the rules, regulations and usual practices of said respective tribunals shall be, and the same are hereby declared to be good, and valid, and binding, as judgments obtained in the Court of Common Pleas [the city's new Court], upon filing in said Court a duly authenticated transcript of the same."

It was easy enough to resolve all this, but quite different to define or cite the authority for any of it. So that action did not mend matters very much. The "Arapahoe County Claim Club" was something like a thorn in the sides of Courts under

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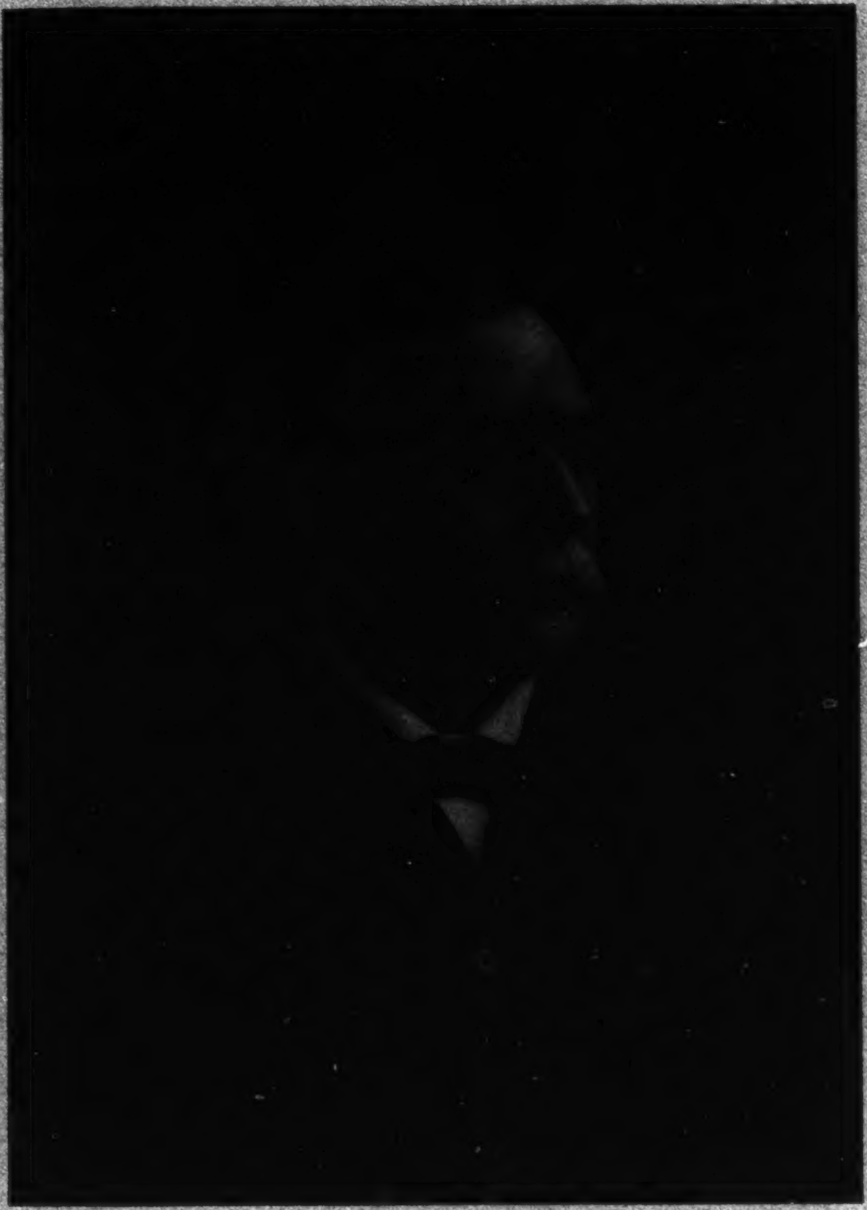
Thomas M. Patterson, United States Senator from Colorado, was born in County Carlow, Ireland, November 4, 1840. At the age of nine years he came with his parents to New York, in which city he attended the public schools until he was fourteen years old. He then entered a mercantile house in which he was employed a short time, when the family removed to Crawfordsville, Indiana. There, the son entered the office of one of the local newspapers and was employed two years in the mechanical department. He then engaged with his father, who was a jeweller, and began an apprenticeship to that business which continued until the outbreak of the civil war, when he enlisted in the Eleventh Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, of which Gen. Lew Wallace was then Colonel. Upon the expiration of his term of service he returned home and resumed his place in his father's establishment.

In 1863 he decided to prepare for a professional career. In that year he entered Asbury University at Greencastle, Indiana, and in 1864 Wabash College at Crawfordsville, Indiana. In 1865 he became a student in the law office of M. D. White at Crawfordsville, with whom he remained until the autumn of 1867, when he was admitted to practice in all the Courts of Indiana. He then engaged in the practice of his profession at Crawfordsville until 1872. Having decided to remove to the West, he came to Denver in December of that year and began here his long, prominent and useful citizenship.

Mr. Patterson's career in Denver and in Colorado is identified with many important events in their history since he became a citizen here nearly thirty years ago. He had immediately engaged in the practice of his profession and had soon established himself as a lawyer of commanding ability. A Democrat in politics, deeply interested in the welfare and success of his party, he was at once received and made a leader in its councils. In the spring of 1874, within eighteen months after his arrival in Denver, he was elected City Attorney. Three months later he was nominated by his party as its candidate for Delegate in the Forty-Fourth Congress from the Territory of Colorado, and was elected in September by a majority of more than 2,000; his Republican opponent having been H. P. H. Bromwell. Early in 1875, in the interval between his election and the assembling of the Forty-Fourth Congress, he was influential and instrumental at Washington in assuring the passage of the Enabling Act under which Colorado became a State in 1876.

In the Forty-Fourth Congress, though a young man and hedged about by the limitations attending the position of a Territorial Delegate, his ability enabled him to secure the enactment of several laws of great importance to his constituents; among them having been one authorizing all quali-



Thomas M. Patterson.

other jurisdictions. This organization, formed in the winter of 1859-60, was an association of real-estate owners, most of whom were citizens of Denver. Its purpose was to protect its members against the acts of "jumpers," and against any other assaults upon titles to their real estate. It adopted a code of regulations, and established a trial Court of its own to deal with "jumpers," to determine property rights and to protect its members therein, and also to settle disputes between members. The Club proclaimed its intention to command respect for its proceedings and decrees by force of by no means gentle character. There was need for such an organization, and its original purposes were laudable, but there later came times when there were some abuses of its power, and in consequence thereof it suffered in public repute. But in its prime it was, aside from the "People's Courts" for murderers, more directly influential for quick and strictly practical business purposes within the limits of the jurisdiction it asserted, than any other organization then in Denver that included a Court as part of its equipment.

The judicial system of "Jefferson Territory," so far as it was established, was a simple piece of machinery. It provided for Justices of the Peace with about the same jurisdiction as such officers have at present; next above was the County Court with very much the same general jurisdiction as that possessed by our present County Courts, with the important addition of having to do the work of County Commissioners in "locating roads and highways;" next above, again, was the Supreme Court of the Territory with the jurisdiction indicated by its name. This Court was provided with one Chief Justice and two Associate Justices. As to the methods by which the Jeffersonians were to appeal cases of paramount importance from their Supreme Court to that of the United States, this deponent saith not; no provisions for doing so having been discovered in our researches into the affairs of that historic organization. It would seem, furthermore, that it would have been somewhat of a presumptuous undertaking to have asked the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the decisions of the Supreme Court of a government organized and existing outside of, and as a legal fact in defiance of, the laws of the United States. However, that caused no embarrassments, as there does not appear ever to have been a case before the "Supreme Court of Jefferson Territory" of sufficient importance to tempt an appeal to Washington by a dissatisfied litigant; and so "Jefferson Territory" escaped judicial complications with the rather more powerful National government.

While this whole Rocky Mountain region south of parallel Forty and west to the summit of the range had been part and parcel of Kansas Territory, no Courts higher than that of Probate were established here under Kansas jurisdiction. As related in our historical account of Arapahoe county, there was an alleged Probate Court here as early

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fied electors in Colorado to vote upon the State constitution, the Enabling Act of March, 1875, having limited that suffrage to those qualified at the time it became a law; another was a law appropriating money for the pay and expenses of the members of the Colorado State constitutional convention; another providing for establishing Federal Courts in Colorado immediately upon its admission as a State. In 1876, before Colorado's admission, Mr. Patterson prevailed upon the National Democratic Committee when it issued the call for the St. Louis convention that nominated Samuel J. Tilden for President, to recognize Colorado as a State and to provide for its representation by delegates upon the same footing as those from the States. He was then made the first Colorado member of the National Democratic Committee, elected a delegate to the St. Louis convention, and chosen chairman of the Colorado delegation in that historic assemblage.

After Colorado was admitted, the Democratic party unanimously nominated Mr. Patterson as its candidate for Representative in the Forty-Fifth Congress; the new State having been entitled at that time to but one member; and by the election in October, 1876, he became Colorado's first member of the House of Representatives at Washington. He was then under thirty-six years of age and in the fourth year of his citizenship here. As a Representative in Congress he was active and influential, and was recognized as a leader among those of his party faith. In that Congress he originated and brought to passage a half dozen or more measures of especial importance to the people of Colorado.

In 1878 Mr. Patterson was unanimously renominated for Representative but, after a brilliant canvass, shared the common defeat that befell his party in the campaign of that year. He did not again become a candidate until 1888, when his party nominated him for Governor but failed in his election. In January, 1901, the Thirteenth General Assembly of Colorado elected him United States Senator to succeed Edward O. Wolcott whose term expired March 4, 1901.

In the meantime, Mr. Patterson had actively engaged in the practice of his profession in which he had become, as he remains, a master. As a counsellor, a Court and a jury lawyer, few members of the bar anywhere have brought more profound legal learning, acumen, thoroughness, and brilliancy of intellect to the service of clients than he. His fame as a lawyer and as an orator long since passed beyond the bounds of the State and became National.

Mr. Patterson had also continued his active interest and participation in political affairs with which he has been so long, conspicuously and ably identified. He stands today among the leaders of the people in the west who are not in harmony with the policies of the present dominant National political organization.

In 1890 Mr. Patterson purchased a controlling interest in the pioneer Rocky Mountain News, and since then has devoted part of his time and attention to it.—J. C. S.

Platt Rogers, Lawyer.

as the spring of 1859, but it lacked much of having unanimous indorsement and recognition by the people. However, they managed to get through with their picturesque but makeshift forms of government with their conflicting "authority," and more or less impotent Courts, until relief finally came from Congress in the form of the Territory of Colorado.

The early Territorial Legislatures of Colorado by statutory enactments confirmed much that had been done under "Jefferson" "laws," by the Miners' and these other pioneer Courts, and by pioneer officers acting under their authority, or by election. This curing of "defects in title" extended, also, to marriages solemnized by pioneer officers whose authority to have done so was questionable. Congress soon afterward by law confirmed, as to public lands, mining and water rights equities that had been acquired prior to the organization of Colorado Territory; all of which legislation helped very materially in straightening out many complications that had arisen.

The organic act creating the Territory of Colorado provided for a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate (or County) Courts, and Justices of the Peace; the Judges of the Supreme Court to sit separately as District Judges, and together as a Supreme Court. President Lincoln appointed Benjamin F. Hall, of New York, Chief Justice; and Charles Lee Armour, of Ohio; and S. Newton Pettis, of Pennsylvania; as Associate Justices. Judge Hall was commissioned March 25, 1861, and Judges Armour and Pettis on March 28th.

Governor Gilpin administered the oath of office to Judges Hall and Pettis on July 8th. The Court was organized on July 10th, Judge Hall presiding; there having been a little delay in consequence of the belated arrival of Judge Armour. These proceedings were instituted with prayer led by Reverend J. H. Kehler; L. L. Bowen, who was later succeeded by James E. Dalliba, was appointed, pro tem., District Attorney; and Baxter B. Stiles, Clerk of the Court.

The organic act authorized and directed the legislative branch of the new Territorial government to divide the Territory into three Judicial Districts, at its first session, and to assign one of the three Judges to each District, respectively; each Judge being required to reside in his respective District. Among the early acts, if not the first one, of the first Territorial Legislature, that convened at Denver, September 9, 1861, was a statute creating the three Judicial Districts and assigning a Judge to each. The First, which became commonly known as the "Central City District," was made to embrace the territory west of a north-and-south line passing through the now vanished town of Arapahoe (just east of Golden), and north of the latitude of the town of Bradford, another almost forgotten pioneer hamlet about four miles south of the present town of Morrison; and to this District Judge Armour was assigned, his Court to be held at Central City. The Second, or "Denver District," embraced the territory east of that of the First and north of the latitude of Bradford; and to it Chief Justice Hall was assigned, his Court to sit in Denver. The Third, or as it was first called, the "Southern District," embraced the remainder of the Territory—about three-fifths of its

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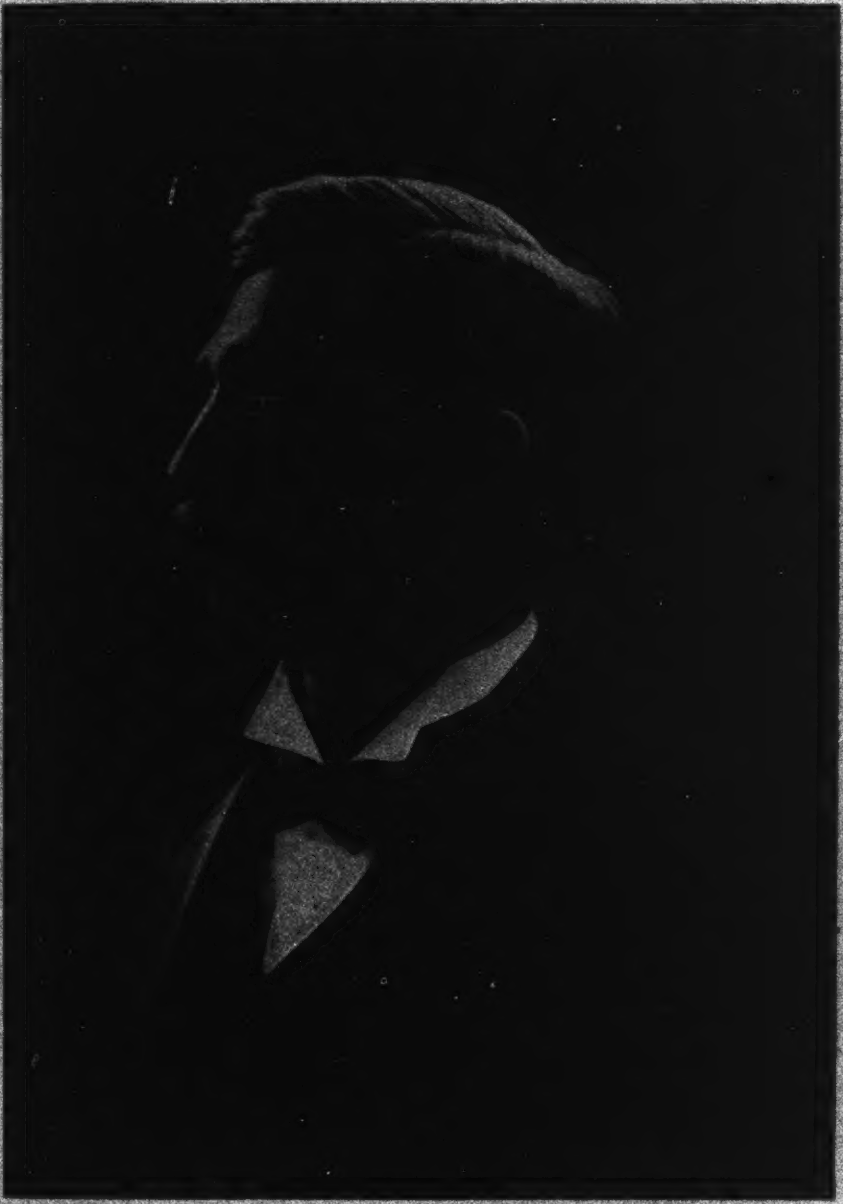
Charles J. Hughes, Jr., son of Charles J. and Serena C. Hughes, was born at Kingston, Caldwell Co., Mo., February 16, 1853; and later resided successively in Kingston, Richmond, Westport, and Kansas City, Mo. Educated in the public schools and at Richmond College, he studied law in his father's office and then entered the Law Department of the Missouri State University from which he was graduated. After graduation he taught a country school for a short time, then became Instructor in Mathematics and Political Economy in Richmond College, and in August, 1877, engaged in the practice of law at Richmond where he soon established himself as a successful young lawyer.

Having first visited Denver in September, 1879, Mr. Hughes then resolved to locate here; and removed hither in February, 1880, since which time he has been actively engaged here in the practice of his profession. Later he became a partner with General Bela M. Hughes and so continued for five years, but since then has practiced alone.

In his profession, Mr. Hughes is and long has been a leader in this western country, and has been of counsel in many of the noted cases, of much public importance and that attracted general attention, in the Courts of Colorado and in those of other western States. Among these have been numerous instances of the complicated litigation arising from mining and which, as related in the text of this chapter, calls for legal ability of the highest order. In other directions—in general litigation, in that arising from irrigation, and in that between corporations, he has been no less successfully conspicuous; among the famous instances of the latter having been those of the Western Union Telegraph Co. vs. the Union Pacific Railroad Co., and the Adams Express Co. vs. the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Co.

In politics, Mr. Hughes is a steadfast conservative Democrat. While never having been an office-seeker, his services as an adviser to and campaigner for his party have always freely been at his party's command and have as freely been effectively utilized. Since April 1, 1889, he has filled, as elsewhere mentioned, the non-partisan position of member of the Board of Capitol Managers. In 1888 he was one of his party's candidates for Presidential Elector, and in 1900 was chosen to that position and cast for the Democratic candidate for President of the United States one of Colorado's four votes in the Electoral College. The Colorado election of November, 1900, having assured the election of a Democratic United States Senator by our General Assembly, Mr. Hughes was the choice of many Colorado Democrats for that position, but did not become a candidate.—J. C. S.



Charles J. Hughes, Jr.

total area—and to it Judge Pettis was assigned, his Court to be held at Canon City.

Subsequently the Legislature made successive changes in the boundaries of these Districts, but Denver and Central City continued as places of holding District Courts until the close of the Territorial era. Canon City did not fare so well, for when the Legislature convened at Colorado City in July, 1862, the southern Court moved up there and remained a short time. But soon afterward its seat was fixed at Pueblo, and the Southern became commonly known as the "Pueblo District." But owing to Pettis' failure to attend to his duties, as will later be related, the Southern District really had no Court until the appointment of Judge Bradford early in June, 1862.

The first Grand Jury in Colorado under the new government was impanelled at Denver September 4, 1861, and consisted of Nelson Sargent, foreman; Andrew Sagendorf, John M. Clark, Charles A. Wright, John W. Smith, Alexander M. Smith, John L. Boggs, John G. Vawter, William D. Davis, John B. Ashland, Jonathan U. Price, Milton E. Clark, Warren Hussey, J. F. Goraline, James M. Iddings, M. M. DeLano, Edward H. Hart, and P. H. Smith.

Although a proclamation had been issued on July 23rd appointing a term of the Supreme Court to begin at Denver on the first Monday in the following September, that Court could have no business until some developed from the District Courts, and so had to await in idleness about a year, though the Judges were employed in the meantime in the District Courts. The first case was that of Gardner vs. Dunn, an action in forcible entry and detainer, began before a Justice of the Peace in Park county, April 16, 1862; appealed to the District Court of the Third District; and from that Court to the Supreme Court. The first criminal case before the Supreme Court was that of William Franklin convicted of murder by the District Court at Central City, and sentenced to be hanged. The appeal was based on an alleged flaw in the indictment which specified that the crime had been committed "at the said county of Gilpin," without further designation of the place, and without naming the Territory in which Gilpin county was situated. The Supreme Court reversed the District Court and sent the case back for a new trial, thereby saving Franklin's life for he was not again tried, but released on bail. For several years thereafter he promptly appeared at the Gilpin county Court House whenever Court convened, expecting his case to be called, and ready to be tried. His unusual conduct aroused great sympathy for him, and a large majority of the people of Gilpin insisted that the case should be dropped, and were glad that he escaped the rope.

The organization of Arapahoe county's first Probate (or County) Court did not occur until December, 1861, when J. N. Odell was elected Judge, as related in our historical account of the county in Chapter LII.

Our pioneer bar was neither deficient in numbers nor in men of ability. Immediately upon the organization of the Territorial Courts several were admitted to practice before them, and within a few months the following-named lawyers were engaged in untangling, or still further snarling, the litigated affairs of their fellow-citizens:

Baker, Samuel L.,
Bassett, I. N.,
Bowen, Leavitt L.,
Cassidy, A. M.,
Coleman, James T.,
Collier, David C.,
Crocker, George F.,
Dallibs, James E.,

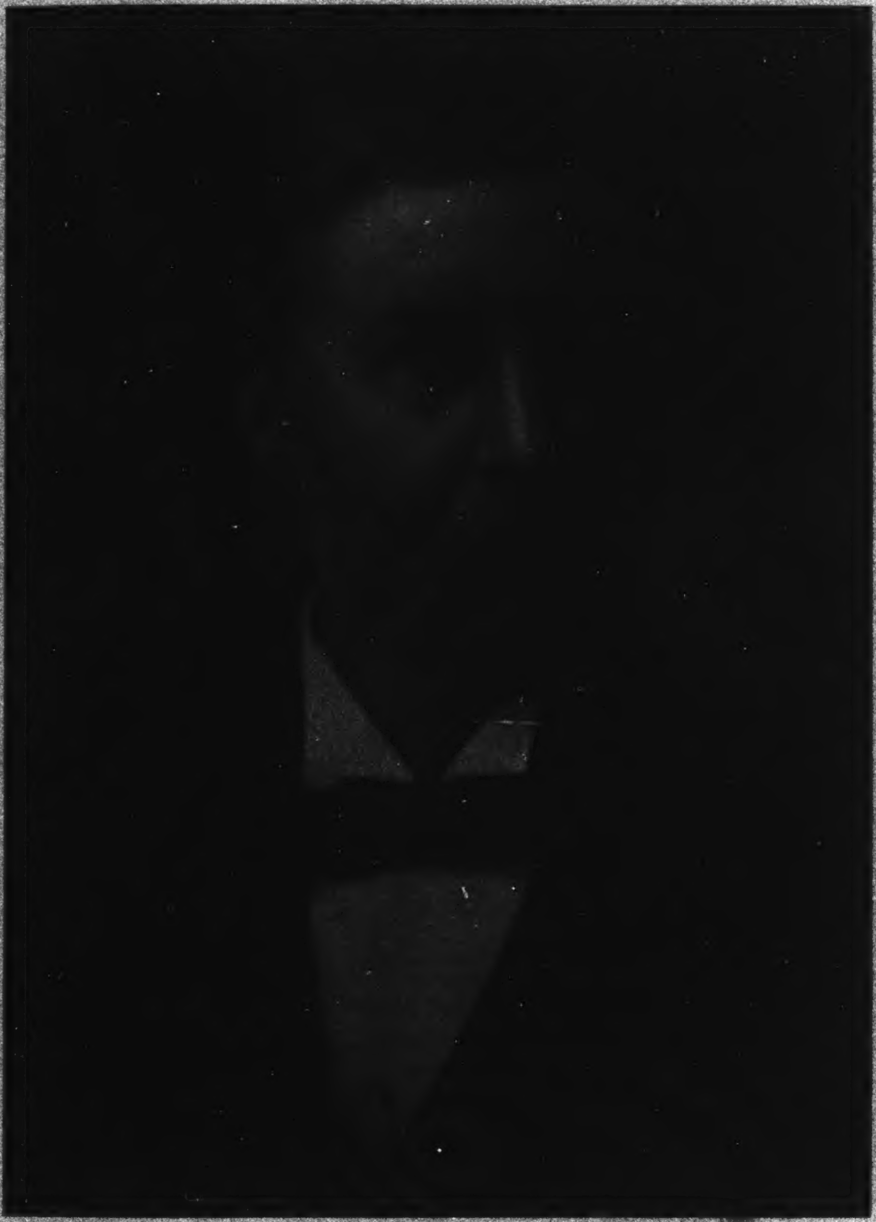
Hugh Butler, of Denver, was born near Airdrie, Lanarkshire, Scotland, May 31, 1840. His father was Thomas Butler of Kings county, Ireland, who settled in Scotland when a young man. In 1849 Thomas Butler came to the United States and finally located in the town of Hawesville, Kentucky. In 1853 he was joined by his wife and son Hugh. In 1857 the family removed to Lewistown, Illinois, where Hugh, who had acquired a good education, engaged in school-teaching, though he was but seventeen years of age. With his teaching, which continued through three winters, he diligently pursued the study of law. In 1860 he entered the office of a lawyer at Lewistown where he continued his legal studies, and was admitted to the bar in February, 1862.

Mr. Butler then went to Chicago where he began practice, remaining there until the autumn of 1863, when he removed to Colorado and located in Central City. His abilities soon won for him a large practice and an influential position in that community. In 1864 a vacancy occurred in the office of Prosecuting Attorney for Gilpin county, and the young lawyer was elected to fill the unexpired part of the term. In 1865 he was re-elected for the ensuing full term, but resigned in 1866.

In the autumn of 1867 Mr. Butler was elected to the upper house of the Territorial Legislature in which he served for four years with distinction and ability. In 1871 he was chosen Mayor of Central City, a position in which he served for one year. In 1873 he was again elected to the upper branch of the Territorial Legislature. In politics Mr. Butler is a Democrat, but he has never been a politician nor an office-seeker. In 1876 he was chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, and directed the first campaign of his party in the Centennial State. Since that time he has not participated in political management, the demands of his professional business engrossing his attention.

Mr. Butler removed to Denver early in 1874, since which time this city has been his home, and where he advanced to the front rank of his profession in Colorado. In 1882 Governor Grant selected him for appointment as Judge of the Superior Court of Denver, but Mr. Butler was obliged to decline the appointment on account of his large and increasing practice. In 1892 this thorough lawyer and brilliant speaker was called to the chair of Common Law and Code Pleadings in the law department of the Colorado State University, which he ably and acceptably filled.

On February 13, 1872, Mr. Butler married Miss Annie, daughter of Hon. John Milton Thatcher of Kentucky.—J. C. S.



Hugh Butler.

Downing, Jacob,
Farner, William H.,
France, Lewis B.,
Gilpin, William,
Hallett, Moses,
Hetzel, Selden,
Hunt, H. R.,
Jacobs, Edward C.,
Likins, William B.,
Moore, John C.,
Perry, William,
Purkins, George W.,
Reed, Gilbert B.,
Sherman, J. H.,
Slough, John P.,
Smith, J. B.,
Steck, Amos,
Stiles, Baxter B.,
Wanless, John,
Weld, Lewis L.,
Weston, Allyn,
Wilson, George,
Wyatt, N. G.

A large proportion of these men had come to Denver in 1859 and 1860 and had participated with more or less prominence in forming and conducting the various makeshift "governments" of the pioneer era; and in these affairs they had really been guiding spirits. There were, as we have said, men of decided ability among these pioneer lawyers, and if the several primitive "governments" they conspicuously assisted to frame failed in the test of practical application, the causes therefor grew out of conditions they could neither remove nor effectively remedy.

Still, they had their critics. When the city Provisional Government was under consideration and discussion in the autumn of 1860, one citizen, in an article in the Rocky Mountain News, delivered himself of this opinion:

"This appears to be a very acceptable plan of government to the committee who framed it, as well as to all the business and laboring men of that meeting. The only ones who made any obection to it were the Lawyers—they took sides for and against the plan and consumed the whole evening gassing over it. Now, sir, as a laboring man and a mechanic, I protest against having our time consumed at all our public meetings, by any such notoriously gassing fraternity as the Lawyers."

"We have had a government of their getting up, and now already have even two governments administered by lawyers; and such governments as they are! Why, sir, two more such governments administered by Lawyers as they are would not

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Thomas J. O'Donnell, lawyer, was born near the village of Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey, June 12, 1856. He attended the local public school near his birth-place until he was twelve years old, when he entered a private classical school conducted at Mendham by William Rankin, New Jersey's noted blind educator. After his course under Professor Rankin, Mr. O'Donnell prepared for Princeton College, but later decided to engage in newspaper work. In 1873 he formed an association with the Morris, New Jersey, Republican, in its business management and as a writer for its columns. In 1875 he became a contributor to the more prominent New York daily newspapers and to several periodical publications.

In 1876 Mr. O'Donnell became a law student in the office of Col. Frederick A. DeMott, of Morristown, who was a distinguished member of the New Jersey bar, where he remained until Colonel DeMott's death in 1878, when he continued his studies in the office of Hon. George T. Werts, of Morristown, (who later became Governor of New Jersey,) under whom he completed his studies and was admitted to practice.

In the autumn of 1879 Mr. O'Donnell came to Colorado and spent several months in travel through the State. In the spring of 1880 he located in Denver and began the practice of his profession. His abilities soon won for him a prominent position as a lawyer in a community which is exacting in its standards of merit. He practiced alone until January 1, 1891, when Hon. Westbrooke S. Decker resigned from the Bench, became associated with Mr. O'Donnell, and the firm of O'Donnell & Decker was formed. In 1895 Mr. Milton Smith was admitted to the firm which then became O'Donnell, Decker & Smith. Judge Decker retired in 1897, but the association between Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Smith still continues.

In politics Mr. O'Donnell is a Democrat, and from the beginning of his residence in Denver has been prominent in the councils and active in the service of his party. In 1883 he was nominated for Judge of the County Court of Arapahoe county, but in common with his party ticket failed of election. In 1890 he was the Democratic candidate for Representative in Congress from the First District of Colorado, but again he with his party's other candidates was defeated. Two years later he was Delegate-at-Large from Colorado to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago where he was an active opponent of the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President. After that convention adjourned, Mr. O'Donnell with five others of the Colorado delegates united in an address to the Democrats of this State urging independent action in the National campaign. His continued and earnest efforts to that end were chiefly instrumental in bringing his party in Colorado into convention at Pueblo. This body, of which Mr. O'Donnell was made Chairman, almost unanimously refused its support to the Chicago ticket, and indorsed the candidacy of Weaver and Field, for whom Mr. O'Donnell made an influential canvass of Colorado, with results that are part of the political history of the State and Nation. Mr. O'Donnell was a Delegate-at-Large to the National Convention in 1896 and represented Colorado on the celebrated steering committee of the silver forces which outlined the policy of the convention and dominated it from beginning to end. In both of these National conventions Mr. O'Donnell was a member of the committee on credentials and on each occasion heard exciting and rancorous contests. The policy supported by the majority of the convention in 1896 did not have two-thirds, which, under the rules of Democratic conventions, is requisite to nominating a candidate for President, hence all interests centered in the contest over the Michigan delegation. When the committee on credentials reported in favor of ousting a portion of the Michigan delegation, (a report which if adopted gave two-thirds of the convention to the forces which had adopted its platform,) excitement ran high. Mr. O'Donnell was selected by the credentials committee to sustain its report upon the floor of the convention, and he closed the debate with the result that the report was adopted.

On October 21, 1881, Mr. O'Donnell married Miss Katherine Dwyer, of one of the old families of St. Louis.—J. C. S.

Thomas J. O'Donnell.

leave decent men and women enough in this city to make a respectable-sized class-meeting. The good book says 'no Lawyer can enter the Kingdom of Heaven,' and we think the good book is about right; for if all lawyers are like ours in this community, they, if admitted, would soon get up another 'war in Heaven.'"

The proceedings in the various "Courts" in 1859, 1860, and part of 1861, the details of their practices, the incidents arising from the confused, contradictory and hostile jurisdictions, the devices employed by pioneer lawyers to obtain some brand of justice for their clients—or to avoid it, afford abundant material for a volume that would be of extraordinary interest. The conditions were unlike any that have existed elsewhere and were of a kind that will never be again. It seems like a misfortune that the legal experiences and reminiscences, anecdotes and incidents, of those historic days should be lost.

After the machinery of the Colorado Territorial government was put in motion the business of the lawyer here rested on a more satisfactory basis than had previously been afforded it, and the difficulties in legally determining "who's who and what's what" were very greatly simplified. The civil and criminal codes adopted by the Legislature, and the general rules of practice, were founded to a great extent upon those of Illinois. But the Colorado Legislature, unlike one of those of Kansas Territory to which we have elsewhere referred, put its codes into workmanlike form which enabled the new machinery to operate with comparative smoothness.

But there was one piece of legislation by an early Territorial Legislature that was no credit to it or to the Territory. This was an act disbarring from collection by legal processes any claim or debt owed by a citizen of the Territory to a nonresident. This exemption from any but voluntary debt-paying to outsiders was to continue for five years from the approval of the act. This law did not reflect public sentiment as a whole, nor even the views and wishes of a majority of the people. But those who did want it wanted it very badly, and clamored for it; while the others, who gave it their disapproval, did so in a negative way that was not influential. Happily, the law did not long survive. Of course, such a statute would have been impotent before any Court competent to pass upon its iniquities; but such was the temper of the noisy

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Judge Westbrooke S. Decker came to Colorado and Denver in January, 1874, and since that time has been a prominent figure in our affairs. Born on his father's farm in Seneca county, New York, April 22, 1839, he lived the character-making life of a country boy until he was eighteen years old. In 1857 he started out to seek his fortune, going to Coles county, Illinois. At his New York home he had attended the district schools, and later the Brockport Collegiate Institute; and soon after his arrival in Illinois he applied for and received the position of teacher of a school at Charleston, the county seat of Coles county; an occupation in which he was engaged until the spring of 1861, having taken up the study of law in the meantime.

Late in 1861 he returned to his old home in New York, and early in 1862 enlisted in the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Regiment of New York Volunteers. He with his regiment became prisoners of war when Colonel Miles surrendered Harper's Ferry in September, 1862. The regiment was exchanged late in that year, and with it private Decker afterward saw much hard service. It was in Hancock's Corps at Gettysburg, and was among the troops that received and repelled the desperate charge of General Pickett's division of Confederates. In that historic conflict private Decker was dangerously wounded, and lay in hospital at Trenton, New Jersey, five months afterward. Upon his recovery he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the Nineteenth United States Colored Infantry, and served in all the operations of the Army of the Potomac from the spring of 1864 until the close of the war. He had been advanced to a First Lieutenancy, and was ordnance officer on the staffs of Generals Ferrero, Hartranft, and Hartsuff. Late in the spring of 1865 he was transferred to the command of General Giles A. Smith at Brownsville, Texas, and there served as assistant Provost Marshal of that military district until August, 1865, when he resigned and returned to his old home in New York.

In October, 1865, Mr. Decker entered the Law School of Michigan University at Ann Arbor, and, supporting himself from the savings of his pay as a soldier, was graduated in the spring of 1867 with the degree of LL. B. He immediately located at Kankakee, Illinois, and began the practice of law. In 1868 he was elected City Attorney of Kankakee, and re-elected in 1869. In the autumn of 1869 he was elected County Judge of Kankakee county, a position he ably filled during the ensuing four years.

His health, that had been seriously affected by his army service, had become still more impaired during his residence at Kankakee, and late in 1873 he decided to seek the benefits of the climate of Colorado. Coming to Denver, he at once actively engaged in the practice of his profession, and in January, 1877, soon after Colorado's admission as a State, was appointed by President Grant the first United States District Attorney for the Colorado District. In 1887 he was elected District Judge for the Second Judicial District (Arapahoe County) to fill an unexpired term; and in 1888 was elected to the same position for the full term of six years. He thus served until January 1, 1891, when, owing to the inadequacy of the compensation to the Judges of our Courts, as fixed by law, he resigned, and resumed the more remunerative practice of his profession, in which he has been conspicuously engaged since that time.

As a brave and faithful soldier, an able lawyer and jurist, a brilliant speaker, an honorable and popular citizen, and as a man among his fellowmen, the record of Westbrooke S. Decker is stainless.—J. C. S.

Westbrooke S. Decker.

and benefited side of public sentiment for awhile, that no lawyer dared attack the law. Under some very probable combinations of then existing circumstances he would have imperilled his life to have done so.

In early times the Legislative Assembly undertook the work of severing marital ties that were alleged to have become unsatisfactory, if not unendurable. Governor Gilpin's first exercise of the veto power was upon one of such special acts, divorcing Adams H. and Ellen C. Bateman. The Governor insisted that such proceedings should be in the Courts and not in the halls of legislation; and they were afterward transferred to the Courts. If the divorce business of our modern times had to be disposed of by our law-makers, it would seem that perpetual sessions of our General Assembly would be one of the consequences.

As the years wore on our lawyers and judges were called upon to deal with many questions that were new to them, and to the solution of which the civil code of the earlier times, and later statutes intended to remedy them, did not readily lend themselves. These questions arose, in the main, in adjustment of miners' rights and in settlement of contentions relating to irrigation. These propositions in all the varied and intricate phases they are capable of assuming were strangers to nearly all the people who settled and developed Colorado.

The California practices in mining legislation and litigaton afforded some basis for procedure, but the great difference in natural conditions here often rendered the California examples wholly inapplicable. Therefore, new remedies had to be devised, new applications of the principles of justice made, and new avenues opened for them.

To an even greater extent than with mining were our people, lawyers included, unacquainted with the complexities to which the irrigation proposition is prone. As agriculture developed, and being dependent on artificially applied irrigation, many difficult problems, each unlike the others, were presented for solution. These questions have had to be worked out in our Courts practically without the assistance of borrowed customs, precedents, and decisions, for there were few of these in our country that had become well adapted to the general requirements of justice.

Formerly, railway litigation and that growing out of land titles called for the services of many able lawyers. The railways, however, have become

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Owen E. Le Fevre, recently one of the Judges of our District Court, is a native of Ohio. He was born August 6, 1848, in the village of Little York, Montgomery county, of that State. From the district school in Little York, and the graded schools of Dayton, he entered the preparatory department of Antioch (Ohio) College. He was there a student until May 4, 1864, when the 154th Regiment Ohio Volunteers was organized. Though but a boy, he enlisted in that regiment and shared its fortunes until it was mustered out of service in the autumn of that year.

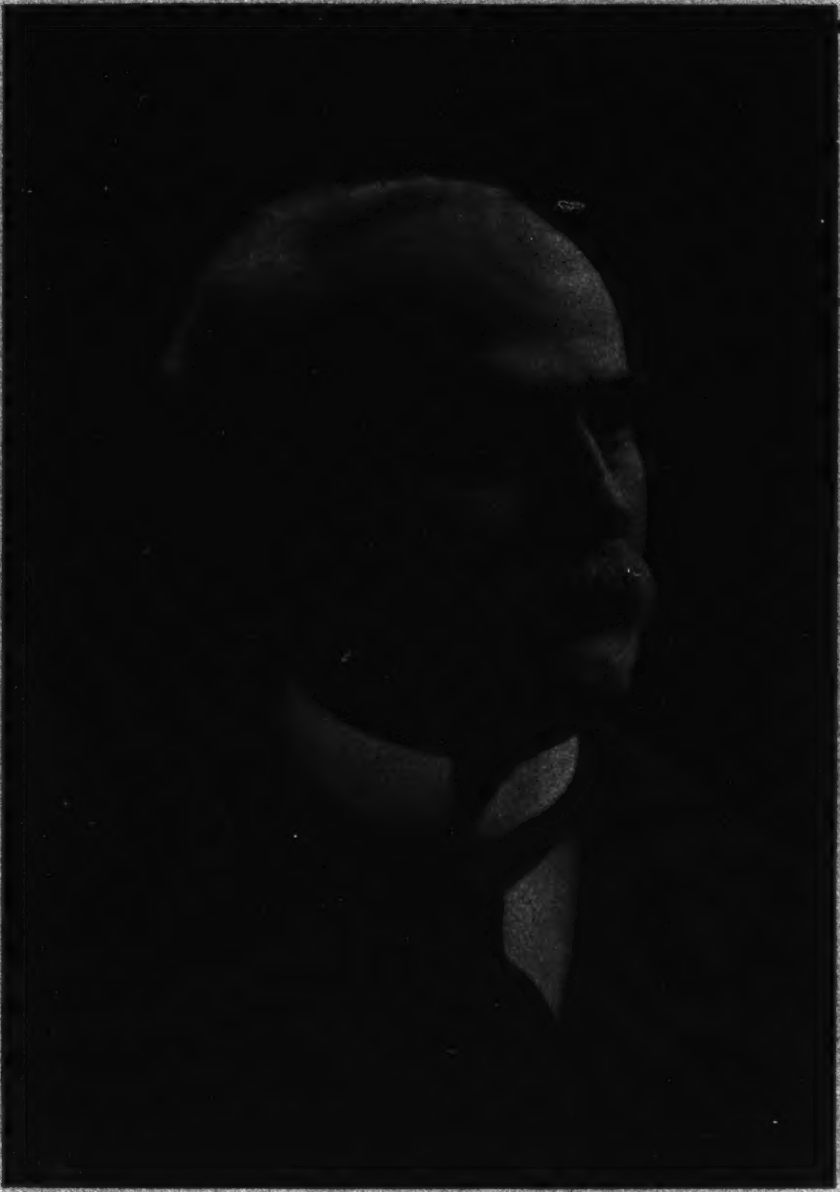
In 1868, Judge Le Fevre entered the Junior year in the University of Michigan where he graduated in the classical course with honors in June, 1870. He was engaged during the ensuing two years in teaching school, devoting his available time to study of the law. In 1872 he was admitted to practice by the Supreme Court of Ohio; he then entered the law office of John A. McMahon and George W. Houck, two noted Ohio lawyers at Dayton, and remained with them until the summer of 1873, when he came to Denver and immediately began the practice of his profession.

Judge Le Fevre established his home in the then suburban town of Highlands, now a beautiful division of Denver. In 1875 he was elected Attorney for Highlands, and re-elected in 1876. In 1885 he was chosen its Mayor, and at the close of his term received the indorsement of a re-election to that position. He was next called to the office of Attorney for Arapahoe county by the County Commissioners. He received the merited indorsement of a re-election, and to this was added a second re-election, making three terms of diligent service in that important and arduous position. In 1892 he was elected Judge of the County Court, on the Republican ticket. It was in that year that the political upheaval occurred which placed the entire State administration in the hands of the Populists under Governor Waite. Nevertheless, Judge La Fevre was elected by a large plurality. In 1894, before the expiration of his term on the county bench, he was elected one of the Judges of the Second Judicial District—Arapahoe county.

Our Courts are rarely confronted by a dearth of business, and therefore our Judges are, of necessity, busy, hard-working men. During his service on the county bench, Judge Le Fevre so systematized the order of things in that Court by his energetic, effective disposition of its business, as to relieve it of its crowded and often congested condition, and introduce an innovation in its history. On the higher bench, as on the lower, his record was that of an able, impartial jurist of unimpeachable integrity—"a just Judge" in the endless and intricate controversies of his fellow-men.

In politics Judge Le Fevre is a consistent, steadfast, conservative Republican. He is a believer in his party and its principles, was long one of its capable and successful leaders, and is still one of its safe and trusted advisers. Upon his retirement from the District bench in January, 1901, he resumed practice of his profession.

Judge Le Fevre married Miss Eva French, of Troy, Ohio, June 28, 1871, the day on which she was graduated from the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware in that State. They have one child, a daughter, born in 1884. They continued their residence in Highlands until 1896 when they occupied their present fine home at 1311 York street. It is adorned with what is perhaps the most choice collection of modern French paintings in Colorado, and is a center of art, literature and music. Judge Le Fevre is a lover of books, and his home library, in which he has gratified his inclinations, is one of the best in the city of Denver.—J. C. S.



Owen E. Le Fevre.

fairly well settled in their affairs; but land title matters are not quite so far advanced.

In what has been said in the foregoing, it is not intended to convey an impression that the practice in mining and irrigation litigation has been relieved of all its former difficulties. The great mining industry inevitably and unavoidably gives rise to many novel complications, and probably always will. New conditions, new situations, persistently attend it and which must be adjudicated by new definitions of rights. Perhaps no class of litigation calls for keener intellects, clearer insight, or a higher order of professional ability than that growing out of mining; nor is there any class in which precedent, previous decisions and the like so often fail to point the way to a just settlement of the case in hand. The complications are so many and often so unique that new remedies must be found for them; and between opposing counsel in such cases a vast amount of hard and able work is done, yet leaving a large share to be disposed of by His Honor. Few valuable mining properties in the State have succeeded in keeping out of Court, and many of them would seem to have habitually kept in. They are properties peculiarly subject to frequent attack, and to conflict with their neighbors of which they always have a great plenty of near ones. Irrigation also still produces many badly tangled controversies in the settlement of which the services of lawyers of commanding ability are engaged. As with those of mining, the irrigation cases often involve large and vital interests. The dividing line between right and wrong, justice and injustice, in them is not always an easy one to define, and the very nature and all-important character of the element the ownership and use of which is in dispute, irrigates many protracted lawsuits of the first rank in importance.

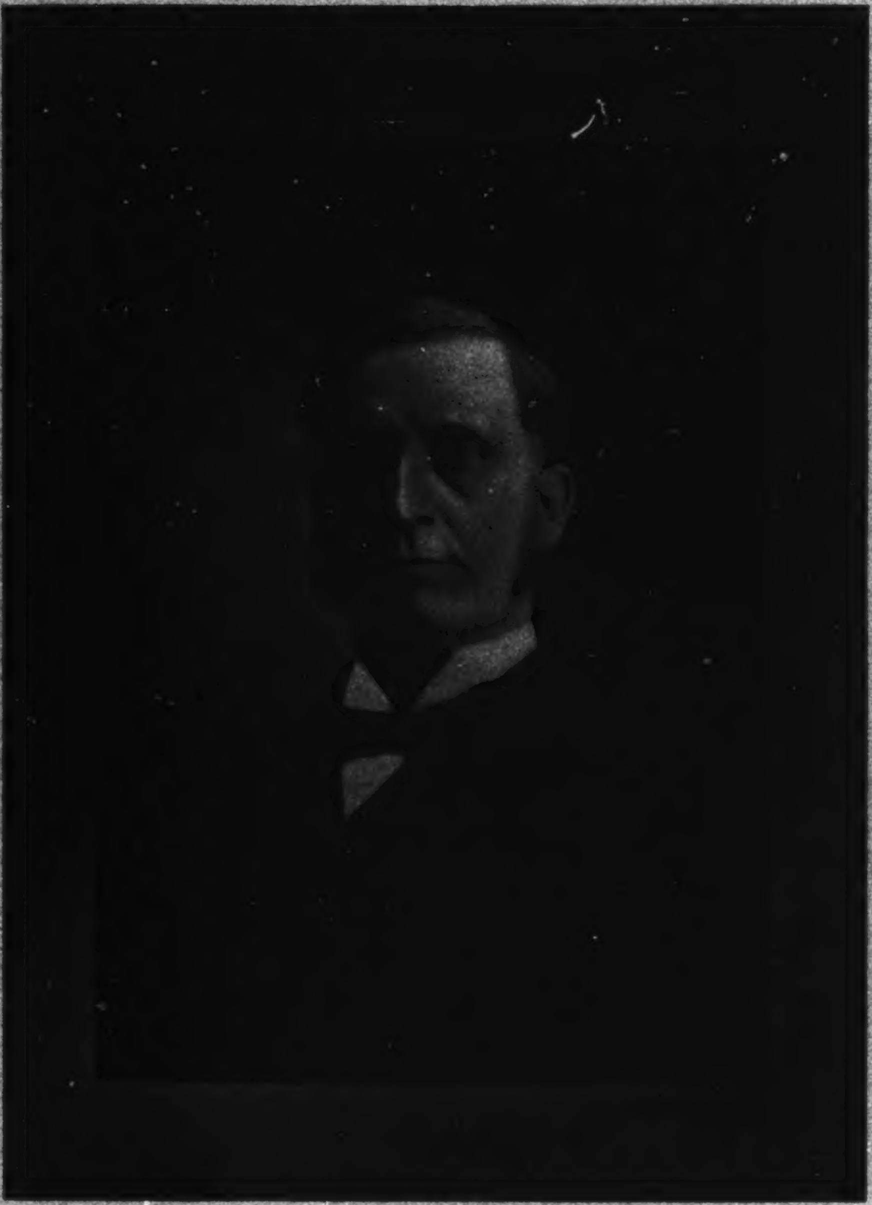
Taken as a whole, the litigation with which our Courts are called upon to deal is of a far higher average in character, in the kind and value of interests involved, and in the difficulties presented, than that of almost any other community in the country. As a logical sequence, the Denver Bar is a conspicuously able one. The successful lawyer here must be a man of decided ability and of untiring industry. The practice covers a far wider range than in other parts of the country and, as indicated in the foregoing, encounters cases of extreme intricacy. It is, therefore, quite different from that of the mere advisory lawyer, the easygoing counsellor, who elsewhere sits in his office-chair and recites a century's incrustations of customs, precedents and decisions that presumably fit and settle his client's case. The Denver lawyer must be a fighting lawyer if he expects to win; and his weapons must be those of learning, intelligent perceptions, of mental alertness, and original resources. He must, furthermore, expect and prepare to be met and opposed by another man as well equipped as he.

It is not to be inferred that the high standard of ability necessary to conspicuous success in the practice of law in Denver, has kept the Denver Bar numerically contracted. From the small number mentioned in the roster of Governor Gilpin's time, it has expanded until it now includes nearly five hundred and fifty members—a little army. It is to be assumed, at least, that each possesses in the developed or in the potential form the qualifications we have mentioned in the foregoing, and therefore if all of them should simultaneously come forth bearing their weapons of the law and with all their legal armor on, it would seem that they might appear more terrible than an army with banners. However, the increase in numbers has not, relatively, kept pace with the growth of the city. In Governor Gilpin's time there was one lawyer for about each 150 of the city population; now, we have one lawyer for about each 250 of the city population. To apply the lawyer-ratio of our pioneer times to present city population, the Denver Bar would have to be recruited to a strength of about 900. So, it would seem that there was either a surplus of legal talent in the old days, or that we have not now a full share, or that people are becoming very much less inclined than formerly, or have fewer occasions, to appeal to the blind goddess who, presumably, is also without prejudice.

Joel F. Vaile, lawyer, was born at Centerville, Wayne county, Indiana, March 14, 1848; a son of Rawson and Anna E. Vaile. Later with his parents he removed to Indianapolis, and subsequently to Kokomo, Ind. After the usual course in the public schools, young Vaile entered Oberlin, (Ohio), College where he was graduated in 1873. In that year he engaged in teaching, and in 1873-74 was Acting Professor of Mathematics in Berea, (Kentucky), College. In the meantime having decided to follow his father's profession, he studied law, and was admitted to the Bar in 1874. He joined his father in practice at Kokomo in 1875, and remained there until 1882. In 1876-78 he had served as Prosecuting Attorney of the Thirty-Sixth Judicial Circuit of Indiana, and in 1880 was an Indiana delegate in the Republican National Convention at Chicago that nominated Garfield for President.

Mr. Vaile came to Denver from Indiana in July, 1882, and began practice here. His ability as a thorough lawyer immediately commanded recognition, and he formed a partnership with Judge J. A. Bentley which continued until 1885. In that year he became associated with Edward O. Wolcott, and the legal firm of Wolcott & Vaile has continued without interruption since that time.

Mr. Vaile has won special distinction in his profession for his learning and ability in corporation and railroad law. During the past fourteen years he has been General Attorney for the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company, and is also the legal representative at Denver of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company.—J. C. S.



Joel F. Vaile.

Section 1, Article VI, of the Constitution of Colorado—"Judicial Department"—as amended in 1886 and effective November 2, 1886, provides—

> "The Judicial power of the State as to matters of law and equity, except as this Constitution otherwise provided, shall be vested in a Supreme Court, District Courts, County Courts, Justices of the Peace and such other courts as may be provided by law."

Three judges—a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices—elected by the people for terms of nine years, constitute the Supreme Court; the Judge having the shorter period of a term yet to serve, provided that he be not holding his office by appointment or election to fill a vacancy, in turn becomes the Chief Justice. The Constitution provides that the Court shall have appellate jurisdiction co-extensive with the State, and shall have general superintending control over all inferior Courts, under such regulations and limitations as may be prescribed by law; that it shall have power to issue writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto, certiorari, injunction, and other original and remedial writs, with authority to hear and determine the same; and under Section 3 of Article VI, as amended in November, 1885, each Judge of the Court has like power and authority as to writs of habeas corpus. That section also provides that—

> "The Supreme Court shall give its opinion upon important questions upon solemn occasions when required by the Governor, the Senate, or the House of Representatives."

At least two terms of the Supreme Court are required to be held each year at the State capital. The Clerk of the Court is appointed by the Judges and holds his office during their pleasure, his annual compensation being fixed by law at $3,500. The Judges receive an annual salary of $5,000. Under the Constitution no person is eligible to a seat on the Supreme Bench unless he be learned in the law, at least thirty years of age and a citizen of the United States, nor unless he shall have resided in the State at least two years next preceding his election.

The Court of Appeals, ranking next to the Supreme Court, was not specifically provided for by the Constitution, but was created by the Eighth General Assembly in 1891 under the authority expressed in Section 3, Article VI, in the words "and such other courts as may be provided by law." Three Judges constitute this Court, and their terms are for six years; one being appointed by the Governor every two years, the term beginning on the first Wednesday in April, next after each regular session of the Legislature. The Court of Appeals has jurisdiction over general litigation coming up from the lower courts, and is a kind of half-way station to the Supreme Court for many cases; although many others pass it and go direct to the higher tribunal. Its Judges receive the same compensation as that paid the Supreme Court Judges, and they must have the same qualifications. Recently the abolition of this Court has been strongly urged by the Bar Associations and others, proposing that the Supreme Court shall be made to consist of five members instead of three, and that their terms shall be for fifteen years; the transition to carry Judges of Appeals holding over, to the Supreme Bench for the remainder of their terms—practically a proposed merging of the Court of Appeals with the Supreme Court.

Next below are the District Courts, created by Article VI of the Constitution which provides that they shall have original jurisdiction of all causes, both at law and in equity, and such appellate jurisdiction as may be conferred by law—the latter having been defined on rather broad lines by statute since the adoption of the Constitution. These Courts also have original jurisdiction to determine all controversies upon relation of any person on behalf of the people concerning the rights, duties, and liabilities of railroad, telegraph, or toll-road corporations. The greater part of all litigation is disposed of by the District Courts.

Section 12, Article VI, as amended in November, 1886, provides that the State shall be divided into Judicial Districts in each of which there shall be elected by the people one or more Judges of the District Court therein, as may be provided by law, whose full terms of office shall be six years. The District Court Judges may hold Courts for each other, and the General Assembly has authority to provide by law for the selection or election of a suitable person to preside in the trial of causes in special cases, and by a two-thirds vote of the members of each branch, the Assembly may increase or diminish the number of Districts and of Judges therein; but such changes shall not work the removal of any Judge from his office during

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Milton Smith, lawyer, was born in Flatbushville, Sussex county, New Jersey, January 31, 1866. He removed to Ulster county, New York, in 1879, and was graduated from the High School at Ellenville, New York, in 1883, winning a competitive scholarship for a full course at Cornell University. After four years at Cornell he was graduated with the degree of Ph. B.

Mr. Smith is a member of the Chi Psi and Phi Delta Phi fraternities, and was the former's chief executive for the United States in 1886 and 1887. His course at Cornell included law, and he was admitted to the bar in 1889. He then came to Denver and engaged in practice which, to a great extent, is in mining, corporation, insurance and irrigation litigation. He is a member of the University and Denver Athletic Clubs, takes an active interest in State politics, and for several years has been Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. —J. C. S.

Milton Smith.

the time for which he shall have been elected or appointed. The terms of office of all District Judges throughout the State expire at the same time. The general election held in November, 1900, included the choice of District Judges. The qualifications for these Judges are the same as those for Supreme Court Judges, with the additional one requiring them to be at the time of their election, electors within the respective Districts for which they are elected. The salary is $4,000 per annum.

The State is now divided into thirteen judicial Districts, the constitution of each of which and number of Judges in each are as follows:

First—Clear Creek, Gilpin, Jefferson, and Grand counties; one Judge.

Second—Arapahoe county; five Judges.

Third—Las Animas, Huerfano, Prowers, Bent and Baca counties; one Judge.

Fourth—Douglass, Elbert, El Paso, Cheyenne, Lincoln and Kit Carson counties; two Judges.

Fifth—Lake, Summit, and Eagle counties; one Judge.

Sixth—La Plata, San Juan, Archuleta, Dolores, and Montezuma counties; one Judge.

Seventh—Delta, Mesa, Montrose, Gunnison, Ouray, San Miguel, and Hinsdale counties; one Judge.

Eighth—Boulder, Weld, Larimer and Morgan counties; one Judge.

Ninth—Pitkin, Garfield, Routt, and Rio Blanco counties; one Judge.

Tenth—Pueblo, Otero, and Kiowa counties; two Judges.

Eleventh—Fremont, Chaffee, Custer, and Park counties; one Judge.

Twelfth—Conejos, Rio Grande, Saguache, Costilla and Mineral counties; one Judge.

Thirteenth—Washington, Yuma, Sedgwick, Phillips and Logan counties; one Judge.

The times of holding District Courts are defined by statute, but at least one term shall be held each year in each county, except in such counties as may be attached for judicial purposes to another county wherein such term of Court is held. Arapahoe county's five District Judges are kept on duty almost the entire year. The Clerk of a District

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Harper M. Orahood has been a citizen of Colorado since the summer of 1860, and a lawyer since 1873. Born in Columbus, Ohio, June 3, 1841, he obtained in his boyhood only such groundwork of education as could be procured in public schools in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and La Salle county, Illinois, whither his parents successively removed. Later he gained an insight into mercantile business while a clerk in country-town stores, and for a short time studied medicine. But the "Pike's Peak excitement" growing out of what had been done here in 1859 changed all his plans and made him eager to join the throng in the Rocky Mountain country. In the spring of 1860, though still in his minority, he set out from Rock Island, Illinois, with a company bound for the Clear Creek district, and which subsequently laid out the town of Black Hawk. The party arrived at the site of Black Hawk in June, 1860, young Orahood having walked nearly all the way across the plains.

Mr. Orahood engaged in mining, and subsequently in merchandising at Black Hawk, and was for ten years Postmaster at that place. During the Indian troubles in 1864 he served as an officer in the Third Colorado Cavalry, having been commissioned by Governor Evans a First Lieutenant and made regimental commissary. After two months' service he was appointed Captain of Company B of that regiment, and continued as its commander until the organization was mustered out in December, 1864. Some account of the regiment's service appears elsewhere in this volume.

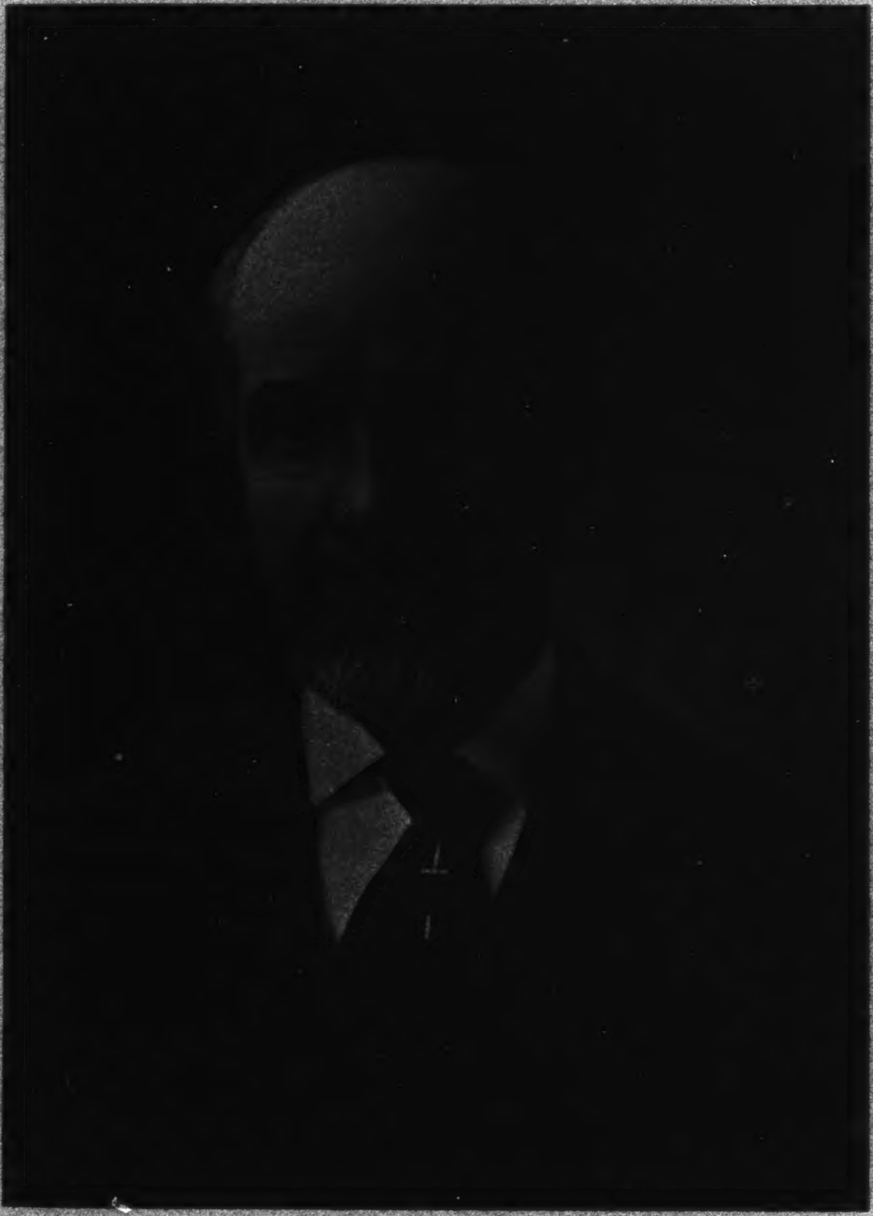
About 1870 Captain Orahood decided to study law, and for that purpose entered the law office of Alvin Marsh, and later that of Senator Henry M. Teller, at Central City. Being admitted to the bar October 1, 1873, he formed a partnership with Senator Teller and was soon actively engaged in practice. In 1879 he succeeded Edward O. Wolcott as District Attorney for the first Judicial District, including Gilpin and Clear Creek counties. At the expiration of his term, in 1881, he terminated his twenty-one years of residence in Gilpin county, located in Denver, and has since been a distinguished member of the Denver Bar.

Having, upon attaining his majority, become one of the Masonic fraternity, at Central City, he has long been conspicuous in the affairs of that Order, and was a charter member of Black Hawk Lodge No. 11, serving as its first Senior Warden and its second Master. Succeeding Senator Teller as Commander of Central City Commandery No. [illegible], he has filled every office in Lodge and Commandery, has been Grand Master and Grand Commander of the State of Colorado, and Grand Warden of the Grand Encampment. He was the first Commander of the first Commandery of Knights Templar organized in Denver, and was instrumental at Washington in 1889 in having Denver chosen as the place for the next ensuing Triennial Conclave, that of 1892. It was largely due to his services as chairman and vice chairman of the Denver committee of arrangements that that Denver gathering of Knights Templar was made so memorably brilliant.

For many years Mr. Orahood has been a leader in the local and State affairs of the Grand Army of the Republic. Long a member of Ellsworth Post at Central City, he became a member of Lincoln Post upon his removal to this city, and has served in all of its official positions. In 1898 he was chosen Senior Vice Commander of the Department of Colorado and Wyoming, and in 1899 was elected Department Commander.

A member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, he was its Colorado Commander in 1895. At that time he was also one of the military staff of Governor McIntire, with the rank of Colonel, and previously had been for several years an officer in the Colorado National Guard.

Colonel Orahood's activities in these fraternal organizations of his fellow-citizens have not in any sense lessened his zeal in his profession. The spirit that has led him on in his devotion to their interests and welfare is the same that has made him a conspicuously able and successful lawyer.—J. C. S.



Harper M. Orahood.

Court is appointed by the Judge, or Judges, of the District, and holds his office during their pleasure.

The District Attorney, who is the public prosecutor, is elected at each general election at which a Judge of the Supreme Court is chosen, his term being three years. He must be not less than twenty-five years old at the time of his election, and must possess all other qualifications for Judges of District Courts. The terms of all District Attorneys throughout the State expire at the same time.

The County Courts, next below the District Courts, are also provided for by the Constitution. They are Courts of Record, and have original jurisdiction in all matters of probate, settlement of estates of deceased persons, appointment of guardians, conservators and administrators, and settlement of their accounts, and various other jurisdictions, including criminal. But they have no jurisdiction in any case wherein the debt, damage, claim, or value of property involved exceeds $2,000, except in cases relating to estates of deceased persons. Appeal may be taken from them to the higher Courts. Writs of error lie from the Supreme Court to every final judgment of the County Court, but no appeal may lie to the District Court from any judgment given in the County Court upon an appeal from a Justice of the Peace. The County Judge is elected by the people for a term of three years, and must be an elector in the county at the time of his election.

Next below the County Courts are those of the constitutional Justices of the Peace who adjudicate so many semi-spontaneous affrays, drunken brawls, neighborhood quarrels, back-fence wrangles, small civil disagreements, and various other odds and ends of humanity's contentions. Their criminal jurisdiction is final to many misdemeanors, and in felonies it clears the way for further action in the criminal courts. The civil, as well as the criminal jurisdiction of a Justice of the Peace is defined by statute, but in cases wherein the value of the personal property, or the amount in controversy, exceeds $300, or where the boundaries or title to real property shall be called in question, he has no jurisdiction.

The Constitution conferred power on the General Assembly to establish Criminal Courts in each county having a population exceeding 15,000, with concurrent jurisdiction in all criminal cases not capital; the terms of such Courts to be fixed by law. As we now have no capital offenses, the jurisdiction of a Criminal Court would cover all criminal cases. Authority was also given the Assembly to provide Police Magistrates for cities and towns, as may be deemed from time to time necessary or expedient; such Magistrate, who is appointed by the Governor, in Denver, to have jurisdiction of all cases arising under the ordinances of such cities or towns. It was by authority of such constitutional provisions that the General Assembly created a Criminal Court for Arapahoe county, the present Denver city Police Court, and the former Superior Court for Denver.

The Arapahoe County Criminal Court was first established by an act of the Third General Assembly approved February 26, 1881. Charles W. Wright was appointed its first Judge, but owing to defects in the law the Court was soon afterward held to have been unconstitutionally created, and therefore its existence suddenly terminated. By an act of the Fourth General Assembly approved February 1, 1883, the defects in the former law were cured and its provisions were extended to Lake and Pueblo counties. Another act, approved February 7, 1883, provided for procedure in such Criminal Courts and repealed the original act of February 26, 1881. An act of the Seventh General Assembly approved April 19, 1889, amending the act of February 1, 1883, omitted all provision for a Criminal Court in Arapahoe county, provided for transfer of all cases then pending in it to the District Court, and so abolished the Criminal Court which was thought to have proved superfluous. Since that time the Criminal Court has been merely a Division of the District Court, with a District Judge presiding. The Criminal Court Judges were appointed by the Governor, and during the six years of its second existence in Arapahoe county it had but two—Platt Rogers and Wilbur F. Stone.

In 1883 the Fourth General Assembly by an act approved February 10th, established a Superior

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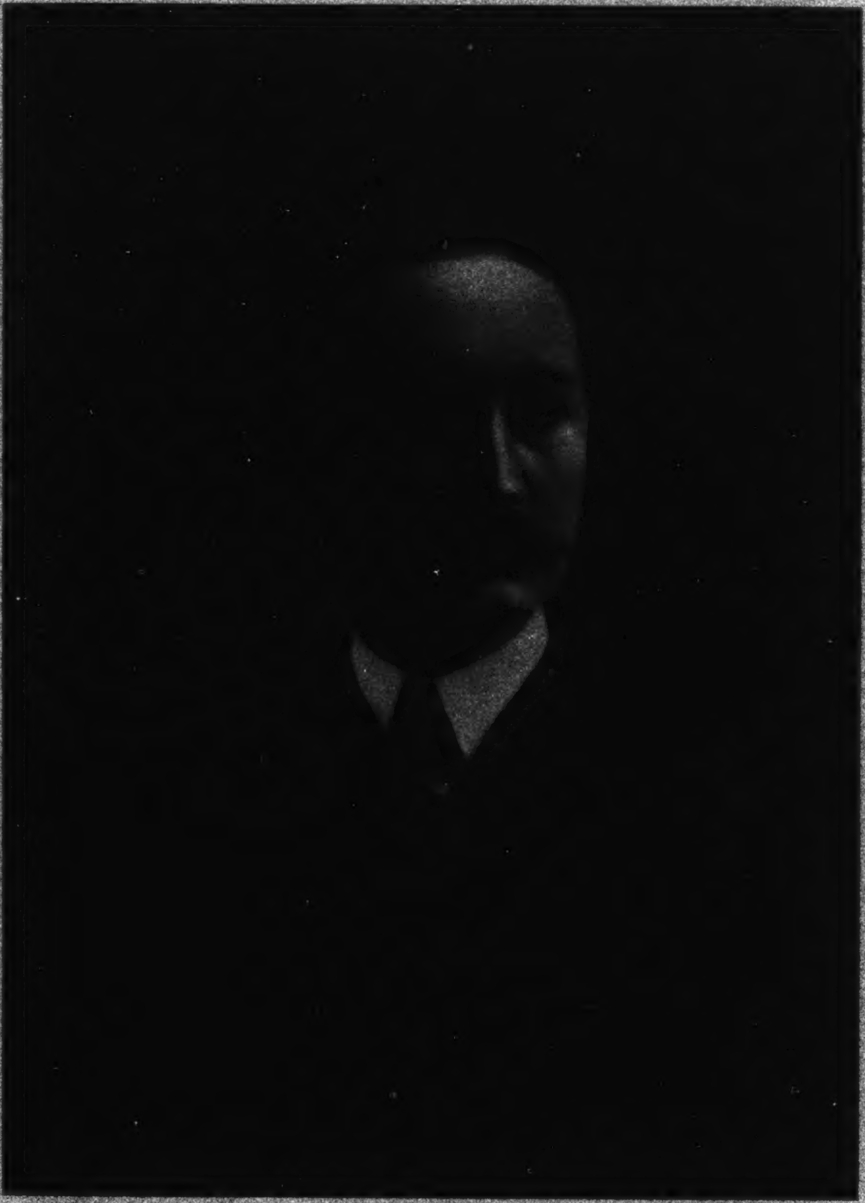
Edward B. Morgan, lawyer, son of Samuel B. (see Chapter LXXIV) and Ellen T. (Blinn) Morgan, was born at Wethersfield, Conn., December 18, 1862. His father had come to Colorado in the autumn of 1863, locating at Central City; and in November, 1864, the subject of this sketch, with his mother, crossed the plains in a stage-coach from Atchison and joined the father at Central City. The family resided at Central City and Black Hawk until 1873 and then removed to this city.

After passing through all the grades of the "East Denver" public schools, Edward B. Morgan was graduated in the High School in 1881. Entering Yale College in 1882 he was graduated there in 1886. Then followed a two-years' course in the Harvard Law School. Returning to Denver, he entered the law office of Teller & Orahood, September 1, 1888, and in the autumn of 1889 was admitted to the Bar by the Supreme Court of the State. In 1890 he was made chief clerk to Teller & Orahood, and in 1892 was admitted to partnership under the firm name of Teller, Orahood & Morgan, a relation that continued until 1898 when Mr. Morgan withdrew. Since then he has continued his law practice in conjunction with management of his father's estate.

Mr. Morgan is a member of the University Club of New York City, and of the University, Athletic, and Overland Park Clubs, of Denver.—J. C. S.



Edward B. Morgan.

Court in and for the city of Denver. Its jurisdiction did not extend to criminal cases, but otherwise it was much the same as that of the District Court. In common with similar Courts established in other States, it did not prove to be all that had been anticipated for it, and it was abolished by an act of the Seventh General Assembly approved February 20, 1889. During its existence two Judges occupied its bench—James A. Dawson and Merrick A. Rogers.

When Colorado became a State in 1876 Arapahoe county was made a part of the Second Judicial District, with one Judge sitting in Denver, and remained so until 1887, when by an act of the Sixth General Assembly it alone was made to constitute the Second District, having two Divisions of its District Court, with a Judge for each. By an act of the Seventh General Assembly the Court was again amplified, in 1889, to four divisions and four Judges; and by an act of the Eighth General Assembly, in 1891, passed over the Governor's veto by a two-thirds vote and taking effect in April of that year, the fifth division and the fifth Judge were added, making the Court as it is now constituted.

The Constitution as amended in 1877 provides as follows for filling vacancies in any of the judicial positions created by it: Of Judges of the Supreme and District Courts by appointment by the Governor; of District Attorneys by the Judge (or Judges) of the Court of the District for which the retiring Attorney was elected; and of all other judicial officers by the Board of County Commissioners of the County in which the vacancy occurs. Judges of the Supreme, District, and County Courts appointed under these provisions hold their offices only until their successors, who shall be elected at the next general election, shall have been duly qualified. It also provides that all officers provided for in Article VI, excepting Judges of the Supreme Court, shall respectively reside in the district, county, precinct, city or town for which they may be elected or appointed.

The Constitution also provides that all laws relating to Courts shall be general and of uniform operation throughout the State; and the organization, jurisdiction, powers, proceedings, and practices of all the Courts of the same class or grade, so far as regulated by law, and the force and effect of the proceedings, judgments, and decrees of such Courts severally, shall be uniform. It further provides that all process shall run in the name of "The People of the State of Colorado;" and that all prosecutions shall be carried on in the name and by the authority of "The People of the State of Colorado," concluding with, "against the peace and dignity of the same."

Under Section 15, Article VI, the General Assembly may provide that the election of Judges of the Supreme, District and County Courts, and the District Attorneys, or any of them, shall be on a different day from that on which an election is held for any other purpose, and in doing so may extend or abridge the term of office of any such officers then holding, but not in any case more than six months. But no such statutory provision has yet been made.

As the language of the Constitution with respect to qualifications for Judges of all our Courts, as well as for District Attorney, includes only the masculine personal pronoun "he," it would seem that the fundamental law of our State denies to women the distinction of participating, as Judge or prosecutor, in the administration of justice in Colorado.

Upon Colorado's admission to the Union the State became for United States judicial purposes the District of Colorado, with its District Court sitting at Denver. On January 9, 1877, President Grant appointed Moses Hallett District Judge,

Earl M. Cranston, one of the younger lawyers of Denver, was born in Middleport, Ohio, December 3, 1863. His father, the present Bishop Earl Cranston, of the Methodist Episcopal church, who was at that time a resident at Middleport, removed to Denver in 1878 to become pastor of our old Lawrence street Methodist Episcopal church. In 1884 Rev. Earl Cranston was appointed manager of the Methodist Book Concern at Cincinnati and removed with his family from Denver to that city.

In the meantime the subject of this sketch had received the educational advantages of the Denver High School and had entered the University of Denver. Upon completing his course at the last-named institution he became a student at the Cincinnati Law School from which he was graduated in May, 1886. He then returned to Denver, took up his permanent residence here, and began the practice of his profession in which he has been continuously and successfully engaged since that time. In the third year of his practice here, having been as he still is an ardent Republican in politics, Mr. Cranston was elected a Representative from Arapahoe county in the Seventh General Assembly, and became one of the conspicuously efficient members of that body. In 1889 he was appointed County Attorney by the Arapahoe County Commissioners and capably served one term in that position. In more recent years he has given his attention exclusively to the increasing direct demands of his practice, a part of which has been in untangling and adjusting, as receiver, assignee and counsel, the affairs of two National Banks and one Savings Bank which failed in consequence of the panic of 1893.*

In April, 1891, Mr. Cranston married Miss Florence, daughter of the late Frederick W. Pitkin who was twice elected Governor of Colorado, and whose last term closed in January, 1883.—J. C. S.

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*Subsequent to the close of our record, Mr. Cranston was appointed United States District Attorney for the Colorado District, to succeed Greeley W. Whitford.

Earl M. Cranston.

and Westbrooke S. Decker District Attorney. Judge Hallett's term of service still continues. The District of Colorado is embraced within the Eighth United States Circuit, the Judges of which are David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court; and Circuit Judges Henry C. Caldwell, of Little Rock, Arkansas; Walter H. Sanborn, of St. Paul, Minnesota; and Amos M. Thayer, of St. Louis.

During the fifteen years in which Colorado was under a Territorial form of government there were rather many changes among the Judges of its higher Courts. Judge Pettis, after less than a year of nominal service, resigned early in the spring of 1862 (the exact date not being of record), and was succeeded by Allan A. Bradford, commissioned June 6, 1862, and who served until March 3, 1865. After about two years of service Chief Justice Hall resigned (on a date not of record) and was succeeded by Stephen S. Harding who was commissioned July 10, 1863. Judge Bradford was succeeded by Charles F. Holly, commissioned June 10, 1865. Judge Armour retired March 28, 1865, and William H. Gale was commissioned June 10 of that year to succeed him. Chief Justice Harding "resigned" December 31, 1865, and was succeeded by Moses Hallett, commissioned April 10, 1866. Judge Holly retired May 25, 1866, and was succeeded by W. R. Gorsline, commissioned June 18, 1866. Judge Gale retired July 19, 1866, and was followed by Christian S. Eyster, commissioned August 11, 1866. Congress not having been in session at that time, Judge Eyster's appointment was confirmed by the United States Senate late in the following winter, and another commission issued to him March 2, 1867. Judge Hallett was re-appointed Chief Justice April 6, 1870, and so served until Colorado became a State of the Union. Judge Gorsline retired June 18, 1870, and was succeeded by James B. Belford whose commission was dated June 17, 1870. Judge Eyster retired March 2, 1871, and was succeeded by Ebenezer T. Wells whose commission, dated February 8, 1871, was to be effective on March 2nd. Judges Wells and Belford retired March 1, 1875, and were respectively succeeded by Andrew W. Brazee and Amherst W. Stone, who qualified on that day; the dates of their commissions not now being available. This left Chief Justice Hallett and Associate Justices Brazee and Stone on the Bench of the Territory's higher Court when it passed out of existence upon the admission of Colorado as a State.

As, with a few exceptions, the men who sat as Judges of these higher Courts in the earlier period of Colorado's Territorial history did not approach a high standard for judicial qualifications, some outlines of their personal characteristics may be of historical interest.

Chief Justice Hall was a pleasant well-mannered gentleman, agreeable to members of the Bar, but of mediocre legal ability. He was an upright Judge, but left no lasting monuments in the early judicial history of Denver and Colorado. His identification with our city and State terminated with his retirement from the Bench.

Judge Armour was an unworthy man of most unhappy if not offensive personal characteristics, and who was execrated by the Bar and by litigants. The Legislature of 1862 memorialized the President for his removal, but the civil war was on and no attention was given the memorial. A subsequent Legislature re-districted the Territory, created a Judicial District comprising the Mexican counties of Costilla and Conejos, and assigned Armour to that District as a sentence of deserved exile. But he refused to go there, continued to live at Central City, drew his salary and served out his term, meanwhile holding no courts anywhere; Judge Harding having been assigned to Courts for Central City as well as for Denver, and Judge Bradford holding the Courts in Costilla and Conejos, as well as at Pueblo.

Judge Pettis was only nominally a Judge, for it would seem that he never held Court in his District nor in any other during his brief tenure, and he had few qualifications for doing so. Rather fond of social intercourse, and of the gaieties of life, he complained of the isolation of existence in the Southern District. He remained in Denver during nearly the whole of his short stay in Colorado, and then returned to Pennsylvania.

Judge Bradford, who succeeded Pettis, was a Colorado man. Although born in Maine, he was reared in the west; had lived in Iowa, Nebraska, and California before coming to Colorado in 1859,

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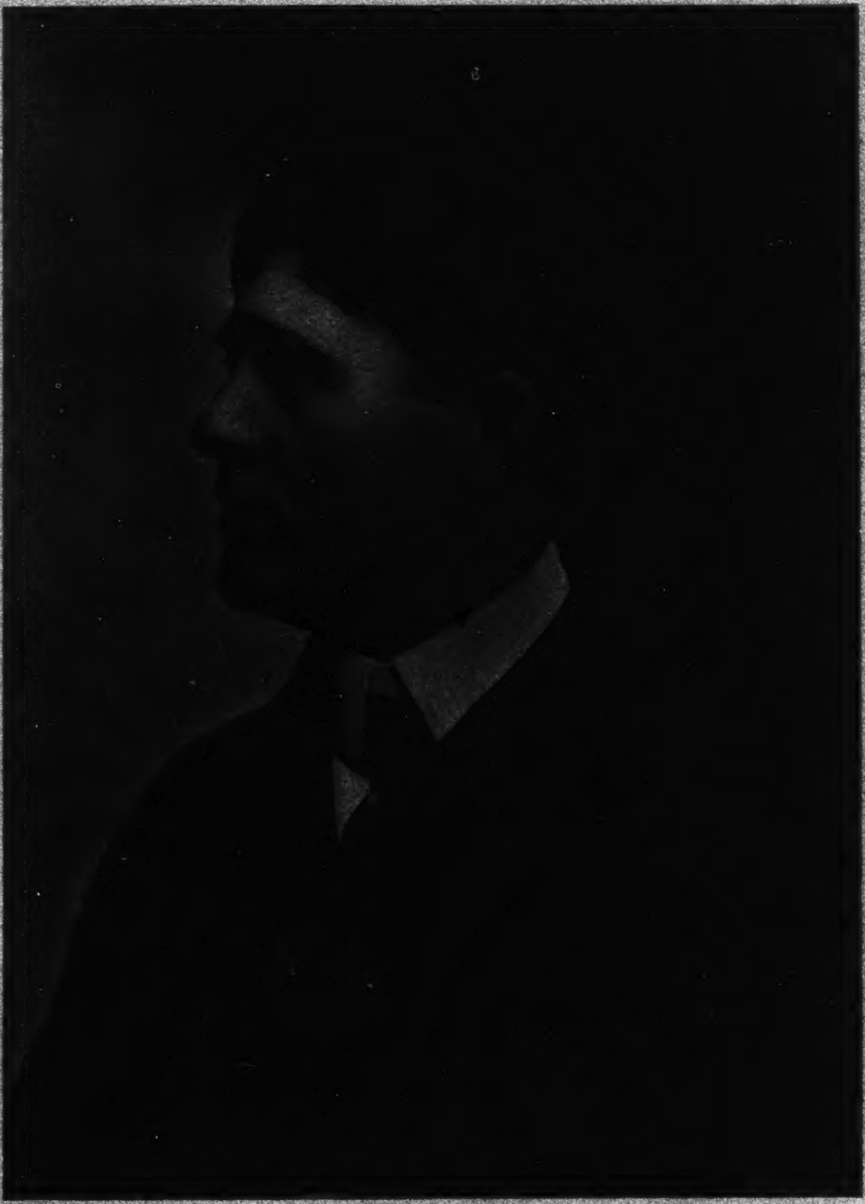
James H. Brown, lawyer, was born in St. Joseph, Mo., September 3, 1859. Eldest son of Henry C. Brown, our subject was an infant when his parents crossed the plains to Denver in the spring of 1860. He received his education in the public schools of this city, the Colorado Seminary, and in the Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois. In 1877 he entered the Denver law office of G. G. Symes and W. S. Decker and in 1879 admitted to the bar. In 1881, just after attaining his majority, he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States, and immediately took charge of the long litigation between his father and the State over the site of the Capitol building, and which he conducted with extraordinary ability. In 1885 he was elected City Attorney and served the city with his characteristic energy and fidelity to the close of the term, after which he became counsel for the Consolidated Tramway Company. In 1890 Mr. Brown was elected a member of the Eighth General Assembly, became the leader of his party in the House, and was the author of much important legislation enacted by that Assembly. A Republican in politics, he has served long and well in the higher councils of his party and is one of its leaders in the city and State; but neither in that nor in other avenues of activity has he permitted anything to interrupt his devotion to the profession in which he has won a stable position of distinction.—J. C. S.



James H. Brown.

and had been one of the Judges of a "Miners' Court" in the old Gregory District that embraced the site of Central City. He was proverbially eccentric, but popular, made an excellent Judge, and was the first Colorado citizen appointed to a seat on the Territory's Supreme Bench.

Judge Harding, who succeeded Hall as Chief Justice, early acquired and deserved the ill favor of the Bar of Denver, and the lawyers soon refused to try their cases before him. He had been a Territorial Governor of Utah previous to his appointment as Chief Justice of Colorado, and was considered as belonging to the "carpet-bag" class of Territorial officers. His exit from the Bench and from Colorado was inglorious to a marked degree, and his precipitate flight was thought to have been accelerated by his apprehensions of personal violence involving the use of a rope, at the hands of the people of the Clear creek districts.

Judge Holly, who chronologically succeeded Judge Bradford, was assigned to the First District, to take the place of Armour at Central City. Although a Colorado man, he was but little more popular as a Judge than his predecessor at Central City. Charges were preferred against him and he was soon removed to be succeeded by Judge Gorsline. Holly was a "Pike's Peaker," and had been a lawyer and miner at Central City, and one of the members from Gilpin and Clear Creek counties in the first Territorial Legislature. He left Colorado soon after his removal from the Bench in 1866.

Judge Gale, who nominally succeeded Armour, was assigned to take the place of the discredited Harding on the Bench of the Denver District Court, but not as Chief Justice; Harding's "resignation" not taking effect until the close of 1865. Gale was another of the political pilgrims of that era, officially short-lived, little known in Denver and Colorado, and soon forgotten after he left the Bench and the country.

Judge Gorsline was one of the leaders of the pioneer Bar of Central City. A former District Judge in Wisconsin, he was an able lawyer, a polished gentleman, one of the most amiable and kindly men among the early settlers of Colorado, and also one of the most respected and beloved of the pioneer lawyers. Indeed, when Judges Gorsline and Hallett were appointed to the Bench from the ranks of Colorado's pioneer citizens, there was great rejoicing by the Bar and by the people at large who hailed their advent to the Judiciary of the Territory as a long-sought recognition of the principle of "home rule," and as the beginning of the end of the detested system of Territorial government that admitted to official positions unworthy men who had no stake in the country and had no desire or intention to acquire one.

Judge Moses Hallett was appointed to succeed Harding as Chief Justice, but did not succeed him as Judge of the Denver District; Gale continued in that position until the summer of 1866 and was followed by Judge Eyster. Judge Hallett was assigned to the Pueblo District and was the actual successor there of Judge Bradford. Judge Hallett remained, as already mentioned, the Territory's Chief Justice until it became a State; but as Judge of the Third, or Pueblo, Judicial District.

The Territorial Judicial appointments following those of Judges Gorsline and Hallett were also of men of high standing, though not all of them were residents of the Territory when appointed. They were, as stated on a preceding page, Judges Eyster, Belford, Wells, Brazee, and Stone; and they honored themselves as well as the Commonwealth.

During the civil war times the movements of Judges and other officers of the Territorial Courts were not always free from danger. In 1861 when Confederate sympathizers were perniciously active, and later when the Indians were on the war-path, Court officers at times had to have military escorts on their journeys. Upon several occasions during those years the Governor provided such escorts to protect Court officers while travelling between Denver and the southern parts of the Territory.

In the Territorial period Arapahoe county was, as already indicated, part of the Second Judicial District, the Court sitting at Denver; and during that time Judges Hall, Harding, Gale, Eyster, Wells, and Brazee successively occupied its Bench.

In the Territorial period the other and lower Court at Denver was that of Probate, the predecessor of our present County Court. Its old records, incomplete as to the earlier years, do not clearly indicate exact dates upon which its Judges entered upon their duties. Its first Judge was J. N. Odell who, as related in our historical account of Arapahoe county, was elected at the first county election under the jurisdiction of Colorado Territory, held December 2, 1861. But his administration is practically unknown of record in the archives at the Court House. Odell was succeeded by the election in the autumn of 1863 of James Hall who served through 1864 and 1865, and who made the land

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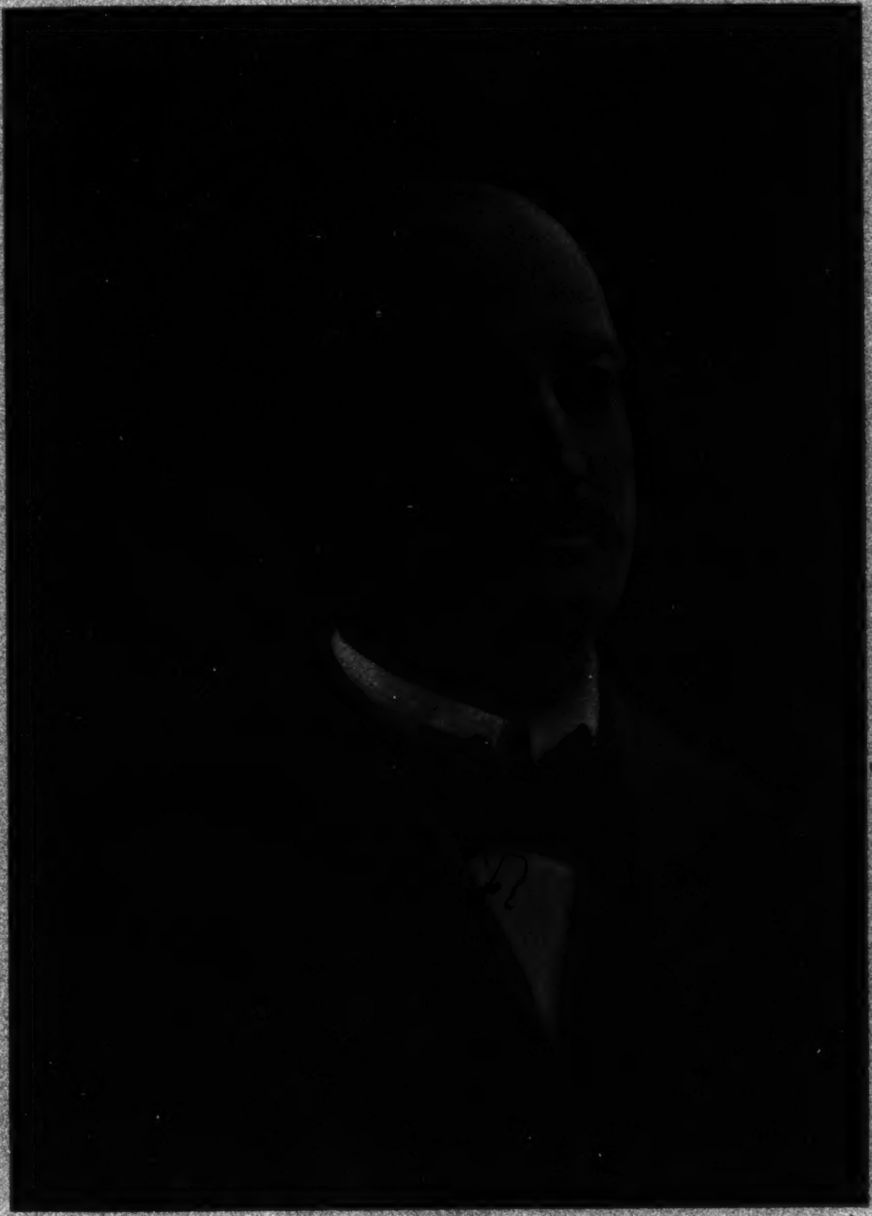
John H. Reddin, lawyer, was born in Seneca county, N. Y., October 13, 1858. After a full course in the public schools of the city of Norwich, N. Y., he studied law at that place, and was admitted to the Bar at Albany in 1880. In April, 1881, he came to Colorado and located in Denver, bringing with him little capital save the knowledge he had acquired in preparation for his chosen profession. For about a year after his arrival here he was employed in the office of the District Attorney, and then entered upon the practice of law in which he has since been continuously engaged in the Courts of Colorado. Refraining from any participation in politics beyond performing the duties of a citizen, and never having sought official position, he has during his twenty years of citizenship in Denver won his known success by fidelity to his profession.—J. C. S.



John H. Reddin

entry under the "Congressional Grant." Judge Hall's successor was Omer O. Kent who filled the position until the close of 1867, when he was succeeded by Major Jacob Downing who served two years. Major Downing's successor was Henry A. Clough whose term extended from 1869 to the autumn of 1873, and who was followed by William C. Kingsley. Kingsley retired in October, 1875, and was succeeded by Amos Steck whose period of service covered the transition from Territory to State, and did not terminate until July 14, 1880.

At our first State election (October, 1876) three Judges of the Supreme Court were elected. Section 7 of Article VI of the State Constitution provided—

> "The term of office of the Judges of the Supreme Court, except as in this article otherwise provided, shall be nine years."

Section 8 of that Article of the Constitution reads as follows:

> "Sec. 8. The Judges of the Supreme Court shall, immediately after the first election under this Constitution, be classified by lot, so that one shall hold his office for the term of three years, one for the term of six years, and one for the term of nine years. The lot shall be drawn by the Judges, who shall for that purpose assemble at the seat of government, and they shall cause the result thereof to be certified to the Secretary of the Territory, and filed in the office. The Judge having the shortest term to serve, not holding his office by appointment or election to fill a vacancy, shall be the Chief Justice, and shall preside at all terms of the Supreme Court, and in case of his absence, the Judge having in like manner the next shortest term to serve shall preside in his stead."

Section 1190 of the General Statutes of 1883 provides—

> "The regular term of office of all State, district, county, and precinct officers and of the Judges of the Supreme Court shall commence on the second Tuesday of January next after their election, except as otherwise provided by law."

At the first State election Henry C. Thatcher, Samuel H. Elbert, and Ebenezer T. Wells were elected Judges of the Supreme Court. Judge Thatcher's term was decided by lot to be the short one of three years and ending in January, 1880; that of Judge Elbert, for six years, ending in 1883; and that of Judge Wells, for the term of nine years, ending in January, 1886.

Judge Wells resigned September 1, 1877, and was succeeded, by election, by Wilbur F. Stone who served the remainder of the term, to January, 1886. Judge Thatcher was succeeded by the election in 1879 of William E. Beck who served from January, 1880, to January, 1889. Judge Elbert's successor was Joseph C. Helm elected in 1882 for the term from January, 1883, to January, 1892. In 1885 Judge Elbert was again elected, as the successor of Judge Stone for the term from January, 1886, to January, 1895; but resigned on September 1, 1888. To temporarily fill this vacancy Governor Adams appointed Melville B. Gerry, who served from September 13, 1888, to December 4, 1888. To fill the remainder of Judge Elbert's term, Victor A. Elliott, who had for twelve years been on the Bench of our District Court, was elected in the autumn of 1888, and served from December 4, 1888, to January, 1895. At that same election Charles D. Hayt was elected to succeed Judge Beck, and served from January, 1889, to January, 1898. In 1891 Judge Helm was re-elected for the full term from January, 1892, to January, 1901; but resigned September 24, 1892. In the autumn of that year Luther M. Goddard was elected for the remainder of Judge Helm's term and served until its expiration. In 1894 John Campbell was elected as Judge Elliott's successor for the term from January, 1895, to January, 1904, and is now on the Bench. In 1897, William H. Gabbert was elected Judge Hayt's successor for the term from January, 1898, to January, 1907, and is one of the present Judges. In November, 1900, Robert W. Steele, then Arapahoe County Judge, was elected to succeed Judge Goddard for the term from January, 1901, to January, 1910.

By the operation of the Constitutional provision, the Chief Justices of our State Supreme Court have successively been Judges Thatcher, Elbert, Beck, Helm, Hayt, and the present Chief Justice Campbell.

After the Eighth General Assembly had, in the spring of 1891, provided for the organization of the Court of Appeals, Governor Routt appointed G. Q. Richmond Judge for the term from April, 1891, to April, 1893; Julius B. Bissell for the term

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Archie MacNichol Stevenson was born in Rothesay, Scotland, in 1857; son of P. C. and Elizabeth Stevenson. When our subject was six months old the family removed to Canada, and three years later located in Vernon county, Wisconsin.

Young Stevenson attended the common schools there and the High School at Viroqua; and later Houghton's Private Academy. He then studied law and was admitted to the Bar when twenty-one years old.

In the autumn of 1876 Mr. Stevenson removed to Nebraska where he practiced law three years. Coming to Colorado in 1879 he has been actively engaged here in the practice of his profession since that time. He was a Republican member (from the Gunnison District) of the State Senate in the Sixth and Seventh General Assemblies; and in 1896 a Delegate in the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, from which, in obedience to the instructions of the Colorado State Convention, he withdrew upon the adoption of the anti-silver plank of the National platform. In 1900 he returned to the Republican party, in which he is an able leader, vigorously supported its candidates and policies (silver having ceased to be an issue), and is now a member for Colorado of the Republican National Committee.—J. C. S.

A. M. Stevenson.

from April, 1891, to April, 1893; and Gilbert D. Reed for the term from April, 1891, to April, 1897. Charles I. Thomson was appointed for the term from April, 1893 to April, 1899, succeeding Judge Richmond; and Judge Bissell was re-appointed for the term from April, 1895, to April, 1901. Adair Wilson was appointed for the term from April, 1897, to April, 1903; and Judge Thomson re-appointed for the term from April, 1899, to April, 1905; Judges Bissell, Wilson and Thomson constituting the Court at the close of our record.

Of our District Court of the Second Judicial District (Arapahoe county), Victor A. Elliott who was chosen at the first State election (October, 1876), and who was the only Judge until April, 1887, served until January, 1889. Platt Rogers, appointed by the Governor under the act of 1887, served from April, 1887, to January, 1888. Westbrooke S. Decker, elected to succeed Judge Rogers, from January, 1888, to January, 1891, when his resignation took effect. George W. Allen, elected to succeed Judge Elliott, from January, 1889, to January, 1901. Oliver B. Liddell and Thomas B. Stuart, appointed by the Governor under the act of 1889, from April, 1889, to January, 1890. David B. Graham and Amos J. Rising, elected, from January, 1890, to January, 1895. John A. Bentley, elected to succeed Judge Decker, January, 1891, to January, 1895. Alvin Marsh, appointed by the Governor under the act of 1891, from April, 1891, to January, 1892. David V. Burns, elected to succeed Judge Marsh, from January, 1892, to January, 1895. Peter L. Palmer, Frank T. Johnson, O. E. LeFevre, and C. P. Butler, elected, from January, 1895, to January, 1901. At the November, 1900, election Judges Palmer and Johnson were re-elected for terms of six years, and with them Booth M. Malone, Samuel L. Carpenter and John I. Mullins were chosen as successors to Judges Allen, Butler and LeFevre. District Courts, the reader is reminded, are parts of the State government establishment, and not of that of the county.

Of the County Court five men have served as Judges since Colorado became a State. As already mentioned, Judge Amos Steck was Judge of the Territorial Probate Court of Arapahoe county when Colorado became a State, and with that change he held over and became the first Judge of our County Court, his service continuing by subsequent election, until July 14, 1880. Benjamin F. Harrington succeeded him and was continued until January 12, 1887, when George F. Miller followed and served until January 10, 1893. Owen E. LeFevre succeeded Miller for a term ended January 7, 1895, and his successor was Robert W. Steele, whose two terms covered the period terminating in January, 1901. In January, 1901, the County Commissioners appointed Ben. B. Lindsey to succeed Judge Steele who, in November, 1900, had been elected a Judge of the Supreme Court. The salary of the County Judge had been $5,000, but the Twelfth General Assembly, in 1899, reduced it to $4,000, the change to take effect in January, 1901.

The Bar of Denver is represented in two organizations of lawyers—the "Denver Bar Association," and the "Colorado Bar Association." The former and older was organized October 31, 1891, and, as its name indicates, is the local organization, with a membership of about 250 at the close of 1900. A. E. Pattison was its first President, and was succeeded in turn by George C. Norris, T. J. O'Donnell, Cass E. Herrington, W. Henry Smith, Charles D. Hayt, H. W. Bryant, and Hugh Butler. The Colorado Association, the membership of which is distributed throughout the State, was organized in Denver September 9, 1897, with Hugh Butler, of Denver, President; Charles H. Gast, of Pueblo, First Vice President; Charles Cavender, of Leadville, Second Vice President, and Lucius W. Hoyt, of Denver, Secretary and Treasurer. The by-laws provide that any member of the Bar of Colorado residing and practicing in the State is eligible to membership; and at the close of 1900 the association included about 150 lawyers, having begun with sixty-three. The two organizations are entirely separate, though a large number of Denver lawyers belong to both. The objects of these associations are to encourage more intimate relations among and between lawyers, to better serve the public interests, and to maintain a high standard of professional ethics.

It is, and with no tendency toward beneficial results, becoming fashionable to find fault with our Courts, chiefly because of their alleged "interference" in the affairs of men; and as a consequence we find the phrase "government by injunction" in our present political vocabularies. No man is in the slightest danger of being enjoined from doing right, or of being compelled to do wrong, if our Courts are given a fair chance to understand the case; and, it may be remarked, they make it their business to see that a fair chance be given. In no division of our system of government are the rights of men more watchfully guarded than in and by our Courts. Legislatures may blunder and be slow to rectify; executives may be ignorant, or prejudiced, or dishonest, or all three; but our Courts stand as a bar to injustice from these and all other sources, and the probability of a wrong passing undetected in review before them and receiving their sanction is almost too remote to be seriously considered. Analyzing their rules of practice, their deliberate methods of procedure, their cautious approaches to final decision, it would seem that every safeguard human ingenuity has been able to devise has been set up against the possibility of a wrong being committed in the name of Justice. Our Courts are the protectors and defenders of the rights of men and, far more than we are accustomed to keeping in our daily thoughts, they are the bulwarks between peaceful conditions of society and a state of anarchy.

CHAPTER LX.

Pioneer Churches—Religious Influences in Frontier Communities—First Religious Meeting at Denver—Church Work in 1859—Sunday in Mining Camps—Town Companies Friendly to Churches—Pioneer Clergymen—First Church Organization—First Sunday School—Town Companies' Lot Donations to Church Organizations—Attitude of "Bad Men"—Organization of Episcopal Church—History of the Several Pioneer Denominational Organizations—Present Number of Church Organizations in Denver—Young Men's Christian Association.

The frontier "cities," towns and settlements of the west of forty years ago have not, as a rule, left accounts of their social conditions at that time that would persuade the student of their history to believe them to have been communities in which religious sentiments exerted much influence, or that churches were institutions that successfully appealed to the better side of human nature in the motley collection of human beings which constituted their usually rough and reckless, and often boisterous, populations. Yet, he who carefully searches the records of these communities, and gathers and sifts the reminiscences of their surviving pioneers, will find that the influences of religion and churches were present in all, or nearly all, of them, from their beginning—gentle, persistent, far-reaching influences.

It would be asking too much of the readers of these pages to invite them to consider the pioneers of Denver, generally, as men in whose minds religious convictions were first and foremost, or occupied even a modestly advanced position in their thoughts. The great majority was not of such men. As mentioned in an early chapter of this work, nothing could have been much further from the purposes and motives of our pioneers in coming here, and after getting here, than the spiritual welfare of themselves or of any other human creatures in the then wilderness of plains and mountains. Nevertheless, there were among them some —more, perhaps, than might have been expected at such a time and under such circumstances—whose thoughts were not altogether given over to gaining possession of the glittering grains and scales of gold with which every bar and stream, ravine and gulch, mountain-side and valley were fondly believed to abound; some who had not forgotten that there may be influences thrown around the daily lives of women and men far higher and better than any the possession of gold may bring or its expenditure buy.

While the fact is in no way related to the institution of church work in pioneer Denver, the first clergyman, so far as there is any account, who saw the site of Denver, was the French priest who passed through this part of the country in 1739. But, as we have told, Father Mallet came as an explorer and not as a missionary; and therefore may not be counted in this chapter of our History. Then, there was the Cherokee Baptist preacher, Rev. John Beck, "promoter" of the Cherokee division of the Russell party which arrived here in June, 1858. But, as in the case of Father Mallet, Brother Beck did not qualify himself to figure as Denver's pioneer clergyman, for he came solely as a gold-seeker, and as the reader has seen, did not stay very long in pursuit of that occupation.

Among those who came here late in the autumn of 1858 was Reverend George W. Fisher, a Local Elder of the Methodist Episcopal church, who had theretofore been laboring in western Missouri. He was the first clergyman of any church in the two poor little hamlets at the mouth of Cherry creek. We have already told how he held services in the homes of the pioneers during that first winter—for a church building at that time could not be considered—and we need not repeat the story here. He preached his first sermon, the first one heard at the mouth of Cherry creek, early in December, 1858, under a cottonwood tree that stood at the intersection of what are now Eleventh and Wewatta streets and in front of the double cabin built by "the Russell boys" and Trader John S. Smith. Mr. Fisher faithfully and earnestly kept alive the religious sentiments of the isolated community through that winter; and of his further services some account will later appear on these pages.

The Directors of the two established pioneer town companies were not indifferent to the cause of religion; whatever their official motives may have been, we find them on record very early in their proceedings as endeavoring to make provisions to encourage church-building. At a meeting of the Denver Town Company's Directors, the date of which is omitted from the entry, but which, judging from the dates of the next preceding and next following entries in their record, was held late in December, 1858, or early in January, 1859, when their town was barely a month old, they unanimously agreed to donate to "the Presbyterian church" and to "the Methodist church" four town lots each for church purposes. At that time there was no church organization in Denver and, therefore, these proffered donations availed nothing. However, a year or so later lots one and two in Block ninety-seven, "East Denver," were set apart by the Denver Town Company's Directors for the Methodist Episcopal church, but the pioneer church organization neglected to accept them and acquire title. The Bank Block on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Arapahoe streets occupies those two lots.

Although the Denver Town Company was first with its offered donations, the Aurarians across the creek were not far behind them. The Directors of the Auraria Town Company at their meeting held on January 17, 1859, when their town was fairly two months old, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> "Resolved, That there be and there is hereby Donated to the first four Religious Societies that will build a church or house of Worship in the City of Auraria one lot each, to be selected by any one appointed by the Societies for that purpose."

It may be true that worldly motives, and the spirit of jealousy and rivalry that rioted between the two "cities," back and forth across Cherry creek, had something to do with these free-handed offers of town-lots to pioneer churches; but if they did, they did not wholly constitute the motives, for there were some men in both towns who sincerely desired to see churches built, and were ready to give further assistance.

But no churches were built that winter, nor were there any church buildings undertaken during the year 1859. The spring opened so discouragingly and the prospects for the discovery of permanent and profitable gold deposits were so dismal that it appeared doubtful whether the Cherry creek settlements would survive until another winter. Then, when, and for several months after, the gold was found, the two communities were in such an uproar of excitement, and so thronged by thousands of impatient newcomers, that church-building was forgotten, and the thoughts of nearly every man were centered on the mines or on ways and means to get a share of their output. But Mr. Fisher continued at his work and kept alive the fires he had been instrumental in kindling late in the autumn of the previous year.

On one of those June days in 1859, in the midst of the excitement over gold and the politics of the then prospective "Jefferson Territory," Reverend L. Hamilton, a Presbyterian minister—the first of his denomination to come, reached Denver. On the 15th of that month he held his first services in the Pollock Hotel, on the southwest corner of Market and Eleventh streets. Later he held meetings in a low, two-story building on the north side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets. The first meeting was held there when the building was but partly finished. Some boards were laid on the joists for the speaker, and his hearers stood or sat upon the other joists. After the building was finished the meetings were held in the second story. Mr. Hamilton also preached in other places and always had comparatively large and respectfully attentive audiences. He continued his services through the summer and autumn of that year, and they constituted the second series of religious meetings held in Denver.

Albert D. Richardson, of the Greeley party which visited the "Gregory Diggings" before the middle of June, 1859, records the following:

> "When I asked a miner if there was any church he replied: 'No; but we are going to build one before next Sunday.' Erecting a temple of worship in a week was in thorough accordance with the prevailing spirit."

Richardson was there again, later in that month, and thus describes what he saw on a Sunday morning:

> "On Sunday morning a walk through the diggings revealed nearly all the miners disguised in clean clothing. Some were reading and writing letters, some ministering to the sick, and some enacting the part of Every-man-his-own-washerwoman—rubbing valiantly away at the tub. Several hundred men in the open air were attending public religious worship—perhaps the first ever held in the Rocky Mountains. They were roughly clad, displaying weapons at their belts; and represented every section of the Union and almost every nation of the earth. They sat upon logs and stumps, a most attentive congregation, while the clergyman, upon a rude, log platform, preached from the text: 'Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy.' It was an impressive spectacle—that motley gathering of gold-seekers among the mountains, a thousand miles from home and civilization, to hear the 'good tidings' forever old and yet forever new."

The identity of the preacher referred to by Richardson is unknown. Among the active miners there at that time were several men who had formerly occupied pulpits back in the States.

By August of that year a Union church had been organized, the communion service celebrated, preaching on Sundays, and prayer meetings on Wednesday evenings provided for, at the mouth of Gregory Gulch where the town of Black Hawk afterward came into existence. It is to be recorded that in this respect the mining camps were in advance of the town communities, just as they were in the administration of their laws for the preservation of life and protection of rights and property.

On June 29, 1859, soon after Mr. Hamilton's coming, two other ministers arrived at Cherry creek. They were William H. Goode and Jacob Adriance, and their object was to organize the first Methodist Episcopal church work in Denver. The Kansas-Nebraska Conference at its session in April, 1859, at Omaha, had established the "Pike's Peak and Cherry Creek Mission," as Superintendent of which Bishop Scott had appointed Mr. Goode, a man who had a large, varied and most interesting experience in mission work on the frontier through many years before. Jacob Adriance had also been engaged in similar work in eastern Kansas and eastern Nebraska for several years, and just prior to his coming hither had been stationed at the Rock Bluff Mission in Nebraska.

Rev. Jacob Adriance.

On the first Sunday after their arrival—July 3rd—these Methodist pioneers conducted their first services in Denver. These meetings were also held in Pollock's Hotel, Mr. Goode preaching in the forenoon and Mr. Adriance in the evening. On the following Sunday, July 10th, they preached at Mountain City (later incorporated in Central City), and the next day, July 11th, held quarterly conference there and put Rev. G. W. Fisher in charge of the mountain work. This was the first church organization anywhere in the Rocky Mountain country; all preceding religious services not having been held under any form of organization.

Goode and Adriance returned to Denver late in July, and on the 31st held services in the house of Samuel Dolman, whose name has heretofore appeared in our narrative. On August 2, 1859, Mr. Goode held quarterly conference here and effected the first church organization in Denver. Jacob Adriance served as Secretary, and Alexander Carter, H. J. Graham, and Henry Reitze were elected stewards. From that beginning Trinity Methodist Episcopal church dates its history.

On August 7th Goode preached his last sermon here. On the 8th he started on his return to the States, and never came back to Denver. The original field of the Pike's Peak and Cherry Creek Mission had embraced all the region round-about; but after the conference at Mountain City and the one here on August 2nd, the local name was changed to "The Auraria and Denver City Mission," which included Golden City, Arapahoe, Boulder City, and Twelve Mile Diggings. Mr. Goode had placed Mr. Adriance in charge of this mission, and the latter immediately established himself in Auraria. In a reminiscent letter received in Denver from him in December, 1898, he said of his preparations after Goode's departure, and of his subsequent work:

> "Up to this time I had camped with Brother Goode, but now I must find a home elsewhere. Thinking it would not be safe for me to pay $7 per week for board, I rented at $10 per month, a cabin about 12x14, with one window and door but no floor. It was located about two blocks across the creek from the church that was built in 1860 [the Methodist Episcopal-South]. I carpeted the ground with hay, bought a little sheet-iron stove with its fixtures, a tin plate and a cup, knife and fork, and spoon, made a table, stool, and bedstead, and began housekeeping, thanking God that there was one place that I could call home."
>
> "My pastoral work was with the families—not many; in business houses, hotels, camps by the wayside, travelers on the way—anywhere that I could get to talk with anybody."
>
> "Nothing seemed settled. It was going and coming. Persons would join the church, and the next time I came round I could not find them. And so it, was, largely, with my congregations. Then we had no permanent place of worship. In warm weather I would hunt up unfinished buildings on Friday or Saturday, and post notices of time and place of preaching. At the appointed time I would be there and begin to sing, when the men—and occasionally a woman or two—would gather in, fill up the room, and often more outside than in, patiently standing, with open mouths, while I would talk of the gold that was certain and pure."

Mr. Adriance's cabin was of the then usual type—one story, of rough logs, and with a "dirt-roof." As nearly as its location can now be determined, it was in the block bounded by Larimer, Lawrence, Eleventh and Twelfth streets. Its one window was a glazed sash that had been imported from New Mexico; and such things were luxuries here in those days. Late in October, 1859, Mr. Fisher, following the example of most of the miners, left the mountains and came to Denver. He then shared Adriance's cabin, and thereafter preaching services, class and prayer meetings were held in it as circumstances required; and it also sheltered the first Sunday School in Denver.

Rev. William H. Goode.

This first Sunday School was organized in November, 1859. A considerable number of the people who had come here that year and located in the two towns brought children with them. The fact that O. J. Goldrick then had between fifteen and twenty children attending his pioneer school led L. N. Tappan, formerly of Boston, and who was prominent in Denver affairs in the early days to suggest to the teacher the propriety of organizing a Union Sunday School to embrace all denominations. Goldrick at once approved, and the two sought and obtained the co-operation of Adriance and Fisher, and of D. C. Collier. A meeting was held at Mr. Adriance's cabin at which arrangements were made to open the school. In the issue of the Rocky Mountain News of November 3, 1859, the following announcement was published:

Jacob Adriance's cabin.

> "A union Sunday School for the children of Auraria and Denver will be held every Sunday at 3 o'clock P. M., at the house of Preachers Fisher and Adriance, near Cherry Creek. It is particularly requested that the parents and guardians will endeavor to have their children attend the school regularly and punctually. Books and children's papers will soon be furnished to the scholars. The school will not only be a union school for both towns, but a union of all denominations. (Signed) George W. Fisher, Lewis N. Tappan, Jacob Adriance, D. C. Collier, O. J. Goldrick."

The school was opened on November 6th with twelve children in attendance; the only adult person present beside the five who had published the announcement, was "Aunt" Clara Brown, an excellent pioneer colored woman. The school was organized by unanimously electing Mr. Collier Superintendent. Mr. Tappan had sent to the Baptist Sunday School at Lawrence, Kansas, and got a donation of books which, upon their arrival, and to his pleasant surprise, he discovered were the same ones he had sent to the Lawrence school from Boston some years before. These books were later sent to the first anti-Mormon Sunday School organized in Salt Lake City.

This Union Sunday School steadily increased in size until "the house of Preachers Fisher and Adriance" could no longer accommodate it. Its meetings were then held in the Masonic Hall that stood at present numbers 1346-54 Eleventh street, and in June, 1860, the school was merged in the one then organized by the Methodist Episcopal church. During most of the period of this pioneer Sunday School's existence, Miss Indiana Sopris, who later became Mrs. Samuel Cushman, served as assistant to the Superintendent.

In the autumn of 1859 there was also a revival of official, or town company, interest in church affairs, and we find in the old records of the two companies quite a series of resolutions and adopted motions intended to result in promoting church building. At the meeting of the Denver Town Company Directors held on November 19, 1859, the following entry was made in their record with a notation that Clancey, Blake, and Whitsitt were appointed to carry it into effect:

> "Mr. Clancey moved a committee of three be appointed to see Mr. Guiraud in relation to a Catholic Church, and that said committee be further empowered to reserve grounds for them, if they should determine to build a church in Denver City."

The Town Company brethren were strictly non-sectarian in their good-will and donations. Those of the Auraria City Company had, nearly a year before, made a sort of blanket offer of lots to the "first four Religious Societies" which would build on them; and about the same time the Denver Directors had specifically offered to provide ground for Presbyterian and Methodist churches. The latter had, also, now made a specific offer to the Catholic church, and at their next meeting went still further. On December 26, 1859, the Denver Directors resolved, on motion of R. E. Whitsitt—

> "That the trustees of the Hebrew Synagogue be donated ten lots to be selected by the Secretary and donate the same to them provided they build a house of worship in Denver City, within Eight Months from this date. Said house to cost not less than $700."

Further along in the record of the proceedings of this meeting appears the following entry:

> "The Board instructed the President and Secretary to [see] Mons. Guiraud in relation to Catholic Church and Make the Necessary agreement with him in relation to Said Church."

At their meeting held on January 9, 1860, the Denver Directors further increased their church bounties by resolving—

> "That six lots be donated to the Episcopal Church, two of said lots to be 1 & 2 in Block 132, provided a church be Erected on said lots within eight months from this date."

The lots selected for the Catholic church proved unsatisfactory to the Bishop, and on February 14, 1860, the matter was remedied as stated in the following entry:

"The deed given by the Board to the Catholic church was returned and letters from G. Guiraud and Bishop Miege were read giving reasons for declining the same, when on motion the same was accepted."

"On motion Bishop Miege was donated 8 lots in Block 208."

On February 14th, the Denver Directors continued in their liberal well-doing by favorably considering the following:

"A petition from the Congregationalists and Universalists was read when on motion of S. S. Curtis a committee of conference be appointed to confer with the applicants."

The second proposition to Bishop Miege, that of "8 lots in Block 208" appears to have also proved unsatisfactory for, on March 3, the following entry was made in the Denver Town Company's record:

"The Secretary brought up the matter of reconsidering the Donation of one Block of lots to the Catholic Church under certain restrictions, and their refusal to accept the same with the conditions; the Board complied and the same being accepted by the Board, the Secretary moved for a reconsideration. When on motion of Amos Steck that Block 208 be given to them as a donation, instructing the President and Secretary to deed the same to Bishop J. B. Miege."

This arrangement appears to have been satisfactory all around, for it is the last reference to the disagreement the old record contains. Block 208 is the one now occupied by the Court House and was sold to the county by Bishop Machebeuf in 1875. The Catholic church's title to it primarily rested upon this action of the Denver Town Company's Directors but, after the enactment of the "Congressional Grant" law in 1864, and for additional security, Bishop Machebeuf made filing upon it. This latter proceeding has long been supposed to have been that by which the Bishop acquired title to it; but, as the record shows, that supposition was erroneous.

The Denver Town Company's Directors made still further lot donations to churches at that meeting of March 3, 1860. Their record goes on to say:

"The petition of the Episcopal church being read, on motion of R. E. Whitsitt that the Congregation be given (16) Sixteen lots for to Erect their Church and building on."

This was unanimously agreed to, and was followed on April 11th by two more generous donations to other churches; as it was then resolved that—

"A donation of six lots be donated to the Presbyterians for the purpose of erecting a Church."

"On motion also six lots were donated to the Baptists for the purpose of erecting a church."

The foregoing entry, which is a verbatim copy, is the last reference to church donations in the Denver Town Company's record; and it would seem that the gifts, such as they were, had not been stinted. In the meantime the Aurarians, according to their record, had done nothing more than we have stated in the foregoing. It is probable that they realized the impossibility of competing with such lot-giving friends of the churches as the Denver Directors were demonstrating themselves to be, and refrained from engaging in so hopeless a contest.

On January 17, 1860, another clergyman arrived in Denver, from Sheperdstown, Virginia, with the view of remaining permanently. He was an Episcopalian—the Reverend J. H. Kehler of the Diocese of Virginia, who brought his family with him. Of Mr. Kehler's first preaching services in Denver, Colonel S. S. Curtis sent us the following interesting reminiscence:

Rev. J. H. Kehler.

"In January, 1860, an Episcopalian minister named J. H. Kehler ("Father" Kehler, he was familiarly called,) came to Denver, with his four marriageable daughters. As most of us had not heard a sermon for many months, General Larimer and I took it upon ourselves to secure a room for him to preach in. Accordingly, we called upon Ed. Jumps, proprietor of the principal gambling saloon, and the only house having a sufficiently large room on the second floor, for permission to allow services to be held there. He consented, but on the first Sunday the gambling was carried on on the first floor while preaching was proceeding on the second. The flooring was of rought boards with wide cracks between them, and every word uttered by the occupants of the saloon, including those at the gambling tables, was as plainly heard by the congregation as the sermon. On the next Sunday the gambling was suspended for an hour while preaching proceeded, which was considered quite a concession at that time."

It is to be said of nearly all the men like Ned Jumps, proprietor of the famous and infamous "Criterion" drinking and gambling saloon of that period, and of nearly all those who frequented such places, that they were disposed to show in their way a profound respect for religion, religious services and ministers of the gospel. The sincere Christian man who went among them was received with deference, and a misguided ruffian who behaved otherwise, would have had cause for thanksgiving if he escaped with nothing worse than a broken head. The disturber of a religious meeting was almost certain to be called to account for his misbehavior by some of his acquaintances who emphasized their intentions by a threat to use their revolvers, but who at other times and places were as bad as the worst. Most of these men, whose daily lives were periods of wantonness and crime, appeared to regard the pioneer preachers with a kind of superstitious veneration and awe. No class of men were more willing to contribute to the support of religious institutions than they; and they eagerly gave of their gains—mostly ill-gotten ones—to assist in building Denver's first churches. In many instances there was something of pathos in their manner when they were giving substantial proof of an awakened desire to be occasionally identified, in their reckless and stormy lives, with a measure or a movement intended to lead men into higher and better ways. It is questionable whether there was ever developed in any other country a class of men so singular in many of their characteristics as the gambling ruffians and red-handed desperadoes of the old frontier days in the west.

Immediately upon Mr. Kehler's arrival a movement for the organization of an Episcopal church society was begun, and on the evening of January 21st a meeting of Episcopalians, and others interested in the work, was held at Goldrick's schoolhouse in Auraria. L. Badelot was made chairman, and E. D. Boyd, the surveyor, served as Secretary. Mr. Kehler made an address, rather than preached a sermon, and the meeting unanimously decided that arrangements would be made for holding services regularly. At that meeting the foundations of St. John's church were laid.

On May 10, 1860, Rev. John M. Chivington, of the Methodist Episcopal church, arrived in Denver with his family and took up his residence in the city. He came as the First Presiding Elder of the Rocky Mountain District, a division that had been made that year by the Kansas Conference. Chivington was more a man of war than one of peace. When the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers was organized he was tendered its Chaplaincy; but he demanded a fighting position and was appointed its Major. He became as we have told, an able, conspicuous and noted officer, but his name and fame in the public mind are more definitely associated with the Sand creek horror than with anything else in his military career, an outline of which has been given in preceding chapters.

Early in the summer of 1860 Rev. W. M. Bradford, of the Methodist Episcopal church-South, came to Denver and by midsummer of that year got together an organization of members of his denomination, and of others who had no direct church connections. He then secured ground on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, where he built a small brick church, the first building in Denver erected for church purposes. The outbreak of the civil war in the following spring disrupted the congregation, and many of its members—including Pastor Bradford—left Denver for their former homes in the south. The church stood unused for a while, and then the trustees rented it to the other Methodist organization, and later sold it to Father Kehler's congregation of Episcopalians who made it St. John's church in the Wilderness, of which there remains much more to be told.

By the close of 1860 each of the following-named denominations had organized church societies in Denver and were more or less regularly holding services: Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal-South, Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian. Only two of these, the Methodist-South, and the Catholic congregations, had church buildings of their own; and the latter's barely came within that year, as the first regular services were held in their first church building on December 30th. The others occupied rented quarters wherever they could find them, and were frequently shifting from one place to another. Vacant storerooms, second-story halls, theaters, and various other shelters were utilized by the three homeless societies; but it was not long thereafter until all of them had roofs of their own over their heads. The pioneer period of church organizations in Denver was drawing to its close and the era of established congregations completely organized was opening. There are many other details associated with the primitive history of each that are of the deepest interest, and while we may not be able to enter far into their particulars, we will endeavor to further consider the more important of them in accounts of the progress of the several denominations.

Pioneer Methodist church building in Denver—Henry C. Brown's former shop. Destroyed by Cherry creek flood of May, 1864.

As our reader will have learned, the Methodist Episcopal was the first denomination to organize a church society at the mouth of Cherry creek. It was, also, the first to establish a denominational Sunday School. As we have heretofore stated, J. M.

Chivington came in May, 1860, as the first Presiding Elder of the Rocky Mountain District. On June 10, 1860, Elder Chivington assisted by Samuel Cort, G. Anderson, A. J. Gill, and others, organized the school in the old Masonic Hall on Eleventh street, in which and up to that time the pioneer Union Sunday School had been holding its meetings. The new Sunday School was named "The First Methodist Episcopal Sunday School, of Denver City, Colorado Territory." Its old record is still in existence, and it states that Elder Chivington presided at the organization meeting, and that Samuel Cort was Secretary. G. Anderson, now of Des Moines, Iowa, was elected Superintendent; H. Hamlin, Assistant Superintendent; A. J. Gill, Secretary; H. Gibson, Librarian; H. B. Potter, Assistant Librarian; and John Atkinson, Treasurer. A committee "consisting of Miss L. A. Chivington, Miss Callison, Mr. A. H. Barker, Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Carter, Mr. Cound, and S. Hart" was appointed to solicit scholars; Elder Chivington having been afterward added to the committee.

The line of descent of the present Trinity Methodist Episcopal Sunday School from that organization of June 10, 1860, is unbroken. The school continued its meetings in the old Masonic Hall and in various other buildings until November, 1861; then in succession it met in the Methodist Episcopal-South church, in the People's Theater on the north side of Larimer street near Fourteenth, in Tom Anderson's carpenter shop at 1041 Larimer street, in Henry C. Brown's carpenter shop that had been converted into a church as we will presently relate, in the Denver Theater on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, in the Colorado Seminary building on the southwest corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, in the Lawrence street church, in the present First Congregational church on the north side of Glenarm street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, and finally in its present home at Broadway and Eighteenth Avenue. Following Mr. Anderson, its Superintendents have been, successively, A. J. Gill, Rev. J. Gilson, Rev. B. T. Vincent, Rev. George Skene, Rev. C. W. Richardson, Edward Nicholson, George F. Wanless, B. A. Wheeler, Frank Church, J. S. Hayes, A. J. Sampson, Rev. Earl Cranston, D. D., Rev. David H. Moore, D. D., Peter Winne, A. L. Doud, George S. Van Law, H. L. Shattuck, N. G. Tanquary, and J. P. Willard.

When Elder Chivington came to Denver he found the pioneer Methodist church society still without an abiding place it could call its own, notwithstanding that it had been organized on August 2, 1859, nearly a year before. In November, 1860, he rented for church purposes a frame dwelling owned by Charles S. Semper and that stood on the south side of Market street between Thirteenth street and Cherry creek. The meetings had theretofore been held at Adriance's cabin where the first love-feast had occurred October 30, 1859, at the homes of members, in various other places, and even in the street. After Chivington rented the Semper house the congregation met there for several months, and that dwelling appears to have been the first building regularly put to church uses in the city.

Jacob Adriance left Denver on February 16, 1860, to attend the Kansas Conference at Leavenworth, and did not return. His successor at Denver was Rev. Loudon Taylor, formerly of the Northern Conference of Iowa. Within a few months Taylor was succeeded by Rev. A. P. Allen, of the Wisconsin Conference. In the spring of 1861 Rev. W. A. Kenney took charge, and in November of that year the congregation rented the little church building of the Methodist Episcopal-South society (which, as we have related, had recently disintegrated,) and occupied it until the spring of 1862. In that year Mr. Kenney visited the Kansas Conference held at Wyandotte, and was reappointed to the Denver City work, but died before his return. For several months thereafter the congregation was without a pastor, though Rev. W. S. Lloyd, who came to Denver on his way to his appointment in the South Park, supplied the vacancy a short time. The death of Kenney had such an effect on Lloyd that he returned to Kansas without having visited the locality of his appointment in the South Park. Elder Chivington having gone away as Major of the First Colorado Regiment, was succeeded by Presiding Elder B. C. Dennis who, in October, 1862, called Rev. O. A. Willard from the Wisconsin Conference to take charge of the Denver congregation. Since the previous spring the society had again been homeless, the services under pastor Lloyd having been held wherever opportunity afforded. Through the autumn

The old "Lawrence street church." Photographed in 1865.

of 1862 and the following winter, the congregation under Mr. Willard's pastorate, met in halls, or in a theater, or wherever a place could be found. In February, 1863, Mr. Willard rented from Henry C. Brown, for twenty-one dollars a month, a small frame building that Mr. Brown had built for and was using as a carpenter's shop. It stood on the south side of Larimer street and partly in the bed of Cherry creek, on the "West Denver" side. It was fitted up by pastor Willard with seats and other furniture and made into a very fair meeting-house. It was occupied and dedicated on March 1st, and the congregation was rather proud of it, as it appeared that a place that could be considered a church home had at last been found.

Trinity Church, at Broadway and Eighteenth Avenue.

This pioneer church organization, which is directly continued in that of the present Trinity church, had not been up to that time a corporate body. In June, 1863, the Rocky Mountain Conference, then independent of that of Kansas, was organized; and on July 22, 1863, this pioneer society was incorporated as "The First Methodist Episcopal Church, of Denver," with John Evans, John C. Anderson, John Cree, John M. Chivington, and Hiram Burton as Trustees; the certificate having been attested by Andrew Sagendorf. The new Conference had made Mr. Willard a Presiding Elder, and this left the church without a pastor until late in that year, when Rev. George C. Betts came from the east and took charge. As we have elsewhere related, the Brown building was overturned, crushed as if it were made of card-board, and swept away by the Cherry creek flood of May, 1864; and the First Methodist church was again homeless. It was then resolved to at once build a new, imposing and suitable church edifice. A site was purchased on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets and there, in that year, the historic "Lawrence Street Church" was erected at a cost of $21,000.

In the meantime since the flood the congregation had again worshipped in various places; in the Denver Theater, the Colorado Seminary, and in the second story of the old "Criterion Hall" building. Pastor Betts had resigned and returned east, and had been succeeded by Rev. George Richardson who conducted the services at the dedication of the new church on February 12, 1865. The building had been paid for in full without the knowledge of Joseph B. Bell, a citizen who attended the dedicatory services with $200 in his pocket he had saved to donate at the dedication. There being no collection for the building fund, Bell paid in the $200 for a pew in the church. Elder Willard, who preached the dedicatory sermon, was made the recipient of a collection amounting to more than $400, and was presented with a fine gold watch in testimony of the people's appreciation of his services.

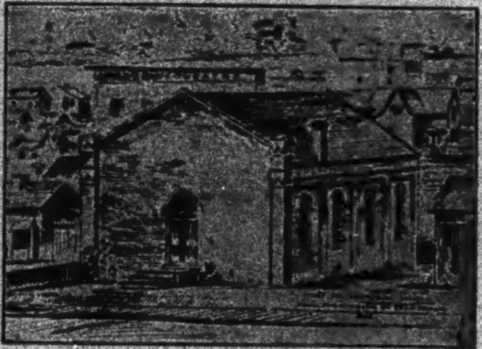
The Lawrence Street Church, as the reader has seen, was the first building owned by the congregation; and in its day and generation it was the largest and finest church, not only in Denver, but in the whole Rocky Mountain country; though in its present aspect as the headquarters of the "Salvation Army" it might seem not to warrant such a statement. To its building fund citizens of all creeds, beliefs and unbeliefs contributed; and after its completion it was the pride of every one, saint or sinner. In the pictures of Denver of that period this church was the most prominent landmark in view from any point, and it stood up like the Temple at Salt Lake City, overtowering and overshadowing all other structures in the town.

Pursuing the history of this pioneer church organization, something further of general interest remains to be recorded. In May, 1872, its corporate name was changed to that of "The Lawrence Street Methodist Church, of Denver." Within three or four years thereafter the growth of the congregation and the encroachments of the business section led some of the members to suggest a new, and larger church in a new location; but this change was not generally considered until some ten years more had passed. Then, on October 5, 1886, the movement for the erection of the present magnificent Trinity church was definitely inaugurated. In the meantime there had been the usual changes of pastors; Mr. Richardson had been successively followed by William M. Smith, B. T. Vincent, J. L. Peck, T. R. Slicer, J. R. Eads, Earl

Cranston, D. D., David H. Moore, D. D., R. W. Manley, D. D., Gilbert De La Matyr, and Henry A. Buchtel; the latter having being appointed in 1886, coming from another city church. Under his pastorate the erection of Trinity was undertaken, and his genius of leadership, great executive ability, untiring zeal, and power to inspire others to work enabled him to accomplish what, under the circumstances, was really a herculean task; for the congregation was by no means a wealthy one. But, with Dr. Buchtel came a large personal following, and this coupled with his devotion and ability and the willing generosity of the church's members, gave to Denver one of the conspicuously fine church buildings in Methodism, that may also be regarded as a monument to the Doctor's zeal and executive attainments. The corner-stone of the church was laid on September 5, 1887. Having in the meantime disposed of the Lawrence street property, the society had held its last services in the old building on July 31, 1887. After vacating it the congregation met in the First Baptist church and in the Tabor Opera House until April 1, 1888, when services were first held in the basement of the new Trinity. At that meeting additional subscriptions for the building fund, of over $60,000, were made within an hour. In December of that year the great auditorium was finished, and services were first held in it on the 23rd of that month. The cost of the land, the building, the great organ, and the parsonage, aggregated nearly $250,000.

Of the three founders of Methodism in Colorado, Fisher, Goode and Adriance, two have passed away. Fisher, a carpenter by trade, came from Illinois to Missouri and thence to Cherry creek. He returned to his family in Missouri in 1863, and soon afterward died there. Goode, a native of Warren county, Ohio, (June 19, 1807) long continued in his work, and died at his home in Richmond, Indiana, December 18, 1879. To his very interesting book, "Outposts of Zion," in which an elaborate narrative of his service on the frontier is embodied, we are indebted for some of the information we have presented here. Adriance, after his retirement from active work in the west, located at Jamestown, Nebraska, where he is still living.

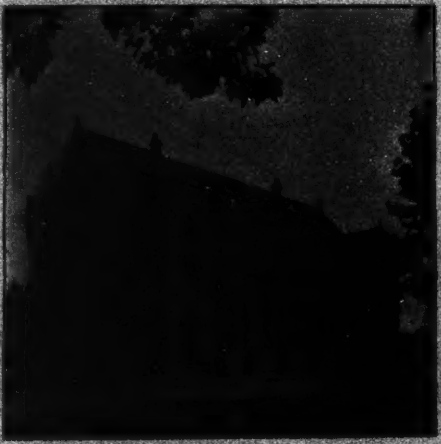
We have already mentioned the arrival in June, 1859, of Rev. L. Hamilton, the first Presbyterian minister to reach Cherry creek, and have told of the meetings he held in the summer and autumn of that year. He then went up to Central City, and the Cherry creek towns were left without a clerical representative of his denomination until the following summer. On July 31, 1860, Rev. A. T. Rankin came to Denver from eastern Kansas to organize the First Presbyterian congregation effectively brought together here. He was sent hither by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in consequence of some correspondence with General William Larimer who was an Associate Reformed Presbyterian. On the Sunday after his arrival, August 5th, Mr. Rankin held his first services, in Miss Ring's school-house on Market street on or near the southeast corner of that street and Fourteenth, the little cabin being crowded with people. On the next Sunday he preached in a store-room on Market street near the school-house. On the next the meeting was held in the second story room of William Graham's drug store building on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, where the "Mountaineer" newspaper office was established near the close of that month.


Pioneer Presbyterian church building in Denver—east side Fifteenth street, between Lawrence and Arapahoe streets.

A preliminary meeting for the organization of the church was held on Sunday, September 2nd, at which Dr. W. P. Hills, and Daniel Meyne were elected Elders. On September 5th at a meeting held in a log house at Fifteenth and Lawrence streets to organize a congregation, General Larimer, Richard Sopris, Dr. W. P. Hills, J. W. Benedict, George W. Clayton, R. E. Whitsitt, N. J. Lightnoe and Mr. Rankin were present, and a Board of seven Trustees were selected. These were General Larimer, George W. Clayton, Josiah Carlyle, Richard Sopris, Andrew Sagendorf, J. W. Benedict and R. E. Whitsitt; D. C. Collier being appointed Clerk.

After this organization the meetings were held during a short period in the Apollo Hall theater on the north side of Larimer street near Fourteenth. On one Sunday there a shooting affray occurred in the drinking and gambling room on the ground floor while the services were in progress in the room above. After that the log cabin at Fifteenth and Lawrence streets in which the meeting of September 5th had been held, was rented and was expected to be used several months; but it was sold a few weeks later, when the congregation occupied the second story of Greenleaf & Brewer's store building on Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets where the meetings were continued as long as Mr. Rankin remained in Denver. His Sunday School, organized in October, 1860, appears to have been the second one here in connection with a church. Its meetings were first held in Miss Ring's school-house.

Mr. Rankin left Denver on December 3, 1860, for his home in Buffalo, New York, and did not return here. It had been arranged by the Board of Missions that he would be succeeded on January 1, 1861, by Rev. A. S. Billingsley. But it was a year before the latter came, and in the meantime the congregation went adrift. Upon Mr. Billingsley's arrival services were resumed, the meetings being held in the International Hall on Eleventh street, between Larimer and Market streets, beginning on December 15, 1861; at which time Robert Lansing, Simon Cort, and John Irvine became Elders. Later the second story of Greenleaf & Brewer's building was again used.

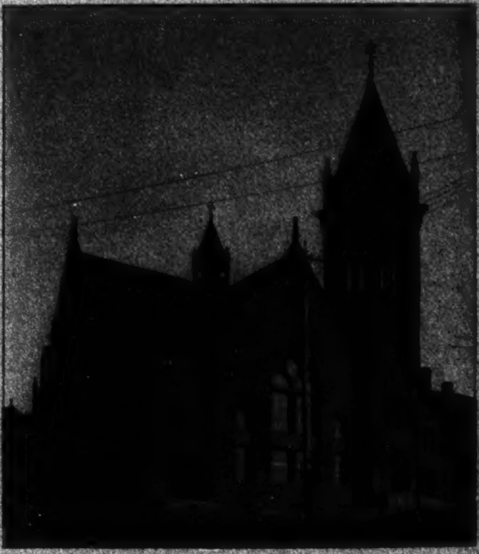


Central Presbyterian church as erected at Eighteenth and Champa streets.

Mr. Billingsley's services terminated in April, 1862, and the congregation remained without a pastor until November of that year when Rev. A. R. Day came to Denver and took charge of it. He at once declared his intention to build a church immediately. He was a man of much energy and succeeded in building his church. Major John S. Fillmore donated a plot of ground, forty by one hundred feet, on the east side of Fifteenth street, between Lawrence and Arapahoe streets, (present numbers 1121-23) and pastor Day raised by subscriptions sufficient money to build there a small but very creditable brick church at a cost of about $6,000. It is to be remembered that in those years Denver was a small town that had lost a considerable portion of its population in 1861 and 1862, and that its general prospects were much depressed. Therefore the responses to calls for aid in church-building were very generously made. Mr. Day remained until February, 1865, and was succeeded in October of that year by Rev. J. B. McClure. Rev. E. T. Wells followed Mr. McClure, and with distinguished ability occupied Denver Presbyterian pulpits for nearly twenty years.

In 1874 the name of the church was changed from the First to the Central Presbyterian, and it was decided to erect a new building. In 1875 four lots were bought on the southwest corner of Eighteenth and Champa streets for $6,250, and there, on January 6, 1876, under the pastorate of Dr. Willis Lord, the corner stone of the new Central Presbyterian church was laid. There was some delay in building, and the first services in the completed structure were not held until January 13, 1878. The lecture room had, however, been in condition for use several months earlier, and the commencement exercises of the class graduated in the "East Denver" High school in the summer of 1877, were held in it. Notwithstanding the name of the church, its location at that time was not a central one, but on the outskirts of the town; and most persons thought people would not care to go to a church situated out on the edge of the plains. The building was of lava, and with the land cost upward of $50,000, a part of which was defrayed by the sale of the Fifteenth street property to L. D. Riethmann, who erected a business block on its site.

In 1887 the congregation decided to again change location and to build another new church. In 1888 eight lots were bought on the southeast corner of Seventeenth and Sherman Avenues for $40,000. The real estate at Champa and Eighteenth streets was later sold for $130,000, reserving the building, which was sold to the Twenty-third Avenue Presbyterian congregation for a nominal consideration. That organization had the building taken down stone by stone and rebuilt at Twenty-third Avenue



Present Central Presbyterian church, at Seventeenth and Sherman Avenues.

and Ogden street, where it is now the home of that offspring of the Central. The Central congregation held its last services in the Champa street church on December 28, 1890, and thereafter occupied the Broadway Theater for Sunday service until the new Central was completed. The corner stone of the new structure was laid on July 7, 1891, and on Christmas, 1892, the services in dedication were held in the completed church. It is a large and fine edifice of Colorado red sandstone, and with the land, and the handsome adjoining residence for the pastor, represents an outlay of about $250,000.

Old "St. John's Church in the Wilderness," as it stood at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets.

The third church organization, in chronological order, was the Episcopalian "St. John's Church in the Wilderness." To some extent its organization was due to the Ladies' Union Aid Society organized in January, 1860, as related in a subsequent chapter. The first official record relating to it is that of the Denver Town Company's Directors who resolved on January 9, 1860, "that six lots be donated to the Episcopal Church." We have mentioned the arrival here on the 17th of that month of Rev. J. H. Kehler, of the Diocese of Virginia. On January 21st the meeting, previously mentioned, was held at Goldrick's school-house in Auraria to prepare for organizing a church society; and the next day, January 22nd, Mr. Kehler, held the religious services referred to in the reminiscence of Colonel S. S. Curtis quoted on a preceding page. On January 29th, as the Parish records state, Mr. Kehler inaugurated regular services at Goldrick's school-house, and on January 30th a vestry meeting was held at the office of T. J. Bayaud. This was followed by a meeting on February 19th at which a temporary church organization was effected by electing a vestry that consisted of Thomas J. Bayaud, C. E. Cooley, D. C. Collier, Samuel S. Curtis, Charles A. Lawrence, Dr. A. F. Peck, Amos Steck, E. Waterbury, R. E. Whitsitt and Thomas G. Wildman. Of these, Bayaud and Curtis were chosen Senior and Junior Wardens, respectively. Goldrick's school-house having, by this time proved inadequate for the congregational meetings, Mr. Bayaud gave the church the use of one of his buildings on Sixteenth street where the American House now stands. On April 10, 1860, the first church election was held for a permanent organization, at which Thomas J. Bayaud, H. J. Bulkley, S. S. Curtis, O. P. Ingalls, Charles A. Lawrence, Dr. Drake McDowell, Henry J. Rogers, Andrew Sagendorf, and Thomas J. Wildman were chosen vestrymen; and Mr. Bayaud and Mr. Curtis were again elected, respectively, Senior and Junior Wardens.

In its infancy, St. John's Church in the Wilderness had much the same experience as that attending the other pioneer churches. An effort was made in the summer of 1860 to erect a church building but it was not successful. An entry in the Parish records by "Father" Kehler states that "the Denver Town Company donated 16 lots on Champa street" to aid in building a church, an action apparently in disregard of the previous donation of six lots. The Town Company's record contains no account of this second gift. Mr. Kehler continued as rector of the church until appointed Chaplain of the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers, when he preached his farewell sermon on June 6, 1862. As reflecting conditions in those times, and also as indicating the broad character of Mr. Kehler's work, it may be stated that the Parish records show that of the first twelve burial services he conducted and with relation to which the causes of death were noted, five of the persons had been shot, two executed for murder, one had shot himself, and one had died of alcoholism; leaving only three to be accounted for by "natural causes." "Father" Kehler died in Washington, D. C., February 21, 1879, aged eighty-four years.

Bishop George M. Randall.

In the spring of 1862 the Episcopalian congregation purchased the small brick church that had been built in the autumn of 1860 by Mr. Bradford's Methodist Episcopal-South congregation, and that had been later used by the Methodist Episcopal society. This structure, as we have stated, occupied the site of the present Haish Manual Training School building at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, and was the first edifice erected for church purposes in Denver. Its new owners built a frame addition to it which gave the building a T-form, and on June 20, 1862, it was consecrated as St. John's Church in the Wilderness by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Talbott, of the Diocese of the Northwest. The church was incorporated as St. John's Church in the Wilderness by the Colorado Territorial Legislature in 1865.

Rev. H. B. Hitchings.

Late in 1862 Rev. William Hager came to temporarily take charge of the Parish, and remained about a year, when he was succeeded by Rev. H. B. Hitchings, whose service began November 1, 1863, and continued six years. Mr. Hitchings, who is still living, was succeeded by Rev. George M. Randall, a much-beloved man who later became Bishop, and whose lamented death occurred September 28, 1873. Rev. Walter Moore followed Mr. Randall and was in turn succeeded on Easter, 1874, by Rev. P. Voorhees Finch, who remained several years. In 1878, while on a health-seeking tour around the world, Rev. H. Martyn Hart of England, now Dean of St. John's Cathedral, visited Denver on his way, and in that little church preached a sermon that was followed by a call to the Parish to which he has ministered so long and well. Dean Hart and his family arrived in Denver from London on September 26, 1879.

An extension of the frame addition to the old brick church had been made in 1870, and in 1874 a movement was started to erect a new building, but owing to financial stress nothing came of it. Later in that decade the erection of a cathedral was determined and under the energetic influence of Dean Hart the present St. John's Cathedral was built in 1880-81. The old church remained in use until the completion of the cathedral, the last services having been held in it on November 6, 1881.

The Catholic church, rarely a laggard, was the fourth denomination in sending its representatives to Denver and in establishing itself here, though it was the second to erect an edifice especially for church purposes. It was the only one that appears to have taken any consequential advantage of the Town Companies' willingness to donate town lots in aid of churches, and the property it received later proved to be of important value. The first record pertaining to the Catholic church in Denver, is the action of the Denver Town Company's Directors on November 19, 1859, which we have quoted on a preceding page of this chapter. The "Mr. Guiraud" therein referred to was a Denver merchant of French extraction, who had for some years before been engaged in trade on the frontier, and still earlier a trader in South Africa. He was a good citizen who was held in high esteem here in the pioneer times, and it appears to have been through him that negotiations were begun that resulted in the coming here a few months later of direct representatives of the church; though it is certain that they soon would have appeared had Mr. Guiraud not have been here.

Late in the spring of 1860, Rt. Rev. J. B. Miege, Bishop of Leavenworth, Kansas, came to Denver to establish his church; the matter of the first lot donation having been, as heretofore stated, settled in the previous March. His first services were held at Mr. Guiraud's home on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, in June of that year, after which he visited several of the mining and other towns near Denver. Upon his return the Denver Town Company's Directors donated him nearly the whole of another block, number 139, bounded by Fifteenth, Stout, Sixteenth and California streets. A church association was immediately organised with Judge G. W. Purkins as President, and arrangements began for erecting a church on Stout street near Fifteenth. At that time this part of Kansas Territory became attached to the Diocese of Santa Fe by a decree from Rome.

A building fund of a small amount was raised that summer and work started on the church. But "times were hard," subscriptions were paid in slowly, and construction had to be stopped. In the meantime the Bishop of Santa Fe had dispatched hither the Very Rev. J. P. Machebeuf, who, for ten years had been Vicar General of New Mexico; and the Rev. J. B. Raverdy; to take charge of Catholic missions in the Pike's Peak country. They arrived at Denver on October 29, 1860, ap-

St. John's Cathedral; old Jarvis Hall in rear at the left. From a photograph made soon after Cathedral was built.

plied new and great energy to the building-fund problem, and their appeals for assistance received a liberal response. Work on the church was renewed, and on Christmas night, 1860, a service was held in the building, though it was then unfinished. On Sunday, December 30th, the regular services may be said to have begun and at which the attendance filled the church. The building was larger than that of the Methodist Episcopal-South congregation, and until the erection of the Lawrence street church, was the most conspicuous structure in town. In 1862, an organ, the first in Denver, was brought from St. Louis for the church, and with it came an 800-pound bell which was the first church bell here. The bell was temporarily hung in a derrick-like tower in front of the church. The storm of Christmas night, 1864, blew down the tower and the fall broke the bell in several pieces. Soon afterward a new one was sent from St. Louis; weighing 2,000 pounds, and which was hung in the church tower where it remained as long as the building stood. Subsequently additions were made on each side of the church that gave it the appearance so long familiar to our citizens. Though several far larger and finer churches were erected by this denomination in recent years, the pioneer building remained the Cathedral until its end. Having previously acquired a fine site for a new Cathedral, on the corner of Colfax and Logan Avenues, the Stout street property was sold in the spring of 1900, to be occupied by a large business structure. On May 13, 1900, the last services were held in the old building, and the next day the work of demolition was begun; and at the close of our record a great business structure was rising on the site of Denver's pioneer Catholic church building. The statement has gone forth that the new and successor Cathedral will be the largest and most magnificent church edifice in Colorado.

Bishop J. P. Machebeuf.

Bishop Joseph P. Machebeuf was really the founder of Catholicism in Colorado. He was a sincere, earnest man; indefatigable, tireless, in the service and advancement of his church. The high esteem in which he was held here was not limited by sectarian lines. A native of the city of Riom, France (1812), he died in Denver, August 2, 1889. His pioneer associate, John B. Raverdy, became his Vicar General, and died in Denver November 18, 1889. It was a somewhat curious coincidence that Bishop Lamy, of New Mexico, and Bishop Machebeuf, of Colorado, who were friends and companions in France, who volunteered as missionary priests for labor in America and came hither together on the same vessel, should rise to the Episcopacy of adjoining Dioceses here in the far west.

St. Mary's Cathedral. (Torn down in 1900.)

It was not until the winter of 1863-64 that another denomination formed a church organization in Denver. Rev. Walter McDowell Potter had been sent to Denver at that time by the American Baptist Home Mission Society, and on December 27, 1863, the first meeting in the interest of the organization of a Baptist church in Denver was held; there being but few persons of that denomination then here. A committee was appointed to secure some place of worship, and procured the use of one of T. J. Bayaud's small buildings on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, that was also used for school purposes. Meetings were held there through that winter and until March 14, 1864, on which date pastor Potter organized a Sunday School which met in a room used by the United States Court in a building on Eleventh street. The church society then also met

Rev. John B. Raverdy.

there, though it had not yet been formally organized.

On May 2, 1864, it was organized as the "First Baptist Church of Denver," with the following-named constituent members: Rev. Walter M. Potter, Miss Lucy K. Potter (the pastor's sister), Francis Gallup, Henry C. Leach, Mrs. A. Voorhies, Mrs. L. Burdsall, Mrs. Lavinia Hall, Mrs. Alice C. Hall, and Mrs. Eliza Thoroughman. Mr. Potter was unanimously chosen pastor of the church; Francis Gallup, Deacon; and Henry C. Leach, Clerk and Treasurer. Within three weeks thereafter the flood in Cherry creek made the old Court room uninhabitable, and the congregation had to go to the People's Theater, where it held its first meeting after the flood, on June 18, 1864. The church had a very slow growth, and by autumn of 1865 numbered but seventeen members. Necessity compelled it to use the old theater, and other temporary meeting places here and there, but an effort was in progress to obtain a building site and to raise money with which to build a church.

"The Baptist Dug-out," as built at Sixteenth and Curtis streets.

In December, 1865, his health having failed, Mr. Potter returned east where he died within twelve months. In May, 1866, he was succeeded by Rev. Ira D. Clark, and the congregation then held its meetings in George McClure's building on the north side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, with an increasing membership. In the autumn of 1866 a building site was purchased, at a cost of $1,150 on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets (present numbers 1001-07 Sixteenth), and a beginning made on a church building which was to have been of the "basement" type. The little band got the basement walls of stone put up, and then the funds gave out. No financial reinforcements appearing in sight, the basement was roofed over with boards, fitted up with seats, and for some time thereafter used by the congregation as a place of worship. It was a queer-looking structure, and the unregenerate soon began calling it "the Baptist dug-out," a name by which it was rather commonly known as long as it remained there. As we have elsewhere stated, it was rented and used in the early "Seventies" for school purposes by District number 1. The structure was never finished, the property was sold, and the old Walhalla Hall building succeeded that first effort to erect a Baptist church in Denver. Pastor Clark had been succeeded by A. M. Averill, L. Raymond, Norman Fox, and Winfield Scott; the latter having come in January, 1872, when the congregation numbered ninety-four members. Under Mr. Scott's pastorate four lots at the corner of Curtis and Eighteenth streets were procured through the Home Mission Society and Missionary Union, "in lieu of the labors of Deacon Francis Gallup, on behalf of the Potter property [the "dug-out"], and by him donated to the church." On those lots a "Lecture Room," thirty-six by seventy-five feet in size, was erected in 1873 at a cost of $16,000 for site and building.

The congregation used that building until 1883. Rev. Reuben Jeffery became pastor in 1880 and remained until 1884. Soon after his coming preparations for the construction of the present large and very spacious church on the north side of Stout street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets were begun. The church has a seating capacity of about 1,500, and was dedicated May 8, 1883, when the congregation had between 500 and 600 members; the completed edifice representing an outlay of about $80,000. The society now numbers near 1,200, a remarkable growth from Mr. Potter's little group of nine persons who organized it in May, 1864.

First Baptist Church.

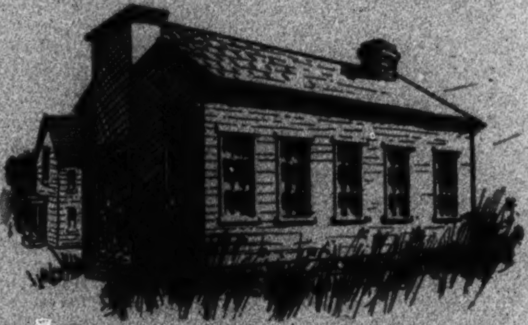
The present Jewish Temple Emanuel Congregation is the outgrowth of a small society organized early in 1860 by Isidor Deitsch, A. Goldsmith, A. Jacobs, Julius Mitchell and F. Z. Salomon. While this organization was primarily for the appropriate burial of the dead of the Jewish faith, other meetings were held, and the Passover, the Day of Atonement, and the New Year properly observed; these meetings having been held here and there in various buildings. The society continued in existence until 1873, when it was re-organized as the Congregation Emanuel. In 1874 the first Temple Emanuel was built at Nineteenth and Curtis streets, at a cost of $5,000; Rabbi Fleischer conducting the first services held in it. The present fine Temple Emanuel of that congregation, at Sixteenth avenue and Pearl street was erected in 1898, and dedicated January 29, 1899; the present Rabbi, William S. Friedman, conducting the services.

Temple Emanuel.

The present First Congregational Church is the outgrowth of the third organization of that denomination formed in Colorado; the first one having been organised at Central City in 1863; and the second, at Boulder, either late in that year or early in 1864. The records of the Denver church show that at its organization meeting the pastor of the Central City Church and a delegate "from the church in Boulder" were present. The first preliminary meeting to organize the Denver church was held by advice of a Council of Delegates from other churches of the denomination early in the autumn of 1864, and final action was taken on October 23, 1864, when the "First Congregational Church of Denver" came into existence. The members of that advisory council were Rev. J. Blanchard, of Wheaton, Illinois, College; Rev. Norman McLeod, a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society; Rev. William Crawford, of the church at Central City; Rev. Mr. Colton, of Kansas; and Deacon James Hubbard, of the Congregational Church of Boulder. At the organization meeting on October 23d, twelve persons became members of the new church. These were Mrs. Richard Sopris and her two daughters, Misses Irene and Indiana; Mrs. Melona Ellis, Mrs. C. A. Tolles, Mrs. S. M. Trumper, Miss Ellen Cooper, Miss Isabella R. Glynn, H. A. Goodman, D. G. Peabody, I. J. Stevens and W. N. Ellis. Mr. Crawford, of the Central City Church, preached at the organization meeting which, together with others in that period, were held in the United States District Court room. At these meetings Mrs. C. R. Davis was organist, and the Misses Sopris sang in the choir.

From the close of October until the end of the year 1864, Mr. McLeod served as acting pastor of the church; and from his departure, until October, 1865, the congregation remained without a pastor. Rev. G. D. Goodrich was then called to the charge, and after nearly two years of service, was succeeded by Mr. McLeod, who had assisted in organizing the church, and to whom, in September, 1867, a call had been extended. He remained until 1870, and his successors during the ensuing ten years were Thomas E. Bliss for about three years; Julian M. Sturtevant, Jr., four years; Charles C. Salter, nearly two years; S. R. Dimmock, one year; and J. V. Hilton, whose pastorate was of four years.

This congregation, like others in that and the earlier period, for several years held services in various buildings in which it could find quarters. But in 1868 it purchased two lots on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Curtis streets, at a cost of $1,200, and upon them a small frame church building was erected in 1869-70. The cost of the building is not of record, but when the property was sold about twelve years later, the congregation received $14,500 for it. The pastor who first preached in that edifice was Thomas E. Bliss who, in 1873, and with a part of the congregation, sep-



Old Congregational church at Fifteenth and Curtis streets.

arated from the parent organization and founded St. Paul's church, at Curtis and Twentieth streets, and which later became Presbyterian.

The old church remained in use until 1881, and parts of it are incorporated in the small business structures now occupying its site. In 1879 the need of a new and much larger church in a more desirable location had become apparent and was considered by the congregation. Early in 1880 a site for a new church, on the north side of Glenarm street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets, was purchased at a cost of $5,000. In 1880-81 the present large and fine church was built on that site at a cost of $40,690; making the total cost of the property $45,690.

Present First Congregational church, Glenarm street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth.

The first services (in dedication) in the new church were held on May 22, 1881, and were conducted by Rev. J. V. Hilton. The date of the last services in the old church is not of exact record, but in a brief historical sketch appearing in the church's directory of 1889 it is said that "the society held their meetings in a small frame church on the corner of Fifteenth and Curtis streets until 1881, when they moved into their new church on Glenarm street." In its earlier years various circumstances combined to retard the growth of the church, but notwithstanding obstacles without and troubles within, services, excepting in the brief interval in 1865, were steadily maintained through those times. In 1880 the congregation had increased in membership to 184; and at the present time, under the pastorate of Rev. David N. Beach, it includes 430 members.

We may not follow in detail the later establishment here of churches of other denominations, nor of others of those denominations already mentioned. To enable such a record to be presented in full, a fairly-large volume would have to be devoted to the subject. The churches of which accounts have been given are those which were established under pioneer conditions, difficulties and hardships. Between 1865 and 1879 several others had been added, and at the close of the last-named year there were in the city the First Methodist Episcopal, the First Presbyterian, the Episcopal, the Catholic, the Stuart Presbyterian, the Methodist Episcopal-South re-established, Congregational, Unitarian, African Baptist, and African Methodist Episcopal, churches; a most creditable number for a frontier town of less than 5,000 people, a considerable portion of whom were of the "floating" class and neither church members nor church-goers.

At the present time almost all religious denominations known in the United States are represented in Denver by one or more permanent organizations. Almost every religious sect, from the most orthodox to the most liberal; from the ancient and historic Catholic to that of the doctrine promulgated but yesterday; may be found organized in the city and its immediate suburbs. There are 159 established churches and missions, not including the local divisions of the two "Armies" engaged among the lowly in active warfare upon Satan.

The Methodist Episcopal denomination leads in number of organizations, having twenty-nine churches and two missions. Of the churches three are German, two of the M. E.-South, three African, and one Swedish. Numerically in organizations the Baptists stand next, with eighteen churches and three missions; three of the churches are African, two German, and one Swedish. There are sixteen Presbyterian churches, of which two are United Presbyterian, one Reformed, one Cumberland, one German, and one Welsh. The Congregationalists have fourteen churches and one mission; one of the churches being German. The Episcopalians have thirteen churches and one mission, all of them English. The Catholics have twelve very large organizations, including one or more of several nationalities other than English-speaking; more than one-half of the regular church communicants in Denver being of that faith. Of the Lutheran denomination there are also twelve churches, classified as four Swedish, three German, two Danish, one English, one Norwegian-Danish, and one Scandinavian. The Christian denomination has five, and there is an equal number of Jewish organizations—the Temple Emanuel being one of the conspicuously handsome church edifices in the city. There are two United Brethren churches, and of the Reformed Church, Unitarian, and the Universalist beliefs, one each. In addition to all of these there are the Broadway Temple Association, the Chapel of the New Jerusalem, the Church of Christ (Scientist), the City Temple Institutional Church, the Friends' Church, the New Jerusalem Church, the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, the Salem's Church of the Evangelical Association of North America, the Seventh Day Adventists' Church, and the Truth Seekers' Temple. In the general mission field there are the Swedish Free Mission, the Olive Branch Mission, the Railroad Mission Sunday School, the Salvation Army, and the Volunteers of America. The present value of all the property owned by these various church organizations in Denver and its immediate suburbs would probably approximate $3,500,000.

The seating capacity, with a little crowding, of all these houses of worship, aggregates 54,650. Of this total, the Methodist churches afford room for 10,550; the Presbyterian for 7,650; Baptist, 6,650; Catholic, 6,650; Episcopalian, 6,575; Congregational, 6,300; Lutheran, 2,750; Christian, 2,400; Unitarian, 1,000; United Brethren, 750; Universalist, 450; all other, 2,925. Yet, at the close of our record, several new ones were under construction. The more noteworthy of these is Rev. Thomas Uzzell's—or as he is more generally and very popularly known, "Parson Tom" Uzzell—new People's Tabernacle, at Lawrence and Twentieth streets. He has long been a leader in Denver in charitable and benevolent work, and for many years has been engaged in church-mission labor among the lowly, with his Tabernacle at Nineteenth and Blake streets. Six lots at Lawrence and Twentieth streets were purchased early in 1900 at a cost of $12,150, and a brick building 75 by 125 feet, to cost about $50,000, is now approaching completion upon them; contributed funds with which to pay for the structure as work upon it progressed having been secured by Uzzell and members of his congregation. The services of this man to those among whom he labors, and to the general community as well, possess a value that does not often attach to the efforts of any one person.

The Young Men's Christian Association, organized in 1877, has a large membership and exerts an effective daily influence over a wide field of action. It has not yet been provided with a home of its own, but at the time of closing our record a movement to that end had been instituted. In this respect the Young Women's Christian Association, first organized in 1887, and now also having a large membership, has fared much better. The present Young Men's Christian Association was not, however, the first one in Denver. In the winter of 1866-67 the pioneer association of that kind was organized with Henry C. Leach as President, and Wilbur C. Lothrop, Secretary, and continued several years thereafter.

Within comparatively recent times an impression has existed elsewhere in this country that Denver people generally do not actively concern themselves in religious influences and in building, maintaining and attending churches. But a brief review of all that has been done and is being done here for religion, certainly dispels every vestige, if any be left, of that one-time and mistaken conception of the inclinations and ways of Denver and her people.

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CHAPTER LXI.

Denver's Pioneer Schools—O. J. Goldrick, the First Pedagogue—Other Early Schools—Miss Maria Ring—Town Companies' Donations for Schools—Beginnings of Public School System—First Organization of School Districts—First Public School—Slow Development of Schools—County School Organization—Period of Indifference—First Building Owned by a District—Separate School for Colored Children—First Building Owned by District No. 1—School Establishment in 1870—Legislation of that Year.

Within six months after the first important discoveries of gold were made here in these mountains—the first that gave any promise of a permanent town growing out of the ragged pair of little settlements at the mouth of Cherry creek, a school was established in one of them for the education of the limited number of representatives of the then rising generation in both. The newspaper had come in the spring of that eventful year, politics had begun to wear and tear the minds and consciences of men, and the beginnings of the first church organization had just been made when the pioneer school opened its door in Auraria. So, those six were very busy months in these parts.

Late in the summer of 1859, there arrived in Denver a gentleman whose personal appearance was an unusual one in the Cherry creek towns at that time, and whose presence was destined to exert an important influence in the communities. He was O. J. Goldrick, the most conspicuous school teacher in Denver's pioneer history. Goldrick appeared clothed in a faultless and fastidious suit of black broadcloth, with immaculate linen, and wearing a glossy black hat of the variety then called "plug." Notwithstanding his fine attire, he was driving an ox-team and bawling at the animals in the regulation fashion as he laid on the whip. Of course, an individual presenting so exceptional an appearance attracted much attention and occasioned a varied assortment of comments.

Goldrick was born in County Sligo, Ireland, in 1833; and was an Irish University graduate. Coming to the United States, he engaged in school-teaching in Ohio, and in the spring of 1859 drifted to St. Louis, where he fell in with Joseph B. Doyle, who had a large trading post and ranche in New Mexico, between Fort Union and Santa Fe. Doyle engaged the young teacher to go home with him to act as a kind of tutor to his children; and in consequence of that arrangement Goldrick soon found himself in the Rocky Mountain country. The circumstances of his change of purpose and his coming to Denver have been related in a preceding chapter.

From the day of Goldrick's arrival until his death his name was a household word in the homes of Denver. His previous occupation and his continuance of it here led the people, who were fond of bestowing titles, anyway, to soon begin calling him "Professor," a distinction to which he made no claim, himself. He was an educated, enthusiastic man, of many personal peculiarities, but withal one of high motives, and of sincere regard for his fellow-men. As elsewhere stated, he was instrumental in the organization of the first Sunday School, and participated in almost every other movement for softening the rough influences that surrounded the pioneer communities.

Soon after his arrival, Goldrick announced his intentions to open a private school for the benefit of the comparatively small number of children then in the two towns—a "Union School," as he called it. In September he circulated a subscription paper in both towns and in a few days secured pledges amounting to two hundred and fifty dollars, in support of the school. He then published a notice in the Rocky Mountain News that his school would be opened in Auraria on October 3rd. He had secured the use of a log cabin on the west side of Twelfth street, between Larimer and Market streets and nearly opposite the double cabin of Andrew Sagendorf and O. E. Lehow; and in it on the appointed day he opened his school, with thirteen children in attendance. Two of them were Indian half-breeds, and of the remaining eleven, two were Mexicans; leaving only nine of what were then considered here as white children. Within a week or two he had between fifteen and twenty pupils. He continued his school until late in the winter of 1859-60.

Goldrick's place in our local history as having taught the first school in the Cherry Creek towns remained wholly unquestioned until recent times. Among Denver's pioneers were four brothers, John, C. M., A. B., and F. B. Steinberger. The second-named later became identified to some extent with early political affairs; the fourth and younger, has stated that he engaged in school-teaching in the autumn of 1859, though he was but little more than a boy in age. They were sons of Dr. A. Steinberger, one of Denver's pioneer physicians. The third son, in later years, through his participation in the political affairs of the Samoan Islands, became prominent in international circles, and figured in newspaper accounts as "King of the Samoan Islands."

F. B. Steinberger.

In letters to us F. M. Steinberger stated that on the first Monday in September, 1859, he opened a little school in a log cabin on the east side of Eleventh street, between Larimer and Market streets, with fourteen pupils, from nine to thirteen years old, in attendance. These children, he says, were Homer Bennett, John Bennett, Samuel Bennett, Thomas Bradford, Amelia Dodson, John Dodson, Susan Dodson, Emma Fox, Frank Fox, John Haman, Lucy Haman, John Scott, Mary Scott, and Samuel Scott. He further stated that the Bennett children were those of John Bennett who kept a boarding house in Auraria City, on Larimer street near Cherry creek; but that he does not recall the parents of the others. He also stated that he still has his old roll-book, several of the school books he used, and his school-bell, which he has kept as mementoes of his pioneer seat of learning.

We were unable to find any record here of Mr. Steinberger's school having existed in 1859. The Rocky Mountain News, which was eager in those days to publish every item of local news that would indicate progress, does not mention it; nor did any of the surviving pioneers of 1859 to whom we referred the matter, recall the existence of Mr. Steinberger's school in that year. However, he conducted private schools in Denver, as circumstances enabled him to do so, in the immediately subsequent years. He went to Montana in 1862, remained there several years and then returned to Denver. A few years since, he removed to the State of Washington and is now a citizen of Seattle. We have thought it proper to make this record of Mr. Steinberger's reminiscences, but with the qualifying statement that we were unable to find here any record or oral evidence to further support them.

Therefore, and until additional testimony to the contrary arises, Goldrick's school will retain its place in local history as having been the first one at the mouth of Cherry creek, and the first in the whole region now constituting the State of Colorado. Preparatory to opening it he sent to Professor John D. Philbrick, then a noted Boston educator, for certain text books of which he stood much in need. Professor Philbrick forwarded the books, and accompanied them with a letter in which he said, in conclusion:

> "And now, imagine my arm extended with the speed of thought from this cradle of the free school on the Atlantic shores, over the Alleghanies, over the "Father of Waters," to give you a cordial greeting in your "Union School" on the frontier of civilization at the foot of the Rocky Mountains."

In less than a quarter of a century thereafter the writer of that letter visited Denver at the instance of the National Commissioner of Education, and in his report declared that Denver's public schools were equal, and in some respects superior, to the best elsewhere in this land of magnificent educational institutions.

On May 7, 1860, Goldrick reopened his "Union School" in the old cabin, with a Miss Miller as his assistant; for, in this second year the number of his pupils was considerably increased. On the same day—May 7th, Miss Indiana Sopris, daughter of Captain Richard Sopris, opened another private school in Auraria. It occupied a small building on Eleventh street near Curtis. This would entitle Miss Sopris to the place in our local history as the first woman school-teacher in this city and in the country now the State of Colorado; though Miss Miller also began work as Mr. Goldrick's assistant on the same day.

In the spring of 1860 Miss Lydia Maria Ring, formerly of Boston, came to Denver from Leavenworth, Kansas. She had been teaching in eastern Kansas for several years before her migration hither. The caravan with which she traveled was forty-two days on the journey across the plains, and upon her arrival here she could find no place to board and, therefore, lived in a tent several weeks with the family with whom she had made the journey, and until she succeeded, through the kindness of Mrs. Heminway, wife of the proprietor of one of the pioneer hotels, in securing a small room in his house. She opened her school in the latter part of May, 1860, (the exact date not having been preserved), in a small log cabin which stood on Market street on the present vacant ground at the southeast corner of that street and Fourteenth. The cabin was a wretched, loose-jointed affair, but Miss Ring had to pay twenty-five dollars a month rent for it, and at her own expense repair it so as to make it habitable. Subsequently she had her school in a better building, owned by T. J. Bayaud, and that stood on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets. In 1867 Miss Ring served as Principal of the "West Denver" schools and then permanently discontinued school work in this city. It is to be said that her school was of a more permanent character than the other private ones of the early days, for she conducted it continuously, excepting the usual vacation periods, four years. In the summer of 1895 Miss Ring, then more than four-score years of age, visited Denver after her long absence and received a warm welcome from her surviving old-time pupils and others who knew her in the pioneer times. She was born at Greensboro, Vermont, October 26, 1814, and died at Valley Falls, Kansas, March 12, 1899.

There has been some confusion in accounts of these early schools and teachers, as to priority, and a few words in explanation of its probable cause may not be amiss. Miss Ring is frequently mentioned as having been "the first teacher in Denver;" and she was the first one on the old "Denver City" side of Cherry creek. In the spring of 1860 the two towns had united, but in common speech it was, for several years afterward, the practice to retain the old names. The first schools here were established on the "Auraria City" side of the creek, as we have seen. When Miss Ring came she located on the eastward side of the creek, and here was the first school in the district that had formerly been the pioneer "Denver City."

Lydia Maria Ring

In 1861 and 1862 there were several other private schools in Denver, but none possessing the historic interest that attaches to those we have already mentioned. Mr. A. R. Brown, Mr. Arndt, Mr. Baker, Miss Steele, Miss Ames and Miss Cooper all conducted such schools in those years.

Goldrick served two years as County Superintendent of Schools, and during that time as well as through most of the period in which he was a teacher, was a correspondent for several newspapers in the States and a contributor to the Rocky Mountain News. In 1864 he discontinued his school work to engage in local reporting, and as traveling correspondent in the mining districts, for the News. In 1865 he went to Salt Lake City and became associate editor of the Union Vidette, an anti-Mormon newspaper. He later returned to Denver and engaged in the publication of a weekly newspaper. This historic figure and pioneer educator died in Denver in 1886.

The Directors of the two pioneer town companies early manifested a willingness to assist in establishing schools, but their offers of town lots—all they had to give—to aid the cause of education were nowhere near so munificent as their lot donations for church purposes. A careful search through their old records brought to light several of their transactions with relation to schools. At a meeting held September 10, 1859, the Directors of the Auraria Town Company made a donation for school purposes as stated in the following entry:

"On motion, Mr. ——— Ross was donated lots 10, 11 and 12, in Block 243, for School purposes."

We were unable to find any further record of "Mr. ——— Ross" as a pioneer in the cause of education at the mouth of Cherry creek, or that he ever utilized the three lots donated him for school purposes by the Auraria Town Company; which, as will be seen, were given him before Goldrick opened his school. This action of the Auraria Directors was the first of what may be termed an official character taken for the establishment of a school in what is now Colorado.

The Auraria Directors at a meeting held two days later—September 12th—appointed Thomas Pollock, Judson H. Dudley, and John J. Shanley

"a committee to examine and report on the best location for a schoolhouse, or houses, and report same at next meeting."

The minutes of succeeding meetings contain no further reference to the matter, nor to any report the committee may have made; and these two transactions are all that appear in the Auraria Town Company's record with reference to schools.

On December 26, 1859, the Denver Town Company's Directors, on motion of C. H. Blake,

"Resolved, That Professor Goldrick be donated six lots in Denver City provided he builds or Establishes his school in Denver City for six months."

As "Professor" Goldrick neither built nor established his school in Denver City for six months, or any other period, the donation perished by limitation.

Through 1860 the Town Companies gave no further attention to school matters, as the several private schools, as hitherto narrated, were established that year without receiving aid from either of the companies. The last meeting of the Denver Town Company's Directors of which their old record book contains an account, was held on March 11, 1861; and in its minutes the following appears:

"The petition of the Rev. Mr. Machebeauf asking for a Donation for Hospital and also for a Seminary being read, it was

Resolved, That one Block and one half Block be donated for the purposes asked, and that the

President and Secretary be appointed a committee to Select Said location and that the property donated be Selected by Said Committee West of K [Twentieth] Street and North of Welton."

Father Machebeuf did not establish a seminary until three years later; of the hospital he contemplated, something further is said in another chapter of this volume. The minutes of this meeting of the Denver Town Company's Directors also contain the following:

"Petition of Miss Ames asking for Donation, being read, was granted and a Donation of four lots hereby made to her provided she builds a School in three Months from date and locates the same East of E [Fourteenth] street and maintains a School Six months in Said building."

Further, the Denver Town Company's record saith not on any subject, and we have no means of learning whether Miss Ames ever got title to the four lots, or whether she built her school-house in compliance with the terms of the donation.

The private schools conducted in those early years in Denver were efficient and produced good results. The courses of study were upon the old-fashioned plan of every pupil for himself, and while the defects of such a system long since became apparent, its advantages in some directions still have plausible advocates. There are still a few men and women now in Denver who were given the substantial foundations of a thorough education in the private schools of Goldrick, Steinberger, Brown, Miss Sopris, Miss Ring and the others of that courageous band of pioneer teachers.

There does not appear ever to have been any attempt made to establish public schools in Denver or in the Denver region under the school laws of Kansas Territory. "Jefferson Territory" did not acquire sufficient vigor nor did it long enough survive to put into any form or effect the plans its projectors had in mind for a school system; so, Denver had no public schools under that picturesque organization. The proceedings of the Town Companies with relation to schools, that we have mentioned in the foregoing, were merely the transactions of organizations interested for business reasons in the advancement of the towns. The first definite action by any political, or governmental, organization, proposing to establish free public schools in Denver, and to maintain them by public taxation, was that of the Legislative Council of the Provisional Government of Denver that was organized early in October, 1860. At a meeting of the Council on October 12, 1860, only a few days after it had first assembled, the following was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to take into consideration the expediency of establishing, as soon as practicable, one or more free schools in this city; to ascertain the number of children and youth between the ages of 4 and 18, within our corporate limits; and to report to the Council a plan for the organization and permanent establishment of an institution, or institutions, for educational purposes. The same to be supported by levying a tax called a 'school-tax' upon the property, real and personal in this city; said tax to be used for no other purpose than for the support of said schools—to which all children and youth shall be admitted."

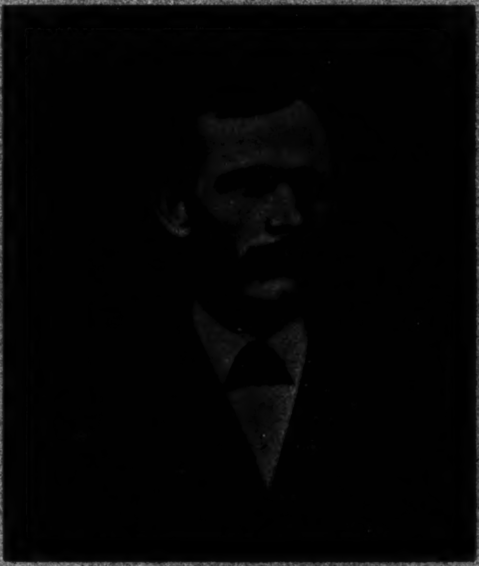
It does not appear that any of the purposes of this resolution were carried into practical effect; at all events no schools were established under it. This was probably due to the evident certainty that during the ensuing winter Congress would organize a new Territory in this region under which a public school system would be duly and lawfuly established. Colorado Territory was created about four months later.

The actual beginning of the duly organized public school system of Colorado, as well as that of Denver, was in an act passed early in the first session of the Colorado Territorial Legislature, which convened in Denver in September, 1861. The act was a rather comprehensive one and similar in its provisions to the school law then in force in the State of Illinois. It provided for appointment by the Governor, during that session, of a "Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools," who was to enter upon the duties of his office on December 1, 1861, at an annual salary of $500. The act imposed a great variety of duties on the Superintendent, provided for the biennial election of County Superintendents, and division of counties into school districts.

On November 7, 1861, Governor Gilpin appointed W. J. Curtice, who remained a citizen of Denver until his death in January, 1901, Territorial Superintendent. A few weeks before that time a public meeting of citizens, instigated by Mr. Goldrick, who announced it in the newspapers, had been held on the Auraria side to take some action toward organizing a school district. Though it was the first movement of the citizens in the direction of opening a free public school under the law, the attendance was not large, and the meeting was held outdoors in front of a store on Eleventh street, opposite the present Lindell Hotel, with a store-box as a nucleus around which it assembled. The more prominent of the citizens present were Francis M. Case, Goldrick, John Pierce, Edwin Scudder, and Baxter B. Stiles. A board, or committee, of three members was chosen to take charge of preparations for opening a public school. However, nothing effective resulted from that movement.

At the first and general Territorial and county elections, held December 2, 1861, Goldrick was chosen Superintendent of Schools for Arapahoe County; but, as the Legislature had not provided for a tax to create a school fund, there was little he could do at that time and for nearly a year afterward. However, during that interval the city of Denver—and the county, also—were divided by the line of Cherry creek into two districts, and preparations were made for getting the machinery of public schools in motion. The dividing line continued northward beyond the Platte, from the mouth of the creek, cutting in two what little there then was of the old town of Highland; the divisions becoming parts of the "East Denver" and "West Denver" districts.

The Legislature at its second session, began at Colorado City July 7, 1862, and adjourned to Denver July 11th, made its first provision for a school fund, by taxation and otherwise. One of the anticipated sources of revenue is indicated by the following provision of the act:



O. J. Goldrick.

"That hereafter when any new mineral lode, of either gold bearing quartz, silver, or other valuable metal, shall be discovered in this Territory, one claim of one hundred feet in length on such lode shall be set apart and held in perpetuity for the use and benefit of schools in this Territory, subject to the control of the Legislative Assembly."

It was confidently expected that this provision of the law would produce a large revenue, but it proved a great disappointment, and few of the claims so located contributed anything to the school fund. Some were sold at prices ranging from five to twenty-five dollars, but the total receipts from all were insignificant.

Superintendent Curtice had entered upon his duties December 1, 1861, but beyond putting together the framework of a school-system organization, little was done until the following autumn. In October, 1862, the first regular elections for members of Boards of Education were held in Denver. In "East Denver"—District No. 1—Joseph B. Cass, Lewis N. Tappan and Amos Steck were chosen. On October 23rd they held their first meeting, in the old "City Hall" that was later washed away, and organized by electing Steck, President; Tappan, Secretary; and Cass, Treasurer. So, District No. 1 was the first in Denver to complete its organization under the forms of law. In "West Denver"—District No. 2—J. H. Noteware, previously Superintendent of the schools of Kansas; Captain Edwin Scudder, and Frederick J. Stanton were elected. They met on October 25th and organized by choosing Noteware as President; Stanton, Secretary; and Scudder, Treasurer. On Saturday, November 29, 1862, County Superintendent Goldrick held the first examination of teacher candidates, on which day and a few subsequent ones he examined twenty persons, to ten of whom he gave certificates of qualification as teachers.

Notwithstanding that District Number 1 first organized its School Board, District Number 2 was ahead of it in opening a school—the first free public school in Colorado. The upper story of a roomy two-story brick building owned by Asa F. Middaugh, and located on the north side of Larimer street between Tenth and Eleventh streets, just west of the present Lindell Hotel, was rented, and there the school began its first term on December 1, 1862, in a room about fifty feet wide and about 100 feet long, and furnished with rude home-made long desks and benches. The Territorial Legislature had held one session in that historic building which, in later years, was cut down to one story and half its original width. The remnant of the old building, numbered 1013, stood there until recent times when it was removed because of its increasing decrepitude.

Mr. Abner R. Brown, now a citizen of Leadville, was appointed Principal of the school at a salary of eighty dollars a month, and had Miss Addie Simonton as his assistant. About two weeks later, Miss Emma Slaughter was employed as an additional teacher. The school was maintained until late in the following spring, the building remaining crowded to its utmost capacity. In May, 1863, the Board elected in District Number 2 consisted of Edwin Scudder, J. G. Vawter, and Eli M. Ashley.

Mr. Brown, "West Denver's" pioneer school Principal, came to Colorado in the spring of 1860 and opened a private school in Boulder City on June 19th of that year. After a three-months' term with forty pupils, in a log building, the citizens of that town concluded to build him a better house. In the autumn of that year they put up a handsome frame building twenty-four by thirty-six feet in size, lathed and plastered, and finished with dressed lumber, at a cost of twelve hundred dollars, all voluntarily contributed. It was the first building especially erected for school purposes in what is now Colorado. On December 1, 1860, Mr. Brown began the first term of school in the new building, and which he continued until the following spring, when he placed the school in charge of Miss Kate Goss (who later became Mrs. George T. Clark, of Denver) who taught it until early in the summer of 1861. Mr. Brown came to Denver in October, 1861, and opened a private school in "West Denver" which was attended by about forty pupils, and which he continued until appointed Principal of the first free public school in the autumn of 1862. He remained in that position until the close of the school year in the summer of 1864; and others of his assistants in those times were Miss Jennie Batchelder, Mrs. Fornis and Miss Glenn. Early in the autumn of 1864 Mr. Brown opened a private school here, with Miss Batchelder as his assistant and whom he married in October of that year.

Abner R. Brown

On the "East Denver" side—District Number 1—the first school was opened on December 10, 1862, in "Mr. Bayaud's room," a small frame building which stood on Sixteenth street on part of the site of the present American House, and which, also, was rented. Mr. H. H. Lamb was in charge as Principal, with Miss Indiana Sopris as his assistant. Like the "West Denver" building, this one was furnished with home-made pine desks and benches ten or twelve feet long. At that time there were 188 persons of school age in the district, but the school had only fifty or sixty pupils in attendance. The first school-tax levy enabled the district to continue the school through that winter and until the following April. In the spring of 1863 the Board increased the levy to one of four mills, and in May its members were re-elected. The "Bayaud School" was kept in operation until the spring of 1864 when it was closed for that school year owing to lack of funds, and the school interests of District Number 1 went down to a low ebb. Nor were affairs in District Number 2 any better. Abner R. Brown, as we have told, retired from the school of Number 2 in the summer of that year, and the autumn term was begun with but one teacher. Through the winter of 1864-65 the Rocky Mountain News carried in its columns a roster, or "Directory," of the Territorial, county, and city departments and officers, and in it the schools of Denver figured as follows:

"Public Schools."

"East Denver—Miss Cooper, teacher.
West Denver—Miss Wall, teacher."

It was from such beginnings as these, from the pioneer School Districts Numbers 1 and 2 into which the city and county were first divided—and in those times there was little of Arapahoe county outside of Denver, except a name and a vast expanse of unoccupied country—that Denver's magnificent educational system has developed. But it was not a quick development. It would be gratifying to record that that pair of pioneer schools were diligently nurtured, and soon grew strong under a fostering care from all the people. But it was not so. Districts Numbers 1 and 2 did not receive an undue amount of attention from the people, in the years of their adolescence, and sometimes they did not stand out of the way of absolute neglect. Until 1870 comparatively little progress was made by the public schools of Denver. School District officers were duly elected at the stated intervals required by Territorial law, though there appears to have been a lost interval in the official affairs of District Number 1 in 1865-66, and there is no definite record that Directors for it were elected in 1865 or that it had a school during the school-year 1865-66. On the other hand, the newspaper roster or "Directory" above referred to, indicates that District Number 1 had no school during that time, for its reference to public schools was, in the autumn of 1865, reduced to this:

"Public Schools."

"West Denver—Miss Wall, teacher."

Several of our surviving pioneers with whom the matter was discussed by the writer were of the impression that District Number 1 had no school in 1865-66. That general period was one of inactivity and indifference with relation to schools, outside of Denver as well as in it; and only a minority of the people whose impulses were in the right direction, took much interest in advancing the cause of popular education.

It must be borne in mind that the early settlement of Colorado and Denver was somewhat anomalous. The pioneers and immigrants of other new

Territories were usually families seeking permanent homes; while a large majority of those in this region were fortune-hunting men only. Many of those who had wives and children had left them behind, but the majority had neither. The highest ambition and practically the chief intention of a great many of the men here in those early years was to remain long enough to gather wealth with which to return to their former homes; and to such men schools here were not of much importance. These conditions changed slowly, even after there was a considerable permanent population of which a fair proportion was of children of school age, for the indifferent and not directly interested element continued in the majority practically throughout the decade of 1860-70. Some writers in endeavoring to account for the slow development of Denver's school system during that period, have stated, as the principal reason, the scarcity of children of a school age. This view does not appear to be sustained by the reminiscences of Mr. Brown who, in a recent letter referring to his first public school, said:

Miss Indiana Sopris.

"My first day's brood hatched out 260 in number, and all living and appearing healthy. Within ten days I found there had been a mistake in the first count, as the herd had increased to 500. More rooms had to be secured, more teachers employed; more noise on the playground, and more patience had to be exercised to get through with each day's duties."

Though Mr. Brown's estimate would seem to have been an exaggerated one for "West Denver," there was at that time a considerable juvenile population in the city. Yet, it was very sparse elsewhere in the Territory; not enough to constitute a first-class District at the present time.

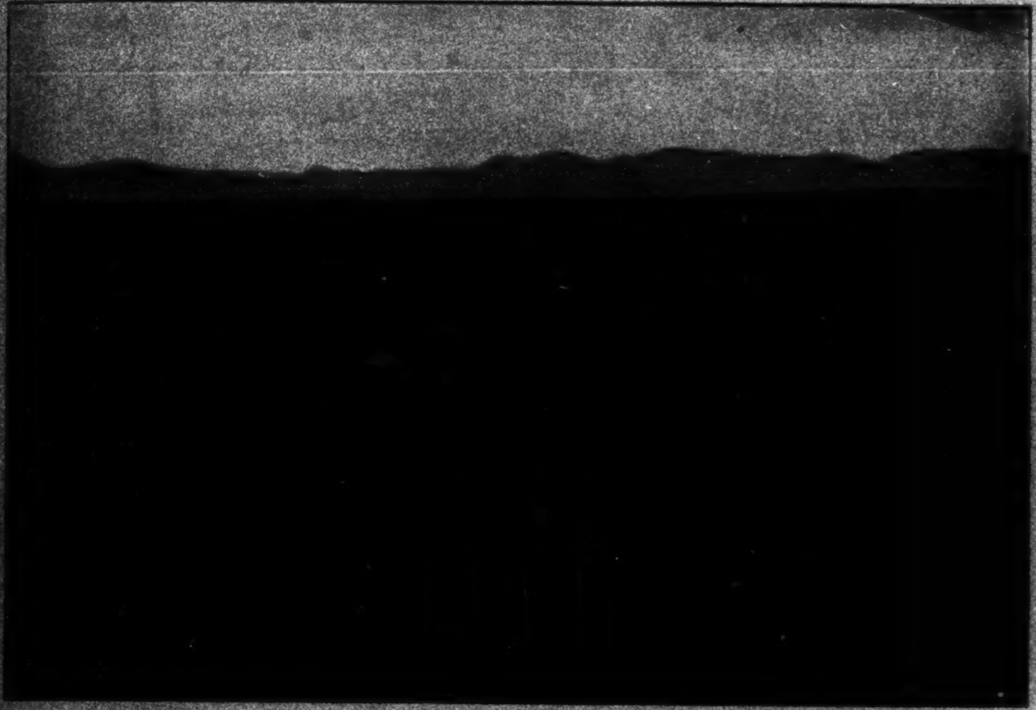
Territorial Superintendent Curtice resigned in 1863, and was succeeded by William S. Walker who, in 1865, was succeeded by A. W. Atkins the Territorial Treasurer; a change in the law in 1865 having made the Treasurer ex officio the School Superintendent. In 1867, Columbus Nuckolls became Territorial Treasurer and School Superintendent. He tried to bring order out of disorder but with indifferent success. His first report to the Legislature was the only one worthy even the name, that had been made up to that time. Superintendent Walker left no records of the little progress that was made during his term, nor were there any of much value made by his successor. Few of the counties made any reports to the Territory, and but little information concerning Arapahoe county is of record subsequent to Curtice's administration. In his report Nuckolls said:

"I would also state that several counties have never, even when requested, informed the Superintendent of Public Instruction who was or who had been County Superintendent, and that it is not yet known to him whether there is any responsible county organization."

Long before this the law with reference to school mining-claims had become obsolete, and few paid any attention to it; and it is of record that the proceeds of the sale of those that had been disposed of "were not properly accounted for." This chaotic condition of school affairs in the Territory continued with but little improvement until 1870. It was alleged that it was no uncommon thing for portions of the meager school funds to be misappropriated by both county and district officers. The burden of the few reports that were made to the Territorial Superintendent in that period is about the same: "Lack of interest," "My predecessor in office has left no records," "I hope to get matters in shape so as to render a complete account next year," "School matters here are in a very bad condition; for the past two years the County Commissioners have neglected to levy a school tax, hence we have no money;" and so on through a long category of similar stories.

It will be seen in the foregoing that up to 1870 there was far from being anything like an efficient school system. The Denver schools suffered with the rest, and in a more or less crippled condition the two old districts here struggled and dragged along as best they could during those years; and considered themselves fortunate if they could make both ends meet on a basis of almost pitiable economy.

It was not until late in the autumn of 1865 that either district owned a school building, and that District Number 9 acquired that distinction. At that time the people of the "West Denver" district bought the Iddings business property at the northwest corner of Lawrence and Eleventh streets. The building was a small two-story brick—one room to each floor—that had been built in 1861 and used as a general store until 1863. In 1863-65 it was used by the Federal military authorities as a warehouse for arms, ammunition, and other military supplies; and from that use had become known as the "Arsenal." At the time of "the great Indian scare," elsewhere mentioned, it was one of the refuges for the frightened people of Denver, and after it was converted to school purposes it was called the "Arsenal school." The price paid for the property, and which is also an indication of property values at that time, was



View in Denver, from Seventeenth and Champa streets looking westward, about 1865; Lawrence street M. E. church in middle distance on the left.

$700. In those days no special taxes were levied or bonds issued for the purpose of acquiring school property, and the entire amount had to be obtained by subscriptions among the people; the district treasury being in no condition to stand even part of such a draft as that.

With the purchase of the "Arsenal," school expansion in District Number 2 rested during the remainder of that decade of 1860-70, so far as the acquisition of school buildings was concerned. The juvenile part of the population had increased, but in those days it was always relatively less than that of the adult, according to present proportions. Nevertheless, the District's facilities and resources soon became totally inadequate to accommodate the school population, and the surplus had to stay at home. Though that part of the town had lost some of its former prestige as a business section, it still contained the greater number of dwellings and probably more than half of the population of Denver.

The "East Denver" district failed to do so well. Its schools continued to occupy rented premises, and so limited were its resources for several years that it had all it could do to pay teachers and rent, furnish the rooms and meet incidental expenses. On May 10, 1866, the roomy brick dwelling built several years before by J. H. Kehler on the site of the Windsor Hotel, was rented for seventy-five dollars a month, and converted into a school building—the largest and best the district had up to that time. In that year the district had five hundred persons of school age, of whom forty-two were colored.

In April, 1866, a German private school had been established in a frame building on the northeast corner of Fourteenth and Curtis streets. In February, 1868, this school was re-organized and taken under the care of District Number 1 as a public school, and was so used until the end of the school year in 1870.

In 1868 a portion of the people of District Number 1 demanded that a separate school be established for colored children. In that year, the exact date not being known, a small building at the corner of Sixteenth and Market streets was rented, and a school for colored children, only, was established in it for a short time; but nothing definite concerning the period of its occupancy can be learned from the old records which, as we have stated, are very deficient in many details that would now be of historical interest. This is the case in the records of both districts. On February 2, 1869, the African Baptist Church on Arapahoe street, between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets, was rented and used for colored children. Later this school was transferred to the African M. E. Church at Stout and Nineteenth streets. This building was so used until the close of the school year of 1873, after which time the color line was abolished, and all pupils then went into the newly-finished "Arapahoe School."

It was not until 1868, when Amos Steck made a gift of two lots on the north side of Arapahoe street, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, that a basis was obtained for later providing the district with its first good school building—the old "Arapahoe School," the first it owned.

Late in the summer of 1870 District Number 1 rented the "Colorado Seminary" building at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, at $150 per month, and on September 4th the "Kehler School" was opened in it, the Kehler dwelling then being abandoned for school purposes. This change may be regarded as terminating the pioneer school era in District Number 1, for arrangements for building a fine school structure were then under way; and to this long step forward we will later refer.

At the close of the school year of 1869-70 there were but fifteen school districts in all of Arapahoe county, and some of them nominally embraced several townships and were more nominal than actual districts. The persons of school age in the entire city numbered less than 1,200. The total school expenditures in that year in the city and county were only $17,347.37; and the valuation of all the public school property in the city and county was but $8,341.

In what has been said in the foregoing the condition of the public schools in pioneer Denver, and in the Territory, and county, is fairly reflected. Considered from one standpoint it does not appear creditable; and especially not creditable to a city of between four thousand and five thousand population, if not more in some years. Under ordinary circumstances in an ordinary town of that size it would have been positively discreditable. But the circumstances were extraordinary and so was the young city. An unusually large proportion of its population persistently consisted of men without families and without interest in schools; and the citizenship of many of them was of the most transitory character. True, there were those not of this character, and it is also true that they well realized the need for better school facilities. But resources were limited, and the attention of the average resident was directed toward and absorbed by other and quite different things.

Furthermore, as our readers who have followed us in our Story of Denver will have seen, there were yet other reasons in those times for much of this seeming neglect. In frequent periods in that decade there were many grave uncertainties in Denver's prospects, and her future often seemed very disheartening even to her most sanguine partisans. It was not until the building of Denver's pioneer railroads became assured that the clouds broke away and disappeared. With the resultant influx of many new citizens, and the era of permanent prosperity which then set in, the people began to arouse themselves to the needs of their struggling schools and to the necessity of inaugurating a new and better state of things in their affairs.

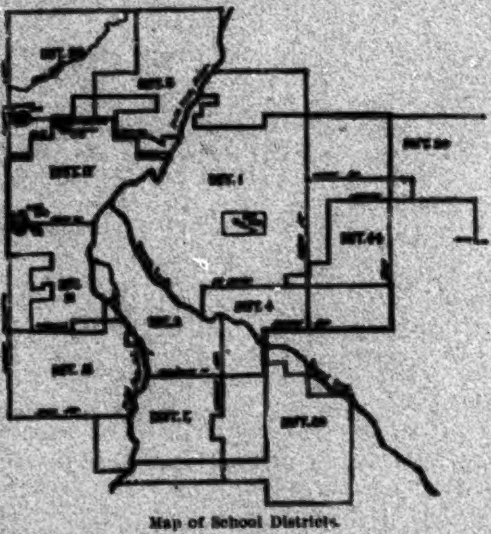
This awakened spirit was reflected in an act of the Territorial Legislature, approved February 11, 1870, entitled "An Act to provide for Common Schools." The inference to be drawn from that title is a correct one; for it is certain that previous arrangements, no matter what the intentions may have been, did not "provide." The new law clothed Boards of School Directors with broader and more definite authority, gave them entire control and management of the schools, assured them of a fair proportion of the public revenues, provided for organizing new districts, and in other ways injected life, strength and vigor into the Territory's school system. From the new legislation Districts Numbers 1 and 2 received new vigor, and from one point of view their vital history may be said to have then begun.

CHAPTER LXII.

INDEPENDENT INCORPORATION OF DISTRICT NO. 1—SCHOOL DISTRICTS—DISADVANTAGES OF DIVISION—HISTORY OF DISTRICT NO. 1—STATISTICS—DISTRICT OFFICERS—"EAST DENVER" HIGH SCHOOL—MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL—HISTORY OF DISTRICT NO. 2—ITS SCHOOL OFFICERS—EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF ITS SCHOOLS—HISTORY OF DISTRICT NO. 17—ITS SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL OFFICERS—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DISTRICTS NO. 21 AND NO. 7—BREADTH AND CHARACTER OF THE DENVER SCHOOL SYSTEM.

By a special act of the Territorial Legislature in 1874, approved on February 13th, "for the support and regulation of the Public Schools of Denver," District Number 1 was made an independent "body politic and corporate in law, and to be known and designated as the 'Board of Education of School District No. One (1).'" The act provided for a Board of Directors, and organization as now exist, conferred the powers that have since been so wisely and beneficently exercised, limited the tax levy for school purposes, provided for annexing adjoining districts, repealed as to District Number 1 all conflicting parts of the act of February 11, 1870, and went into effect May 1, 1874. This law was amended by an act approved February 2, 1876, further broadening the duties and powers of the Directors; and, as amended, constituted what is often termed the "Charter of District Number 1." After Colorado became a State the substance of that "Charter" law was made the foundation for the general school law of the State; and in all subsequent revisions and amendments the general provisions originally embodied in the "Charter" have not been materially changed, though some others have been interjected that might just as well have been kept out.

The territory of the Denver city corporation now includes, or forms part of, twelve separate school districts, designated by Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 17, 18, 21, 24, 35, 44 and 98. Of these, as shown by the map, Numbers 5, 18, 35 and 98 are almost wholly outside the city limits. Numbers 7, 21, 24, and 44 have from one-third to one-half their areas outside; Number 4 is inside, but it is relatively unimportant and in a sparsely settled locality in the southeastern part of the corporate limits, which, as we all know, are not laid down on contracted lines. This leaves the main, built-up, part of the city area divided into three districts, Numbers 1, 2, and 17, with Number 2 wholly inside the limits. Numbers 1, 2, 7, 17 and 21 are first-class districts; Number 5 (Globeville and Argo), second-class; all the others, third-class. It is not essential that we enter into details concerning all the outlying districts. They have good schools under intelligent and efficient management, and their line of work is conducted upon a high plane. They are provided with substantial buildings, most of which are comparatively new; some of those of District Numbers 7 and 21, to which we shall again refer, being equal to those in any part of the city.



Map of School Districts.

An unusual and apparently disadvantageous situation is presented in the school divisions of the city territory and the division of school administration into several independent districts under as many separate Boards of Education, instead of having our entire city school system managed and directed by one official organization. A glance at the accompanying map will reveal to the reader the outlines of this certainly undesirable situation. As a community, the people of Denver deal with the twelve separate and distinct school districts, only two of which, as we have stated, lie wholly within the city limits. Each district is, in practice, an independent organization, under management of its own Board of Directors, and not always in harmony with its neighbors. The obvious disadvantages of such a system were recognized, and made the subject of official comment, more than twenty years ago. In his annual report for 1877, Mr. E. M. Ashley, then President of the Board of Education, District Number 1, said:

> "Our city is, unfortunately, I think, divided into three school districts. I am well aware that no material advantage can come to this district by a union, but I must think, were the school interests united, it would be better for us as a city. A number of pupils are attending our schools from adjoining districts, and are required to pay tuition, notwithstanding the fact that their parents pay, in some cases, a large tax in our district; but under existing laws this cannot be remedied without a union of districts. Under the special law governing us the adjoining districts may be received at any time, upon their request, and I hope for the good of the whole city that the three districts may soon become one."

The evils of the arrangement have multiplied with the increase of districts since Mr. Ashley made them the subject of his comments. Other school officers have since frequently pointed out the disadvantages, and many unsuccessful attempts to rectify them have been made. The worst feature of the system is that it prevents an equitable per capita distribution of the city's school taxes. Using the figures of 1900, District Number 1 with 17,431 enumerated school children has property of an assessed valuation of $56,766,806; District Number 2, with 8,701 enumerated children has but $6,309,210 of property valuation; and District Number 17 with 7,106 enumerated children, has a property valuation of but $4,199,240. Far the larger part of school revenues for each district are derived from the special levy made by each District Board on the property in its own district. The county authorities levy a comparatively small, but equal and general, school-tax on all property in the county, the proceeds of which are distributed to each district in the county on a per capita basis. In this way and to a limited extent the wealthier districts contribute to the school funds of the poorer districts; but only to a limited, and not to an equitable, extent. In practice, District Number 1 has a tremendous advantage in resources, even within its statutory limitation of school-taxes. The resources of Districts Numbers 2 and 17 with a combined school population nearly as great as that of District Number 1, are limited to their share of the general county tax, and to their own taxes on property aggregating an assessed valuation of but $10,508,450; or, approximately one-sixth that of District Number 1. In other words, the financial resources of the last-named District, aside from the county levy, are nearly six-fold greater upon the special levy its Board may make, than those of the other two combined; or, to express it in still another way, the burden of a special levy is but about one-sixth as heavy on property in Number 1 as it is in the others, assuming equal educational results to be sought and accomplished in all. It is difficult to discern sound reasons for perpetuating a system so inequitable, and which appears to be the one conspicuous defect in our most admirable educational structure.

School District Number 1 is in every way the principal district of the city. It embraces one-half of the city's nominal, and near two-thirds of its built-up area; and about four-fifths of its total valuation of taxable property. The city's area being within a fraction of fifty square miles, the city territory included in this district's limits approximates twenty-five square miles; its northern boundary is beyond Riverside Cemetery; its eastern is Colorado Boulevard, east of the City Park; and its southern, southwestern and western, Cherry creek and the Platte river.

Amos Steck. Photographed 1860.

The first school building owned by District Number 1 was, as we have stated, the "Arapahoe," built on the north side of Arapahoe street between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets. The first movement toward its erection occurred on August 5, 1868, when "five freeholders" requested the Board of Education to call a meeting to consider the matter. The meeting was called and held, but the proposition was not approved. Another meeting was called, and held on August 29th, to reconsider the previous adverse action. It was at that meeting that Amos Steck made public his willingness to donate two of the lots necessary for the site of the proposed building, their value at that time being $1,050. The gift was accepted, but nothing further was done until July 10, 1870, when the Board purchased two lots adjoining the Steck lots for $1,050. Again there was a rest, but on January 11, 1871, the Board bought three more lots, adjoining those it already owned, paying $2,250 for them. The seven lots gave ample room for a large school building. On May 27, 1871, the Board decided to go ahead with the building. A contract was made for the foundations and basement and on October 30th the President of the Board broke ground with befitting ceremonies. On April 27, 1872, the contract for the superstructure was let, and on June 24, 1872, the corner stone laid by the Masonic fraternity. There was a great civic display and parade in which the school children, the Territorial officials, the Judges of the Courts, the fire and police departments, and various societies took part. On April 2, 1873, the completed building, the cost of which, including ground and various incidentals, but exclusive of furniture, was $51,695, was accepted, and occupied by the schools.

Referring to conditions existent in the district in 1870-71, the annual report for 1885 retrospectively said:

> "About this time there were unmistakable evidences that the transplanted population of Colorado was beginning 'to grow up with the country,' and to push out new rootlets and buds and branches, that must needs have opportunity to grow up in the way they should go. The Board were perplexed to know how to provide desk room for Colorado babies that seemed to come into the State at an unprecedented rate, and were apparently born six years old, and with an insatiable thirst for knowledge. This perplexity has been handed down as a legacy from Board to Board to the present day."

In 1871 and 1872, pending the completion of the Arapahoe School the old rented houses and rooms became more and more crowded, and in those years, under the new impetus the railroads had given the city, vacant buildings and rooms were few. At the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets the First Baptist congregation had started to build a church, and had raised the basement walls to a height of about four feet above the sidewalk. A rough, board roof had been placed over this basement, and the structure became known as "the Baptist dug-out," to which we have elsewhere alluded. On January 11, 1872, the Board of District Number 1 rented the "dug-out" and fitted it up as a school room, as which it was used until the Arapahoe School was finished. So, in that winter the district had three school houses—the Seminary, the colored school and the "dug-out;" and thought it was doing pretty well.

The Arapahoe was a fine school building for its time and would not be an indifferent one for these times. It was the pride of the city, and citizens wearied not in pointing out what, by common approval, was designated as "our magnificent temple of learning." It proved an expensive structure before they got through with it, as extensive alterations had to be made in it, and its maintenance account was heavy. These things and its furniture finally ran the charges against it up to $93,186. It sheltered the district's first High School and was also the first home of the High School Library. The building was used for school purposes only nine years, it having been abandoned in 1882. The encroachments of business rendered its location less desirable and advanced the value of the premises. The property was sold for $165,000, and the new owners later erected between the front of the building and the sidewalk line the lofty commercial structure, the "Club Building," now standing there. But the old school building is still in its old place, nearly hidden from view by the Club Building to which it is an annex, and by other adjacent structures.

The district's second building soon followed the erection of the Arapahoe. This was what became known as the "Stout Street School," and was undertaken June 18, 1873. Eight lots on the northeast corner of Stout and Twenty-eighth streets were purchased at a cost of $2,400. On August 2nd the contracts were let, and the building was finished early in March, 1874, at an all-told cost, excepting furniture, but including ground, of $19,114. It was a good-looking building, but faultily designed and constructed; and, notwithstanding the heavy expense account it entailed, it became dilapidated. Then reports became current that it was unsafe and parents feared to have their children in it. Upon careful survey it was found that a large outlay would be required to restore its lost reputation. Pending a conclusion by the Board relative to remodeling it, the city authorities condemned it on March 11, 1881, when it was just seven years old. The Board of Education then decided that it was not worth while to reconstruct it, and it was vacated, securely closed, and offered for sale. Through the following summer it was further battered and disfigured by marauding boys, and on November 10, 1881, was totally destroyed by fire. At that time it represented a total outlay of $26,871, including cost of ground. The real estate was later sold for enough to more than reimburse the total outlay.

To provide means with which to pay for these two buildings the district had to issue bonds, running twelve years, on which the interest rate was twelve per cent., or one per cent. a month. Ten years later the Board borrowed all the money it needed at five per cent.

After the enactment of the district "Charter" in 1874, and under the needs created by the fast-increasing population, new buildings were added almost at the rate of one each year, and in every instance there was a plenty of children to fill them as soon as completed; and often more than enough. In 1874 the district owned but the Arapahoe and Stout street schools, with 1,212 children in attendance and a total of 2,240 persons of school age in the district; less than half of them being in school. There was an urgent demand for more buildings which was, under the circumstances, fairly met with a liberal public spirit. Nevertheless the renting of rooms could not be entirely avoided. The records show that it had to be continued to a limited extent for eight or ten years, as there was a persistent overflow of pupils to be provided for. In 1883 the Board adopted the plan of building small temporary frame structures for primary

Laying corner-stone, Arapahoe school-building. From a photograph.

schools, on ground bought for future permanent buildings. The Twenty-ninth Street School is an example of these houses, of which class two or three others are in use.

We can not undertake to further follow in detail the erection of new schools, but will have to be content with a summary of the more important facts concerning them, presented in concise form. Each of the schools has its distinctive name, but not well-chosen in every case. The following is a list of those now in use in the district:

"Broadway"—Broadway, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Avenues; erected in 1875.

"Columbine"—Columbine street, between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Avenues; erected in 1882.

"Corona"—Corona street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues; erected in 1890.

"Delgany"—Delgany street, corner of Twenty-first street; erected in 1885.

"Ebert"—Corner of Logan Avenue and Twenty-second street; erected in 1880.

"Eleventh Avenue"—corner of Eleventh Avenue and Columbine street; erected in 1898; temporary building.

"Elyria"—corner of Fisk and Marshall streets; erected in 1885.

"Emerson"—corner of Alta street and Fourteenth Avenue; erected in 1885.

"Gilpin"—corner of California and Twenty-ninth streets; erected in 1881.

High School—block bounded by Stout, Nineteenth, California and Twentieth streets; west wing erected in 1881; main building and east wing in 1889.

"Hyde Park"—corner Gilpin and Thirty-sixth streets; erected in 1889.

"Ironton"—corner of Delgany and Thirty-sixth streets; erected in 1890.

"Longfellow"—corner of Welton and Thirteenth streets; erected in 1882; later, by additions, its size and capacity were doubled.

"Marie Mitchell"—corner LaFayette street and Thirty-second Avenue; erected in 1899.

Manual Training High School—corner of Franklin street and Twenty-seventh Avenue; erected in 1893.

"Park"—Park Avenue; erected in 1895; temporary building.

"Swansea"—in Ernest's addition to Swansea; erected in 1891.

"Twenty-Fourth Street"—corner of Twenty-fourth and Market streets; erected in 1879.

"Twenty-Ninth Street"—corner of Blake and Twenty-ninth streets; erected in 1882; temporary building.

"Whittier"—Marion street between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Avenues; erected in 1883.

"Wyman"—corner of Williams street and Sixteenth Avenue; erected in 1891.

In addition to these a new building contracted for in April, 1900, is in course of construction at the time of closing our record. It will succeed the Eleventh Avenue temporary building, is located at Columbine street and Eleventh Avenues, and will be among the best of the grammar schools in the district. It will be a sixteen-room building, of stone and brick, and will cost about $65,000.

In connection with the schools and as a part of the system, though under an extra provision, District Number 1 is, at this time, maintaining twenty kindergartens in eighteen of the buildings, two of them having two each. In these, two thousand little children now receive primary training; and in five of the buildings sloyd rooms are set apart, having an aggregate of one hundred and thirty-seven benches.

To conduct all these schools to the high standard established for them a little army of instructors is required. There are seventeen principals and 388 other teachers, whose salaries in 1900 aggregated $282,490.

It is no part of the purpose of this work to present arrays of statistics; we want to keep them out as much as possible. To persons having direct need for them, other sources of information are available; and, furthermore, statistics of the public schools, which are displaced by the succeeding year's reports, are especially undesirable here, beyond a very limited casual use of them. According to the enumeration made in April, 1900, there were 17,431 children of school age in District Number 1. Of these a total of 14,320—6,971 boys and 7,349 girls—was enrolled in the schools; including 827 in the High School and 381 in the Manual Training. When the district was reorganized under the "Charter," in 1874, the assessed valuation of property in it was $7,814,000, and the levy nine mills. The assessment in 1900 was $56,766,805, and the levy five mills. The property valuation has been greater. By steady large advances from that of 1880 which was $44,786,000, it had reached the maximum in 1892-93 when it was $67,486,335; but by the next annual assessment it lost $11,500,000.

Arapahoe school-building

In this connection it may be conveniently mentioned that there are still about forty acres of school lands within the city limits, probably worth from $1,500 to $2,000 per acre, and that will ultimately produce a considerable addition to the city school funds.

The present estimated value of the school property in District Number 1 approximates one and one-half million dollars, though its cost has exceeded that sum. The following statement, prepared by the District's Supervising Architect, but which does not include the new house at Columbine street and Eleventh Avenue, nor the cost of a recent addition to the Manual Training School, presents some interesting figures with relation to the cost and value of school property in use in the district in 1900:

Old Stout street school-building.

Buildings in Use.	Original Cost, Exclusive of Grounds.	Expended for Improvements and Repairs.	Total Expenditure.	Present Value of Buildings (estimated)	Paid for Lots.
Broadway	$21,512 50	$24,229 40	$45,741 90	$34,408 27	$5,500
Columbine	56,210 90	2,985 70	59,196 60	56,460 11	1,500
Corona	74,788 40	6,973 40	81,761 80	80,088 86	3,112
Delgany	14,257 30	2,853 10	17,110 40	11,391 60	425
Ebert	65,942 17	21,768 50	87,710 67	59,291 25	2,250
Eleventh Ave.	1,403 32	62 15	1,465 47	1,406 60	11,000
Emerson	72,674 25	7,369 62	80,043 87	65,787 71	5,500
Gilpin	114,142 50	20,807 80	134,950 30	108,121 97	9,000
High, E. Denver	322,684 69	50,782 51	373,467 20	340,804 13	*400
High, M. Train.	85,636 50	20,289 02	105,925 52	107,328 82	17,250
Hyde Park	72,544 79	15,023 30	87,568 09	90,302 38	4,500
Ironton	24,646 60	3,985 84	28,632 44	16,556 60	2,000
Longfellow	77,785 80	51,259 87	129,045 67	102,022 54	2,300
Maria Mitchell	36,087 56	....	36,087 56	36,087 56	2,000
Park	1,300 00	216 80	1,516 80	1,480 40	2,250
Swansea	72,358 70	5,244 97	77,603 67	69,476 64	5,400
24th Street	22,344 65	18,619 71	40,964 36	36,440 50	3,000
29th Street	2,479 30	4,497 22	6,976 52	2,347 30	2,400
Whittier	118,089 01	13,218 97	131,307 98	111,276 29	3,750
Wyman	82,570 03	5,671 83	88,241 86	75,498 08	17,000
32d Avenue	2,434 00	540 50	2,974 50	2,540 50	....
Elyria	3,497 00	....	3,497 00	3,000 00	2,000
Total	$1,304,425 46	$276,400 44	$1,580,825 90	$1,330,914 95	$110,000

Total estimated value $1,440,914 95

*Cost of small corner only, balance of block donated by the United States.

The above figures include the cost of all improvements on the grounds such as fences, sidewalks, etc., and special equipments.

As heretofore stated, the school-tax in District Number 1 is limited by statute to a levy not exceeding six mills. Currently the amount is five mills. The contributions to the county's general school fund are, of course, largely in excess of its receipts from that fund. The size and character of the district necessarily entail this. The district has no debt, the last of the outstanding building bonds having been retired several years ago. Of course, such a thing as so-called "floating debt" is unknown. The total expenditures of the district during its fiscal year ended May 5, 1899, were $396,895.44; of which amount $20,341 were expended on the kindergartens. During the school year ended May, 1900, they were $435,511.

With reference to the financial part of District Number 1's affairs Superintendent Gove, in his annual report for 1899, outlined the policy that has governed their management. It is a sound one now and always will be:

> "The financial limitations are of the highest consideration and of vast importance. More disaster comes throughout the country from failure to accede to the demands of the people on the financial, than from any other side. There is, there must be, a place where the power of the state to tax the property of the state must stop; how much of a man's income shall be taken from him by law for the public weal is a reasonable question. When the people, however desirable may be an enterprise and whatever be its character,—and the school is one—are too heavily burdened, the broadening of the work and the increase of expenditure must cease. In the educational work it is not sufficient to say: 'This is good to do, therefore do it;' but one should say: 'This is good to do, let us do it if we can afford it.' The financial conduct of a school corporation ought not to differ from the financial conduct of the individual. School officers err in undertaking to place the educational interests on so high a plane, so far above all other interests, that the dollars expended are not properly considered. Enthusiasts force progressive measures that strain the financial ability of the community, and the reaction is often disastrous. On account of this erring, too many schools spend years in advancing and succeeding years in retreating, the retreating being forced by the people who are aroused too late to the fact that too much money has been expended, not for advanced and efficient schools, for they are always acceptable, but on account of the poverty or ability of the people and the property.
>
> Under the management of the Board of Education of this school district, we have been especially fortunate in avoiding extremes, and yet, as I shall try to show in this report, kept measurably abreast with the best schools. No excessive tax has ever been imposed upon the property of the district; the houses have been built and paid for at the time of their completion. No other school district west of the Mississippi River of the size of this district is to-day out of debt, floating or bonded. It is to this fact that our health is due."

The city has been fortunate in having, as a rule, the welfare and management of its great school system in the hands of sincere, conscientious men of the highest integrity and of thorough business ability. This statement applies with equal force to all the districts since the present system took form. There have been no scandals; political questions are not permitted to enter with their apparently inevitable contaminations; and honesty and efficiency, without fee or reward, are the sole directing forces. In District Number 1 there has been a continuity of administration, members being elected and re-elected until their periods of services covered, in several instances, nine years; and in one was prolonged to twelve. This marked tendency to permanency of management is worthily exemplified in the long and most acceptable tenure of Aaron Gove, L.L. D., the executive head of school supervision in the district. He has been Superintendent since July, 1874.

The roster of School Directors for District Number 1 could not be made complete, though much time and research were devoted to that end. This is due to the deficiency of old records and to their silence on many transactions in the earlier times; and there is a complete hiatus with respect to the school-year 1865-66. Elections for School Directors were due annually in May, but no record could be found of the election of Directors for District Number 1 in May, 1865. Neither the District nor the office of the County Superintendent has any record of it, and the only reference to it that we could find was the following "Notice" published in the Rocky Mountain News, April 29, 1865:

> "The Regular Annual District Meeting for the First School District, Arapahoe county, will be held in the room in the rear of the News office, on Monday the 1st day of May, A. D. 1865, at 2 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of electing officers for the ensuing year, and for such other business as may be deemed proper by the electors of the District."
>
> "Amos Steck, President."

Notwithstanding that the meeting was called to be held "in the room in the rear of the News office," that paper, usually so vigilant, contained in succeeding issues no mention of it, nor of any result growing out of it; nor could Judge Steck, to whom we referred the matter, recall anything concerning it after so long a lapse of time. The fact that instead of the usual form of election being called, a meeting in a small room was to have been held, suggests that little importance was attached to it and that it was expected to receive little attention. At that time public interest was absorbed in the events connected with the collapse of the great rebellion, and it may be that that was one of the causes of obscurity concerning this bit of detail in the early history of District Number 1. At all events, we could find no further record of that election. Inasmuch, however, as Amos Steck had been a member and President of the Board, and Joseph B. Cass a member and Treasurer, from the beginning—the latter also having been Treasurer in 1866-67—it is not improbable that if an election were held at that time that they, at least, were reelected.

Until enactment of the law of February 13, 1874, the School Board of District Number 1 consisted of three members, and they respectively filled the positions of President, Secretary, and Treasurer. With the exception of the incumbent during the school year 1865-66, (if there were one), the following is a list of the Presidents of the District's Board to the close of our record:

Amos Steck	1862-65
—— —— ————	1865-66
W. F. McClelland	1866-68
R. G. Buckingham	1868-69
J. S. McCool	1869-70
R. G. Buckingham	1870-73
F. J. Bancroft	1873-75
D. Hurd	1875-76
E. M. Ashley	1876-77
H. K. Steele	1877-78
W. H. Pierce	1878-79
K. G. Cooper	1879-82
A. Stedman	1882-90
F. Steinhauer	1891-92
J. B. Grant	1892-99
H. M. Orahood	1899-00
L. E. Lemen	1900-

The "Charter" as amended in 1876 provides that the President "must be" a member of the Board; that the Secretary "may be;" and that the Treasurer "shall not be." Usually in later times the Secretaries have not been members. The following are the names of those who have so served, from the beginning, excepting that of the unknown incumbent in 1865-66:

Temporary school-building, District No. 1

L. N. Tappen	1862-63
B. P. Frink	1863-64
Chauncey Barbour	1864-65
—— ————	1865-66
W. S. Walker	1866-67
W. D. Anthony	1867-68
H. T. Grill	1868-69
A. Schinner	1869-71
August Opitz	1871-73
F. Steinhauer	1873-74
W. M. Newton	1874-76
W. D. Todd	1876-89
J. C. Dana	1889-98
S. Roy Wright	1898-

For reasons already stated the list of Treasurers is also incomplete:

J. B. Cass	1862-65
—— ————	1865-66
J. B. Cass	1866-67
J. N. Veasey	1867-68
Fred Kramer	1868-69
J. C. Anderson	1869-73
D. J. Martin	1873-74
E. M. Ashley	1874-75
W. C. Lothrop	1875-76
W. B. Berger	1876-90
C. B. Kountze	1890-

Between 1870 and 1874 General Roger W. Woodbury and David H. Moffat served terms as Board members but not as officers; and the addition of their names to the others on these pages makes complete, we believe, with the exceptions in 1865-66 heretofore noted, the list of citizens who have served, or are now serving, the District in directing the affairs of its schools.

Two members of the Board are now elected annually in May for terms of three years. Since the District was established as an independent one in 1874, the members of its Board of Education have been as follows—Bancroft and Hurd having also been members under the previous organization:

F. J. Bancroft	1874-75
E. M. Ashley	1874-77
P. Gottesleben	1874-83
D. Hurd	1874-76
W. M. Newton	1874-76
W. C. Lothrop	1874-76
Albert Brown	1875-77
H. K. Steele	1876-78
L. C. Ellsworth	1876-78—1883-89
W. H. Pierce	1876-78
K. G. Cooper	1877-82
C. D. Cobb	1878-82
George Schroeter	1878-84
A. Stedman	1878-90
C. A. Roberts	1879-83
George W. Kassler	1882-88
Frank Church	1882-85
F. Steinhauer	1883-92
John S. Christensen	1884-86
L. N. Greenleaf	1885-91
William W. Webster	1886-87
George Tritch	1887-90
George A. Bushnell	1888-91
John J. Smith	1889-98
J. B. Grant	1890-99
Henry Hannington	1890-93
Samuel P. Rose (died June 26, 1893)	1891-93
C. S. Morey	1891-94
Oscar Reuter	1892-95
Ione T. Hanna	1893-96
Harper M. Orahood	1893-00
Alonzo G. Rhoads	1894-97
Mary Barker Bates	1895-
L. E. Lemen	1896-99
Carrie O. Kistler	1897-00
Tyson S. Dines	1898-
D. C. Dodge	1899-
F. Steinhauer	1899-
L. E. Lemen	1900-
Thomas Keely	1900-

Prior to 1871 the office of Superintendent did not exist, each of the pioneer schools having been wholly under the charge of its Principal who, upon several occasions was the only teacher. In 1871, just before the autumn opening of the schools, H. Carver was elected the first Superintendent. He served one year and was succeeded by F. C. Garbutt who, also, served but one year. In July, 1874, Aaron Gove was elected and has served continuously since that time.

In 1874 the necessity of organizing school grades higher than those then established had become manifest. Early in the autumn of that year it was determined to establish a High School, and when the fall term began the school was opened with 108 pupils. Rooms for its accommodation had been prepared in the Arapahoe School, and it remained in that building until the west wing of the present High School building was completed in 1881. The first class was graduated in 1877.

When Congress made what was known as the "Congressional Grant" in the earlier "Sixties," to cure Denver real estate titles, it reserved to the government the block (143) on which the "East Denver" High School now stands; but the block remained unimproved, and was known by the name "Government Square." When the Board of Education was anxiously seeking for a suitable location for a High School and library building, late in the "Seventies," Thomas M. Patterson was representing the Centennial State in the Forty-fifth Congress (1877-79), and he came to the Board's relief by procuring the enactment of a law giving the entire "Government Square" to the city for school purposes, only. This widely opened the way for the improvement, and enabled the Board to plan and eventually complete a larger and finer structure than would otherwise have been erected at that time. After the west wing was finished in 1881, operations rested for awhile, and it was not, as we have stated, until 1889 that the entire structure as it now stands was completed and ready for occupation. It is a most substantial and spacious building.

"East Denver" High School Building.

The educational statistics of the "East Denver" High School are far too copious for us to deal with here. The classes are large, the work thorough through the four-years classical course, and the graduates go forth prepared for admission to the higher universities, or for participation at once in the affairs of business and social life. It is to be said, furthermore, that those graduated in the other High Schools are equally well equipped, as the methods of each are practically alike and the results represent the same high standards.

As incentives to merit and excellence, a series of prizes, established by public-spirited citizens, are now open to the advanced schools of District Number 1, and are awarded annually. The first of these prizes was established by General R. W. Woodbury in 1875, for excellence in declamation, and is open to the pupils of the High School. At first it was a sum of money, but in 1882 was changed to a fine gold medal. The "Wolcott prize," established in 1879 by Henry R. Wolcott, is a handsome bronze medal for the young lady of the High School who excels in public reading. The "Baker prize" established in 1878 by James H. Baker, then Principal of the High School, and now President of the State University, is a medal for superiority in debate. The "Phelps prize," established in 1885 by A. C. Phelps, was formerly open to the first and second classes of the High School, but in 1893 was limited to the graduate class. It is for the best historical essay. The "Stevens prize," established in 1895 by Isaac N. Stevens, is awarded annually the evening before Washington's birthday, for the best original patriotic oration. Competition is limited to one representative from each of the regularly established literary societies of the High School, including the one named for Mr. C. S. Morey. The "Morey prize" was established in 1890 by Mr. Morey. It is awarded annually for excellence in sight reading, and is open to the girls of the Manual Training High School of District Number 1.

The Corona School—Type of modern school architecture in District No. 1.

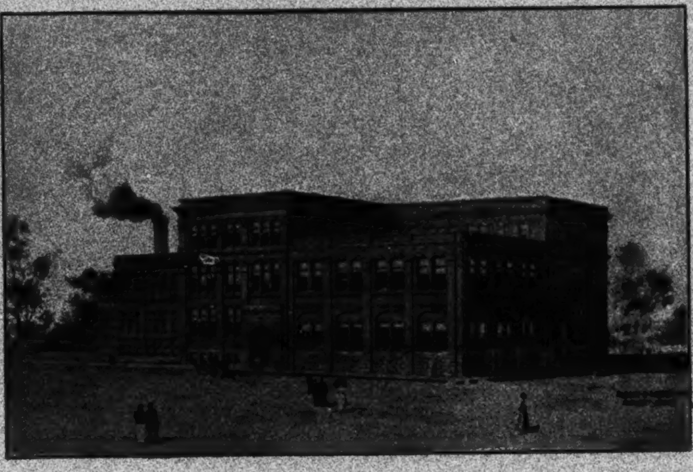
As a regulation for competition for prizes the Board, in November, 1895, adopted the following:

"No pupil may compete for any of the prizes offered for excellency in declamation, reading, debate, essay writing, or oratory, except his scholarship at the time of the preliminary contest be at or above the average required for promotion, as determined by his rank for the preceding portion of the current year. No student shall compete unless he pursues the regular courses required for graduation—or at least four full studies."

The fine Manual Training School is a recent addition to the educational equipment of District Number 1. It was primarily the conception of C. S. Morey when he was a member of the Board; and while heartily indorsed and supported by his associates, its existence is to a great extent due to his deep personal interest and untiring zeal in and for it. A portion of the building was built in 1892 and occupied in April, 1893. Recently the entire structure was finished, and its workshops, laboratories and instruction rooms are completely equipped with every appliance that experience has found useful in such schools; and it has a reference library of 1,700 carefully selected volumes. It is open to both sexes and can accommodate 650 pupils, who may be taught to use their hands intelligently, scientifically and productively. Many of the earlier manual training schools in other cities provided instruction only for boys, and in some it is still so limited; but the Board of District Number 1 very properly considered the needs of girls for this kind of training as of equal importance.

The course through the schools of District Number 1, from the primary grade to graduation in the High School, ordinarily covers a period of twelve years; and is the same in Districts 2 and 17. What is understood by the term "a thorough English education," is open to every child, with much more added. Aside from the studies constituting the classical course in the High schools, the German and Spanish languages—the latter being a recent addition, vocal and instrumental music, drawing, sewing, and cooking are taught. The Cadet organizations afford the boys opportunity to acquire some knowledge of military affairs, and physical culture is part of the training given both sexes. Hand and tool work, as a separate department, is taught in several buildings in each district, in which are laboratories equipped with tools, models, and other needed appliances. Sewing is likewise taught in various buildings in the districts. Instruction in cooking is confined to the Manual Training School of District Number 1, in all departments of which pupils are received from the other districts upon payment of a small tuition fee, this being the only separate school of the kind at present in the city. These various special departments of instruction—considered "special," perhaps, because they are comparatively new features in public schools—are under the direct charge of competent Supervisors, and have made most satisfactory progress. While we are considering the districts separately, from a historical standpoint, it is to be understood and for the sake of avoiding repetition, that what is said here concerning methods and general broad scope of instruction, applies to the several districts. There are, it is true, certain advantages possessed by District Number 1 not available to the others; but these, it is quite probable, will soon become common to all.

The legislation of 1870 and that which followed soon afterward had the same quickening effect on District Number 2, and inaugurated its present



Manual Training School, District No. 1.

advanced school system. Although it remained a district of somewhat limited area and still more limited resources, its school administration and school methods were entirely reorganized within a few years.

In 1871 a two-story brick addition was built in the rear of the "Arsenal," which made the building one of four fair-sized rooms, and which then became known as the "Eleventh Street School." To provide means for this improvement a special tax of six mills was levied on the property in the district which then had a taxation valuation of $300,000. This was the first levy in the district for a building fund, and it was sufficient to pay for the addition.

The school population rapidly increased in the next year, and in 1873 additional ground was bought. The old "Arsenal" building portion of the Eleventh street school was torn away, and a new brick building, two stories high, containing four school-rooms, was erected in its place; the rear addition built in 1871 remaining. This improvement, which made a building of six good rooms, cost $7,416.80, which with the cost of outbuildings, fences, and equipment, was increased to $9,380.10. It was regarded as a handsome structure in its time, and was the pride of the district; but it was heated by stoves, and the only means of ventilation were by opening the windows.

Nearly the whole of the cost of this improvement was defrayed by the proceeds of the sale of unclaimed city lots in the district. During the depressed periods in the previous decade men who owned town lots had left Denver for other parts, and had abandoned their little holdings of real estate here and there as being of little or no value and not worth their further attention. The Territorial Legislature, by an act passed in 1871, authorized and directed the sale of such abandoned property, the proceeds to be devoted to school purposes in the several districts. From that source District Number 2 derived $7,200, which amount was invested in this new building; the balance of the total cost having been provided for by a small special levy.

This building remained in crowded use until 1884. For a year or two previous to that time it had been deemed unsafe, and one of the old reports of the district Board of Education says it "showed signs of impending downfall." On May 16, 1884, one of the old-fashioned "meetings of taxpayers" was held to consider its case, and directed the Board to purchase an adjoining lot or two, and erect on the enlarged site "a good, commodious and substantial building." This resulted in building the "Washington School" now standing there, which was constructed in that year. It is somewhat singular that each of the old districts should have had the same experience with a building grown decrepit within a few years after its construction.

The "Eleventh Street School" had served the district alone through the previous decade. There was a check in the increase of school children through the middle years, but it set in again toward the close in an increased ratio. In 1879 half-day sessions had to be held to partly accommodate the children seeking school privileges; one contingent in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon. So, on May 29, 1880, a tax-payers' meeting was held, and an issue of $25,000 worth of bonds authorized to pay for a new building. This was the district's first bonded debt, and it represented the cost of the "Central School" completed that year.

We will not further follow in detail the circumstances of the construction of the later buildings. Between 1880 and 1885 the district had to build almost every year. In 1886 it had five good school buildings. As the population increased in far greater ratio than taxable valuations, the district was grievously burdened by the expense; a condition from which, it may be said, it has at no time been free. The report of the Board for 1886, said with reference to these conditions:

> "Whilst ordinarily a rapid increase in population and wealth from a material standpoint is desirable and generally encouraged, our experience has taught us that if conditions arise in which the increase of population is not balanced by an equal increase of wealth, a discrepancy exists, which can only be met by a burdensome tax, if all the elements which make up the comfort, safety and well-being of a community be provided. If the annual rolls of the tax assessor are truthful, then the increase in population has vastly outstripped our increase in wealth."

This, of course, is now only of interest in that it indicates the difficulties and embarrassments by which the men were beset who were gratuitously serving the community, the pressing needs of which were so far out of proportion to the resources available to the Board of Education. In 1886 a special levy of 18 mills had to be made for school purposes.

But the people of the district bravely bore the burden which, in the ten years from 1876 to 1886, amounted to about $365,000, meeting each imperative demand as it came; and they now have school buildings as stated in the following list, most of them of what is regarded as "modern" construction, and all of them substantial, comfortable and thoroughly equipped:

"Byers"—southwest corner of Byers and Idaho streets; cost of lots $5,000; temporary one-room building erected in 1891 at a cost of $697.

"Central"—South Eleventh street, between Eleventh and Twelfth Avenues; cost of lots, $8,100; main building of five rooms erected in 1880 at a cost of $21,717; an addition of four rooms built in 1889 at a cost of $13,585.

"Elmwood"—corner of South Water street and Seventh Avenue; cost of lots, $4,500; main building of eight rooms erected in 1887 at a cost of $31,337; ten-room addition built in 1895 at a cost of $21,020

"Fairmount"—corner of South Tremont street and Second Avenue; cost of lots, $1,500; main building of five rooms erected in 1883-84 at a cost of $19,272; four-room addition built in 1890 at a cost of $14,236.

"Franklin"—Colfax Avenue between South Ninth and South Tenth streets; cost of lots, $10,000; building of thirteen rooms erected in 1883 at a cost of $59,891.

"Garfield"—southwest corner of Eleventh Avenue and Thurman street, Jerome Park; cost of lots, $3,000; four-room building erected in 1889 at a cost of $13,224.

"Grand Avenue"—corner of Second street and Colfax Avenue; cost of lots, $1,000; four-room building erected in 1891 at a cost of $5,036.

High School—corner of Fifth Avenue and South Twelfth street; cost of lots, $7,500; twenty-five room building erected in 1892-93 at a cost of $95,872; cost of furniture and apparatus (about) $7,500.

"Lincoln"—corner of Pearl street and Exposition Avenue; cost of lots, $4,205; eight-room building erected in 1890-91 at a cost of $33,525.

"Logan"—northeast corner of Bayaud street and Logan Avenue; cost of lots $1,600; eight-room building erected in 1888 at a cost of $39,205.

"Myrtle Hill"—southwest corner of Tennessee Avenue and Race street; lots a gift to the District by Carrie E. Bailey; two-room building erected in 1893 at a cost of $3,396.

"Sheridan"—corner of First Avenue and South Tenth streets; cost of lots, $3,000; eight-room building erected in 1891 at a cost of $29,902.

"Sherman"—northeast corner of Second and Grant Avenues; cost of lots $9,000; eight-room building erected in 1893 at a cost of $34,124.

"Washington"—corner of Lawrence and Eleventh streets; cost of lots, $6,875; eight-room building erected in 1884 at a cost of $22,001.

These school edifices of District Number 2 represent an expenditure of $59,280 for land and more than $458,000 for buildings exclusive of their furniture and equipments; or a total in round numbers of $517,325. The present value is estimated to be $675,000.

The High School of District Number 2 was organized in the autumn of 1881, and the classes were assigned to rooms in the then recently finished Central school building. The course at first was one of three years, but in 1890 it was changed to one of four years. The first class, consisting of four girls and two boys, was graduated June 13, 1884; in 1885 six girls and two boys were graduated. The school remained in the Central building until January, 1884, when, upon completion of the Franklin school it was removed to new and larger quarters in that fine building. The Franklin continued to be its home until January, 1893, when the beautiful and spacious High School building was ready for use. At the outset, and for several years after, the Superintendent of the district was also charged with the duty of Principal of the High School. He organized it, prepared the course of study, and directed it until the end of the June, 1886, school year. During the summer of that year the Board secured the services of Professor Paul H. Hanus who had occupied the chair of Mathematics in the University of Colorado at Boulder; and in September this first High School Principal entered upon his duties.

The "West Denver" High School building is a large and exceedingly handsome structure quite outside the somewhat conventional architectural type of building for its purposes. It is thoroughly equipped for the work carried forward under its roof, and has a library of several thousand volumes.

While it has been necessary almost from the first for the district to issue bonds on account of new buildings, they were not put out for long periods; and therefore the present debt is unimportant, amounting to only $238,000. The statutory limitations of the district's indebtedness is three and one-half per cent. of the assessed value of its property. The bonds of one of its issues were the first five per cent. obligations sold at a premium in the State of Colorado. As we have mentioned, the assessed valuation of the property in the district for taxation was, in 1900, $6,319,210; but the assessment represents only about one-third of actual values. The current rate of the special school-tax levy is twenty mills. The school attendance at the close of 1900 was 7,415; of which 508 pupils were in the High School, and 690 in the Kindergartens. By the enumeration of April, 1899, there were 8,701 children of school age in the district; and by that of April, 1900, 9,112. In 1900 the district employed 134 instructors.

Old Eleventh street School, "West Denver."

In Territorial times the Boards of Education consisted of three members. The records have enabled us to present a complete list of all members of the Board in District Number 2, together with the special executive positions they filled, which is as follows, the date given indicating the time they were elected and that at which they entered upon their terms of office:

October, 1862, J. H. Noteware, President; F. J. Stanton, Secretary; Edwin Scudder, Treasurer.

May, 1863, J. G. Vawter, President; Eli M. Ashley, Secretary; Edwin Scudder, Treasurer.

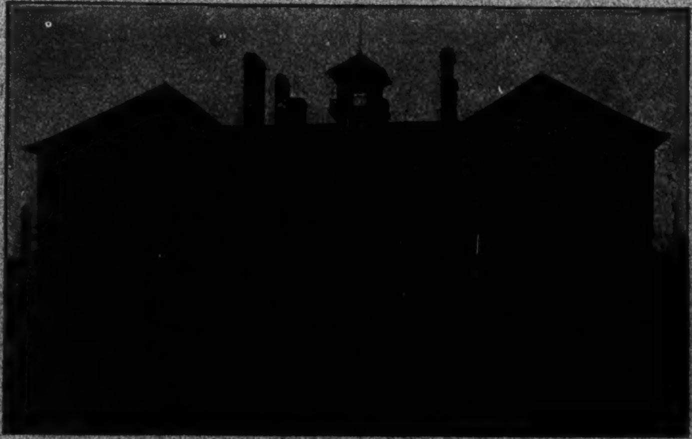
May, 1864, Daniel Witter, President; Omer O. Kent, Secretary; Stanley Hatch, Treasurer.

May, 1865, H. Prince, President; John E. Force, Secretary; Maurice Sigi, Treasurer.

May, 1866, H. Prince, President; John E. Force, Secretary; Maurice Sigi, Treasurer.

May, 1867, George G. Arndt, President; E. Wortman, Secretary; C. R. Hartman, Treasurer.

May, 1868, J. M. Strickler, President; E. Wortman, Secretary; C. R. Hartman, Treasurer.



High School, District Number 2—"West Denver."

Strickler was re-elected each successive year, and continued as President, until May, 1874; Wortman was re-elected each successive year, and continued as Secretary, until May, 1875. Hartman was re-elected each successive year, and continued as Treasurer, until May, 1874; making their terms of continuous service, respectively, six, eight, and seven years.

The Board elected in May, 1874, consisted of H. P. H. Bromwell, who succeeded Strickler as President; E. Wortman, who continued as Secretary; and Freeman B. Crocker, who succeeded Hartman as Treasurer.

In May, 1875, Bromwell was re-elected, and continued as President; George Duggan succeeded Wortman as a member, and became Secretary; and Crocker was re-elected, and continued as Treasurer.

As we have stated, the office of Superintendent did not exist prior to 1871, the Principal supervising all the schools. Abner R. Brown served as Principal until the close of the school year in the summer of 1864. During the ensuing school year there appears to have been no Principal, but in the autumn of 1865 James V. Griffin was appointed, and served one year. In the autumn of 1866 he was succeeded by R. Y. Force who served about three months, when he was succeeded by Miss Maria Ring, who continued until June, 1867. In September, 1867, Griffin was again appointed, and served until June, 1871. Superintendents then came into fashion, and since that time the District has had but three; W. A. Donaldson, 1871 to 1879; H. F. Wegener, 1879 to April 1, 1891; and L. C. Greenlee, the present capable and satisfactory incumbent, who succeeded Wegener.

There has been no change in the Secretary since Territorial times. In May, 1876, Henry Nienhiser succeeded George Duggan, and has been successively re-elected each year, including that of 1900-01. Mr. Nienhiser's tenure, among all those who have been or now are connected with our school management, is exceeded only by that of Mr. Gove, Superintendent of District Number 1.

Since 1876 the Board Presidents in District Number 2, and their terms, have been:

Alfred Sayre	1876-79
A. D. Sheppard	1879-88
C. W. Cowell	1888-95
John L. Dailey	1895-96
C. T. Harkinson	1896-99
A. W. Clark	1899-

The Treasurers, and their terms, have been:

J. C. Kuner	1876-82
A. E. Pierce	1882-84
G. W. Gildersleeve	1884-88
C. Y. McClure	1888-89
W. E. Greenlee	1889-

The following is a list of those who have served, or are now serving, as members of the Board of Education, one now being elected annually for a term of five years:

Alfred Sayre	1876-79
J. C. Kuner	1876-86
Henry Nienhiser	1876-87
A. D. Shepard	1879-88
G. W. Gildersleeve	1882-88
J. D. Dillenback	1882-85
N. W. Sample	1882-87
J. R. Groves	1883-88
Charles P. Allen	1885-88
W. E. Greenlee	1886-89
C. W. Cowell	1887-95
John L. Dailey	1888-96
J. J. Dunagan	1888-97
C. T. Harkison	1888-99
T. S. McMurray	1889-93
Frank Wheeler	1896-
John C. Kennedy	1895-00
I. B. Perkins	1896-
A. W. Clark	1897-
I. N. Rogers	1899-
Stephen Knight	1900-

In May, 1882, District Number 2 was advanced from the second to the first class, and in 1887 the Board was made to consist of five members.

To recount the educational practices and opportunities in District Number 2, would practically be to repeat what has already been said of those of District Number 1, and which applies with equal force to "West Denver's" schools. Through all the grades in all its schools the courses of instruction are the same and equally thorough; the standing and standards of the High School are the same; and the "West Denver" High School Cadets do not lower their colors to any similar organization in the State; and the Castalian Literary Society, and the Webster Debating Society of the High School, make for the upper levels as earnestly and as profitably as any in the city.

Several prizes are available to the pupils of the High School. The oratorical contest is for the Donald Fletcher prize, a gold medal awarded annually, for which provision was made by the donor some years ago. The essay contest is for the Charles P. Allen prize, which is also a gold medal, awarded annually by Mr. Allen. The reading contest is for a set of Shakespeare's works awarded annually by a donor who prefers to remain unknown. The two School Societies award a gold and a silver medal annually, and a set of historical works. The Cadets have a gold medal for military proficiency, which is quarterly contested for, and worn by the victor until it is won by another member of the company. The M. L. Sterling silver medal prize becomes the personal trophy of the winning Cadet.

School District Number 17 is third in point of relative importance in the city. It was formed March 26, 1872, under the direction of Frank Church who was then Superintendent of Schools for Arapahoe county, and when Colorado was still enjoying or trying to enjoy a Territorial form of government. The first Board of Directors consisted of H. B. Bearce, J. E. Lanphere, and Dexter Soggs. Soggs was President, Lanphere, Secretary; and Bearce, Treasurer. Their first official meeting was held at Mr. Bearce's home on the evening of May 6, 1872. The district survived unchanged in boundaries the transition from the Territory to the State, but its resources were hardly equal to the work before it, even at that time; and later they became less so.

The territory constituting District Number 17 in its beginning was detached from Districts Numbers 1 and 2. It included all there was of the "North Denver" division at that time, and the independent village of Highlands. Recently the independent village of Berkeley was added to it. Though Highlands is now part of the city, its name continues to be associated with District 17. It would seem to have been a natural process for the district to have become Number 3, but in the years between 1862 and 1872 various school districts, numbered from 3 to 16 inclusive, had been created in the county. Its boundaries in the beginning were quite different from the present ones as indicated by the accompanying map. As the city grew in later years the boundaries were enlarged, and otherwise changed, until they assumed their present lines.

The district having been set apart and organized, the next thing to do was to build a school house. In the spring of 1872 the first one was built, at the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Central streets. It was a small one-story frame building the appearance of which is preserved in one of our engravings. As it was considered sufficient for the time, its size will enable the reader to form an opinion of what District 17 was in those days. But it quickly proved wholly inadequate. In the autumn of 1872 it was so overcrowded that some of the classes had to recite their lessons outside the building.

The necessity for another building then became apparent and with this conviction arose a most discreditable factional wrangle over its proposed location. An issue of $15,000 of bonds was essential to the construction of the additional building, and at several elections held in the district the proposition was each time defeated in consequence of the disgraceful contentions over a trivial matter. The lowest and meanest forms of political trickery, and almost every form of personal vituperation, were resorted to by both sides. Finally, the rapid increase in the district's population compelled action, and a compromise as to location—that of the present "North Denver" High School—was agreed upon as the site of the contemplated new building. Then, at an election held in the autumn of 1873, an issue of $15,000 of bonds was approved, and preparations for building were begun.

First school house in "North Denver."

But the people of the district paid dearly enough for their folly. After the bonds had been authorized the Board as well as the taxpayers expected to sell them for not less than par, but were disappointed; though they should not have been. The factional dissensions so discredited everything connected with the district that the best price obtainable for the bonds when they were sold early in 1874 was eighty-five cents on the dollar, with the enormous interest rate of twelve per cent per annum; and they continued to pay that rate for more than ten years, or until their redemption in May, 1884.

With the proceeds of those bonds the Directors of District 17 built the second school house, which was named the "Ashland." Its fine location, now occupied by the High School, commanding a grand view of the city and surrounding country, contained almost four acres, and was an outright gift to the district from the old Highland Park Company, a real estate syndicate of those times. It was a most welcome gift, and the only condition attached to it was that the land should forever be used for school purposes.

The "Ashland School" was a creditable building for its time, and its builders believed they were, in its size, constructing for a long distance into the future for its section of the district; and were harshly criticised for doing so. But, after Colorado became a State every interest within its borders was quickened, and the "North Side" had a full share of the period of prosperity which soon made more school room essential.

But the district was compelled by financial reasons to get along without additional new buildings until 1882. Ashland School was relieved by renting a couple of small buildings in the autumn of that year, and in the same period two rooms of what is known as the old "Bryant School" were constructed, and were considered ample for the neighborhood. But it was the old story over again. Before the end of the following winter all the schools in the district were overflowing. In 1883 four more rooms were added to the two and the six-room building became the first "Bryant School." In the same year another good building, the "Boulevard School," was erected in the southern part of the district to accommodate the fast-increasing population in that quarter. Both were completed by October, 1883. The Board of Directors also added that year to the school equipment an ugly little frame structure near Rocky Mountain Lake on a plot of one and one-quarter acres of land which they bought cheap. This house was grandiloquently named the "Grand View School." Nearly the whole of the money for these improvements came from an issue of bonds, for the tax levy could be made to produce but little more than enough for operating expenses. On January 30, 1883, an issue of $37,000 of 6 per cent. bonds was authorized by a popular vote, and which sold at par this time; $15,000 of the proceeds were to be set aside for redemption of the Ashland School bonds of 1874, and the balance to be used "in the purchase of sites and the erection of large, convenient and well-designed school buildings;" all of which was done, and which terminated building operations for a few years.

In 1886 District Number 17 became a district of the first class and acquired rank equal to that of Districts Numbers 1 and 2. It had previously been operating under the provisions of the old Territorial dispensation, with a Board of Directors consisting of three members. Under the new arrangement the number was doubled, but the Legislature at the next ensuing session, and for some reason too deep to be understood, reduced the membership to five, as it now stands.

By this time there was another demand for additional school room, and by the close of the 1886-87 school year it became imperative. It was then decided to tear down the old Ashland School and in its place erect a fine High School building of perfect appointments. This was done in 1888, the pupils of the Ashland being quartered in a small temporary building and in rented rooms. The "North Denver" High School is one of the city's exceptionally good school buildings.

It is hardly worth while to repeat all the reasons for making further additions. The growth of the district's population was greatly stimulated by the construction of the cable and electric street-car lines in 1889. In 1890 provisions were made for constructing two more new buildings, the "Edison" and the "New Bryant," and adding largely to the capacity of the old Boulevard School. The premises on which the old Bryant stood were large and afforded ample room for the New Bryant, a fine structure, and it was built there. The Edison was built on Wolf Heights, and both were completed in 1890 in time for use at the opening of the autumn term. The addition to the Boulevard building, which more than doubled its capacity, was constructed early in 1891.

Old Ashland School, "North Denver."

The Directors of District Number 17 had, as we have seen, a rather hard time of it in providing and maintaining schools during the period between the year of its organization and 1892. The demands upon them were always greater than the means at their command could enable them to meet in a way satisfactory to themselves. Their part of the city was then, as it is now, almost exclusively a residence section, occupied, to a great extent, by people of moderate means who owned property of moderate valuations for taxation. The district had a remarkable growth in population which entailed upon the Directors many difficulties. They planned and erected new school buildings as fast as they could provide money to pay for them, believing in each instance that they were building for a few years, at least, in the future, only to find that when the new structures were ready for use they were barely equal to the requirements of their day, notwithstanding that each successive effort was on a far broader basis than the next preceding one. It is not probable that the average citizen had any well-defined conceptions of the trials and troubles of his "School Board" in those days when available means and desirable ends were so far apart. Their school tax was very high in the early "Eighties;" 17½ mills in 1883; but school children and expenses increased far more rapidly than the assessed valuations in those years.

The following is a summary of essential facts relative to the existing school buildings in District Number 17:

"Boulevard"—west side of Boulevard F, between West Twenty-third and West Twenty-fourth Avenues; original building erected in 1883 at cost of $12,350; addition built in 1891 at cost of $13,592; total cost of building, $25,942; area of premises, 2 acres, less 100 feet; cost of land, $4,000.

"Old Bryant"—corner of Arlington street and Thirty-second Avenue; erected in 1882 and enlarged in 1883; area of premises 275 by 150 feet; cost of land, $2,950; cost of building, $12,738. This building is still in use.

"New Bryant"—corner of Murdock street and Thirty-second Avenue; erected in 1890; premises part of Old Bryant's; cost of building, $34,277.

"Columbian" corner of West Forty-first Avenue and Boulevard F; erected in 1892-93; area of premises, one acre; cost of land, $4,500; cost of building, $23,000.

"Edison"—Quitman street, between West Thirtieth and West Thirty-second Avenues; erected in 1890; area of premises, 235 by 125 feet, cost of land $3,840; cost of building, $25,632.

High School—on the site of the old Ashland school at West Twenty-ninth Avenue, northeast corner of Firth Place. The Ashland was torn down to make room for the original High School building which was erected in 1888-89, at a cost of $65,000; in 1894-95 the building was remodelled and enlarged to its present appearance and size at a cost of $65,000 more. As we have said, the High School ground, embracing nearly four acres, was donated to the district in 1873 by the Highland Park Company for the Ashland school.

"Louise M. Alcott"—corner of Maple and Twenty-first streets, Berkley; erected in 1892-93; area of premises, twelve lots; cost of land, $4,400; cost of building, $22,000.

"Webster"—corner of West Thirty-sixth and Justina Avenues; erected in 1892-93; area of premises, eight lots; cost of land, $4,000; cost of building, $22,000.

These buildings having recently proved inadequate, a structure on Platte street now known as the Platte street school was rented and converted to school purposes. In 1899 further provision had to be made, and the old Highlands Town Hall building was leased for five years. $1,500 were expended in changing it into a six-room school building, but the district must soon build at least two large, modern school houses; as the school population was 7,106 in April, 1900. In addition to that of the permanent buildings above-mentioned, the district has had other building expense. The old Grand View house cost $883, with $1,000 for the 1¼ acres of land on which it was built; there was a janitor's home erected on the old Ashland grounds in 1883 at a cost of $1,298; and another on the Bryant grounds in 1885 at a cost of $421, which burned in 1890.

Funds for constructing the later school buildings as were those for the earlier ones, were provided by the issue of bonds, but it is not essential that we encumber these pages with further details of the transactions. At no time has the bonded debt of the district been of any magnitude, and if the aggregate of it were still outstanding it would seem of trifling consequence in comparison with our latter day approved propositions for issuing city bonds by millions for purposes of doubtful expediency. At present the debt of District 17 is only $200,000; its total school expenses during the last school year were $113,000; and the value of its property as assessed for taxation in 1900 was $4,190,240.

The "North Denver" High School was organized in 1883 and the first class began work in September of that year in the old Ashland building. The course of study was then of three years, and of the fifteen pupils who entered in 1883 six were graduated in June, 1886. Since that time classes have been graduated every year excepting in 1889; and in 1899 forty-eight pupils were graduated. The course of study is largely elective, and if the pupil has a specific aim in mind he can so select his work, with the advice of parents and teachers, that it will include those subjects best fitted to his powers and purposes. Though the earlier classes were graduated in three years, the later ones took four, the regulation period. But, the district does not arbitrarily fix the limit. In 1895 the Board of Education established a standard for graduation other than that of time spent in school. Some pupils are now graduated in three and one-half years. With relation to this matter the district Board of Education on April 13, 1899, adopted the following resolution:

> "Resolved, by the Board of Directors of School District No. 17, that, whereas the present course of study of the high school does not prescribe a time limit for graduation, but instead, certain conditions as to conduct, quantity and quality of work; all who have complied with said conditions are equally entitled to consideration in deciding special appointments."

The "North Denver" schools maintain a very high standard, and the High School ranks with the best. James H. Van Sickle, who became Superintendent in September, 1891, and who recently resigned, is an educator whose abilities, and deep interest in school work both at home and abroad, have won for him a National fame.

From the organization of District Number 17 in 1872, until the Board of Education was increased to six members in 1886, the three members filled the offices of President, Secretary and Treasurer—just enough to go around. Under the law of 1886 a

High School, District No. 17, "North Denver."

member was forbidden to be Treasurer; but the President must be and the Secretary might be a member. Therefore, after that change an outsider was elected Treasurer.

In several instances the tenure of office has been quite long; and in two, unusually so. Mr. G. F. Oppenlander, as will be seen, was a member for twenty years; and Dr. William Smedley has been a member and President since 1885. The following is a complete list of all who have served as members of the Board, with their periods of service, since the district's organization, one now being elected annually for a term of five years:

Dexter Soggs	1872-73
H. B. Bearce	1872-73
J. E. Lanphere	1872-73
J. E. Ayres	1873-75
C. W. Wright	1873-75
G. F. Oppenlander	1873-93
W. H. Wightman	1875-85
S. H. Hastings	1875-76
James H. Porter	1876-81
J. M. Clark	1881-84
H. C. King	1884-90
William Smedley	1885-
George Anstee (resigned)	1886-90
R. C. Rice	1886-87
A. S. Whitaker	1886-93
H. R. Foster, (fill vacancy)	1890-91
Frank P. Arbuckle	1890-95
E. S. DeGraff	1891-96
Geo. F. Lewis	1893-98
W. H. Davis	1893-99
O. E. Datesman	1895-00
Ruth E. Foote	1896-
S. S. Kennedy	1898-
G. W. Curfman	1899-
B. F. Hilliard	1900-

There have been but four Presidents of the Board in the twenty-eight years:

Dexter Soggs	1872-73
J. E. Ayres	1873-75
W. H. Wightman	1875-85
William Smedley	1885-

In every instance the Secretary has been a member since the district was organized, namely:

J. E. Lanphere	1872-73
C. W. Wright	1873-75
S. H. Hastings	1875-76
James H. Porter	1876-81
J. M. Clark	1881-84
H. C. King	1884-89
A. S. Whitaker	1889-93
Geo. F. Lewis	1893-97
Ruth E. Foote	1897-99
O. E. Datesman	1899-00
G. W. Curfman	1900-

Of the Treasurers, only the first two in the following list were members:

H. B. Bearce	1872-73
G. F. Oppenlander	1873-86
E. O. Lackner	1886-87
Gilbert Johnson	1887-91
C. I. Hayes	1891-92
S. S. Kennedy	1892-93
A. M. Ferguson	1893-98
W. P. Herrick	1898-

The district got along without a Superintendent until 1876. Since that time it has had seven, whose names and periods of services are here given:

H. F. Wegener	1876-79
F. F. Smeigh	1879-82
A. F. Allen	1882-84
A. C. Courtney	1884-85
Frank Matthews	1885-86
Charles V. Parks	1886-91
J. H. Van-Sickle	1891-00
Charles E. Chadsey	1900-

In April, 1900, Mr. Van Sickle resigned in consequence of having been elected Superintendent of the public schools of Baltimore, Maryland, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles E. Chadsey of Durango, Colorado.

District Number 21, ranking next to District 17, and now including the suburbs of Barnum, Colfax, Villa Park, and Chiltenham Heights, in the western part of the city, was originally a "country district." On September 8, 1873, the County Superintendent of Schools "established a new school on the west side of Platte river, to be known and designated as District No. 21." A meeting of the voters in the district was held on September 17th, at which a School Board of three members was elected, and which consisted of Theodore Nott, President; John Casey, Secretary; and J. W. Weir, Treasurer. Later in that year this Board built the district's first school house, a small frame building. As that section of the city later expanded, the area of the district was enlarged, and in 1896 the district became one of the first-class, its Board of Directors as elected in that year consisting of O. E. Adamson, Samuel J. Young, J. C. McGilivray, C. G. Pitschke, and M. F. Hazen; with Adamson, President; and Young, Secretary. Of the district's present four school buildings, two of which are large and fine structures, some particulars follow:

Villa Park School, at West Eighth Avenue and Hazel street, in Villa Park, erected in 1891 at a cost for land and building of $40,000.

Chiltenham School, on Irving street near West Colfax Avenue, erected in 1891 at a cost for land and building of $38,000.

Barnum School, in the town of Barnum, erected in 1889 at a cost for land and building of $2,125.

Glen Park School, corner of West Colfax Avenue and Stewart street, erected in 1887 at a cost for land and buildings of $2,000.

In 1895 District 21 established its High School in the Villa Park building. By the enumeration of April, 1900, the district had a school population of 1,534, and at the close of 1900 twenty-one teachers were employed; the property valuation in 1900, for taxation, having been $907,435. The present Board of Education consists of S. C. Hinsdale, President; R. Wolfer, Secretary; C. E. Cowell, J. C. McGillivray, and Thomas Tuffield; George Adamson being Treasurer.

District Number 7, the latest advanced to the first-class in Arapahoe county, and which embraces part of the South Denver section of the city, is the outgrowth of what was originally a small "country District" outside the earlier limits of Denver, and dating back to ante-railroad times. No definite record of the date and other particulars of the organization of the original District can now be found, the office of the County Superintendent of Schools and of the Secretary of the present District being alike destitute of recorded facts concerning them; and for these reasons the names of the first Directors can not now be ascertained. However, the original District appears to have been established in 1869; as the first reference to it in the existing records in the County Superintendent's office mentions an enumeration of thirty-five school children in it in October, 1869; a later one, the definition of its boundaries as designated by Superintendent Lothrop in January, 1870; and a third, the payment of a small sum of money from the county school fund, in February, 1870, to Joseph Bennet then "Acting Treasurer."

The District has had a rather slow growth, and did not become one of the first-class until May, 1900; having had a school population of 1,217 by the enumeration made the previous month. This advance increased the membership of its Board of Education to five, consisting since May, 1900, of Thomas Drake, President; Charles H. Peters, Secretary; William Lawson, David R. Benedict, and Robert Lawrence; with Thomas I. Weekes as Treasurer. The District has four school buildings, the names, location and cost of which are stated in the following:

"Fleming"—corner of South Grant and Colorado Avenues; erected for school purposes in 1885, before organization of the present district by which it was purchased in 1894 at a cost of $5,000.

"Grant"—Colorado Avenue, South Pearl street, and Washington Avenue; erected in 1890 at a cost, for land and building, of $30,000.

"Milton"—Myrtle street, between South Fourteenth street and Evans Avenue; erected in 1894 at a cost, for land and building, of $12,000.

"Vassar"—Vassar, South Lincoln and Sherman Avenues; erected in 1892 at a cost, for land and building, of $12,000.

All these buildings are good ones, and the "Grant" is one of the more finely finished school structures in the city. Although now of the first-class, the District is rather in its formative period. It established a High School in 1892, which is quartered in the Grant building; and for several years has had kindergartens in the Fleming, Milton, and Vassar schools. The present property valuation for taxation in the District is $1,014,000, and the value of its school property, which was only $10,000 in 1890, is now estimated to be $120,000.

Some general statistics of our public schools have been presented in Chapter LII dealing with the affairs of Arapahoe county, as the school system pertains to the county organization, though the city of Denver, with its 29,131 pupils enrolled in 1900 within its corporate limits, constitutes almost the whole of it, and is entitled to be regarded as a separate system. Considering the Denver school system as a whole its development is as satisfactory as it is remarkable. It is excelled by that of no city of its size in this country, and by the systems of few that rank among the great municipalities. The buildings in which the schools are housed are, as a rule, well designed, substantially built, and thoroughly equipped. In those of more recent construction, dignity and beauty of exterior aspect are abreast with comfort and convenience of interior arrangement. The old-time courses of instruction in all the grades have been broadened and deepened, and to them have been added branches unknown in public school work a quarter of a century ago. This new work, principally that of the manual training and kindergarten departments, has now well established its right to be a permanent part of public school instruction. But it did not reach this position unopposed. Some citizens held it to be superfluous, and outside the proper domain of the schools; others objected to the expense it entailed; and some of each class of objectors are still with us. Of this great development of instruction in Denver's schools, and of the criticisms upon it, Superintendent Gove, in his annual report for 1899, well said:

> "This addition has come about naturally, by evolution, and is not always fairly represented by those who are not informed as to the conduct of schools; especially in the matter of expense, and in the time occupied, are misrepresentations, unfortunately abundant."

CHAPTER LXIII.

University of Denver—Its Origin, Rise, and Present Magnitude—Denominational Schools—St. Mary's Academy—Loretto Academy—College of the Sacred Heart—Wolfe Hall—Jarvis Hall—Baptist College—"Westminster University"—Private Schools—Old-Time Libraries and Reading Rooms—High School Library—Mercantile Library—Present Public Library—State Historical and Natural History Society—State Museum of War Relics—State Collection of Minerals.

Next to the public school system in educational importance in Denver, stands the University of Denver for higher education. Bearing the city's name, it aims to become what Harvard is to Boston, Columbia to New York, and what the University of Chicago is to that city. It is a Christian institution, established and maintained by the Methodist Episcopal church, but is non-sectarian. It is the great outgrowth of a small beginning inaugurated in 1863 by the Denver Methodists who, in that year and under the leadership of Governor Evans laid the foundations of the first advanced school, the "Colorado Seminary," in the Territory of Colorado. The general character of and the plans for the institution were decided on in 1863, and by an act of the Territorial Legislature, approved March 5, 1864, John Evans, Samuel H. Elbert, William N. Byers, H. Burton, A. B. Case, J. G. Vawter, A. J. Gill, W. D. Pease, Edwin Scudder, J. H. Morrison, Warren Hussey, J. W. Smith, D. H. Moffatt, Jr., R. E. Whitsitt, C. A. Cook, John Cree, Amos Steck, J. M. Chivington, J. B. Doyle, Henry Henson, Amos Widner, John T. Lynch, Milo Lee, J. B. Chaffee, Lewis Jones, O. A. Willard, W. A. H. Loveland and Robert Berry were "constituted a body politic and corporate for the purpose of founding, directing and maintaining an institution of learning to be styled the Colorado Seminary."

The act provided for the division of these twenty-eight Trustees into four groups of seven each, the groups to hold office for one, two, three and four years, respectively, and for their successors to be appointed by that annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church within the bounds of which the city of Denver may be included; it provided that no test of religious faith shall ever be applied as a condition of admission to the Seminary; gave authority to confer degrees; and provided that property necessary for carrying out the design of the Seminary in the best manner, while used exclusively for such purposes shall be free from all taxation.

Old Colorado Seminary Building, Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets.

A very creditable building, and a large one for that time, as will be seen from its appearance in the accompanying illustration, was erected on the southwest corner of Arapahoe and Fourteenth streets, in 1864, the money to pay for it having been obtained by subscriptions among the Trustees and other citizens. The school was opened November 16, 1864, and fairly maintained until 1867 when, in consequence of exhausted resources and accumulated indebtedness, and notwithstanding the best efforts of its numerous Trustees to keep it going, it was closed. The property was sold, and bought in by Governor Evans; and after that the Colorado Seminary remained in a state of suspended animation for a dozen years. Late in 1867 the building was put to an use quite different from that for which it was constructed; for, in December of that year the Territorial capital was removed from Golden to Denver, and the lower branch of the Legislature, with the Territorial executive officers, occupied quarters in it during the remainder of the session.

In 1879 steps were taken to revive and reorganize the Colorado Seminary under the original charter. To that end the Methodist Episcopal Conference appointed a new Board of Twenty-eight Trustees, several of those who had been in service twelve years before having died or moved away. This Board organized by electing John Evans, President; J. W. Bailey, Vice President; and Rev. Earl Cranston, Secretary. The first act of Governor Evans was to return, as a gift, the Seminary property he had bought in to save it, twelve years before; to this he added $3,000 for laboratory apparatus. Vice President Bailey gave $10,000 in cash, and to which he soon afterward added $3,000; and the citizens and business men generally contributed liberally in money for rehabilitating the Seminary. It had been decided to provide a new and larger building on the site of the old one, and Rev. Earl Cranston was appointed chairman of the building committee which erected the structure now standing on the southwest corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, there being but a small indebtedness on it when completed in 1880.

Conservatory of Music at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, Denver —University of Denver.

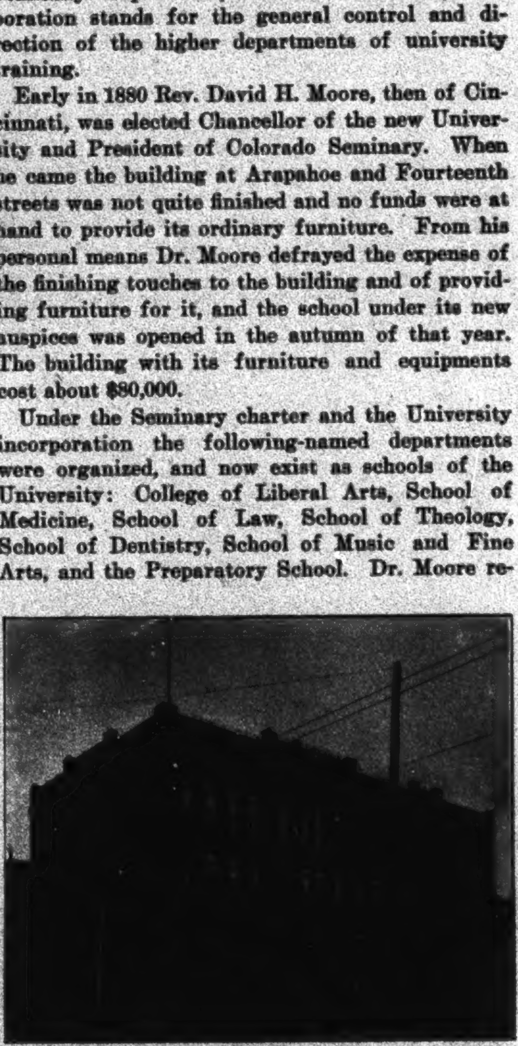
In 1880 it was decided to create a second and coordinate corporation, under the name "University of Denver." The articles of incorporation filed with the Secretary of State in that year provide:

> "The object of this society shall be the advancement of the educational interests of Colorado; the promotion of all the sciences, arts and learned professions; and to form a University which shall have power to establish a system of instruction in any or all the departments of learning; to create fellowships; to appoint a Board of Examiners, and upon examination or satisfactory recommendation, to confer marks of distinction and all degrees, honorary or otherwise, usual to a University, upon all such candidates as shall be found worthy thereof."
>
> "The members of this society shall be the Secretary, for the time being, of the Colorado Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the secretaries, while in office, of such annual conferences as shall hereafter be organized within the territory now occupied by the said Colorado Annual Conference; the Presiding Elders, for the time being, of the aforesaid annual conference or conferences; the President, for the time being, of the Colorado Seminary; the members of the Board of Trustees, for the time being, of the Colorado Seminary."

The articles also provided for a Board of seven Trustees to be elected annually thereafter, but named those of the first Board, who were John Evans, O. L. Fisher, Jesse Durbin, John W. Bailey, John A. Clough, Earl Cranston, and J. H. Merritt. The two corporations became and now represent and constitute the University of Denver, working side by side and in harmony; or, it may be clearer to say the two are in effect one. All the property is owned and the material affairs managed by the Seminary corporation; while the University corporation stands for the general control and direction of the higher departments of university training.

Early in 1880 Rev. David H. Moore, then of Cincinnati, was elected Chancellor of the new University and President of Colorado Seminary. When he came the building at Arapahoe and Fourteenth streets was not quite finished and no funds were at hand to provide its ordinary furniture. From his personal means Dr. Moore defrayed the expense of the finishing touches to the building and of providing furniture for it, and the school under its new auspices was opened in the autumn of that year. The building with its furniture and equipments cost about $80,000.

Under the Seminary charter and the University incorporation the following-named departments were organized, and now exist as schools of the University: College of Liberal Arts, School of Medicine, School of Law, School of Theology, School of Dentistry, School of Music and Fine Arts, and the Preparatory School. Dr. Moore remained as Chancellor nine years, and no other man did such service for the cause of education in Colorado, as he. The young institution had a trying time in that period. Its resources were limited, and some expected endowments proved disappointments. Dr. Moore served practically without compensation, and his fidelity and winning personality made him a much beloved man in Denver and Col-


Haish Building, Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets, Denver—University of Denver.

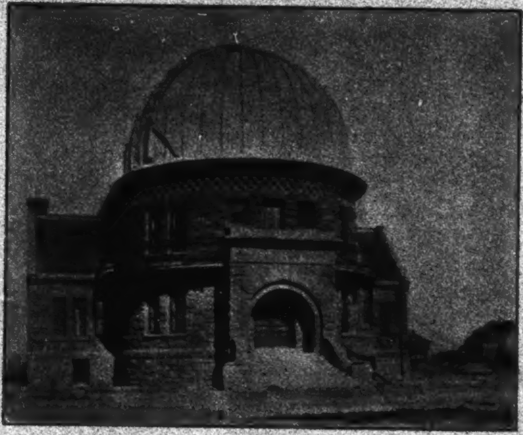
orado. His recent (1900) elevation to the Episcopacy was hailed with enthusiasm by our people.

One year after Dr. Moore retired, Dr. William Fraser McDowell was elected Chancellor. Dr. McDowell served for a like period of nine years, resigning in 1899, having been elected Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, with headquarters in New York city. Under his administration the courses of study were enlarged and enriched to keep pace with the advancement made during those years in other colleges of the first rank. He will be remembered long in Colorado as a brilliant and scholarly man.

In November, 1899, Dr. Henry A. Buchtel was elected and, on January 1st, 1900, entered upon the duties of Chancellor.

The building at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets was made to suffice for the needs of the University until 1887 when the Haish Manual Training School building, the gift of Jacob Haish, of De Kalb, Illinois, was erected at a cost of $40,000, on the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe—opposite the older structure, and some of the departments were then installed in it.

In 1886 it had been determined to go outside the then limits of the city and obtain a site upon which the University could be more appropriately located and that would afford abundant room for prospective new buildings. A large tract of land was donated by persons interested in real estate in "South Denver," and there, in what we now know as "University Park," the permanent home of the University was soon afterward established. The locality was then far out of the city. Enough ground had been given to enable the University to plat and sell a part of it in town-lots, at $150 each, which produced a considerable revenue. Most people smiled at the proposition to sell them town-lots "away out there," at any price; but University Park has been made one of our attractive suburbs and now contains many beautiful homes, beside several of the fine buildings of the University.



Chamberlin Observatory at University Park—University of Denver.

Preparations for building at University Park were not made until 1890. The first two structures erected there were University Hall, at a cost of $80,000; and Wycliffe Cottage, a home for young women students. The Hall, a large and imposing edifice, of lava, three and one-half stories high, and the Cottage, were built in 1891. In 1892 the Chamberlin Observatory was erected. It was the gift of the late H. B. Chamberlin and is one of the most completely equipped in this country. There are two buildings, of stone, and of the usual type; the smaller one, known as the students' observatory, containing a fine six-inch equatorial refractor and other instruments. The large observatory is crowned by a great dome beneath which is one of the noted telescopes of the world; a twenty-inch refractor made by Alvan G. Clark. In addition to it the observatery is provided with every other instrument and appliance essential to the delicate and exact methods of the advanced astronomical work of modern times. Mr. Chamberlin's munificent gift involved the expenditure on his part of more than $50,000. The remarkable clearness of Colorado atmosphere has enabled the fine equipment of the Chamberlin Observatory to excel in much of the refined work in which astronomers engage. The observatory has long been directed by Professor Herbert A. Howe, a man of great ability in his profession, and author of several standard works on the fascinating subjects with which he deals.

The Great Telescope in Chamberlin Observatory at University Park—University of Denver.

Iliff Hall, which is the home of the Iliff School of Theology, is one of the fine buildings at University Park. This department was endowed in 1889 by Mrs. Elizabeth Iliff Warren with $100,000, in memory of her deceased former husband, John Wesley Iliff; and both Mrs. Warren and her children have contributed liberally to the funds required to meet current expenses of the School. In 1889 William S. Iliff provided funds for erecting the building which was completed in 1892, and cost $50,000.

It is hardly necessary to add that each department of the University is equipped with every essential to efficiency, and that each is directed by

University Hall, University Park—University of Denver.

instructors of the highest ability. There are in the service of the University one hundred and ten professors, lecturers and tutors. The Schools of Medicine, Law, and Dentistry are in the Haish Building at the southeast corner of Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets; the School of Music and Fine Arts, in the original University building on the opposite corner; the others at University Park. Among the six hundred or more students usually in attendance, are representatives of nearly every State in the Union, and of several foreign countries.

Governor Evans remained President of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary corporation until his death; and Mr. Bailey Vice President until 1892 when, on account of continued absence from Denver, he declined re-election. The present members of the Seminary Board of Trustees, which is the controlling body, are Mrs. Margaret P. Evans, Mrs. Elizabeth I. Warren, James B. Grant, Henry W. Warren, George C. Manly, Robert H. Beggs, Charles K. Durbin, E. T. Alling, A. L. Doud, Camden M. Coburn, Frederick W. Ireland, W. D. Phifer, E. E. Shumway, J. W. Springer, Joseph C. Shattuck, F. J. Chamberlin, Mrs. Anna E. Lee, Robert A. Carnine, Earl M. Cranston, M. D. Hornbeck, C. B. Spencer, John H. Merritt, Joseph W. Gilluly, William S. Iliff, William Lennox, A. E. Reynolds, George Richardson and H. E. Warner. Bishop Henry W. Warren is President; Joseph W. Gilluly, Vice President; Joseph C. Shattuck, Secretary; and Robert H. Beggs, Treasurer.

Iliff School of Theology, University Park—University of Denver.

Of the University corporation the present Trustees are Henry W. Warren, Joseph W. Gilluly, Joseph C. Shattuck, Earl M. Cranston, John H. Merritt, W. D. Phifer, and R. A. Carnine.

The great organization of the Catholic church has made exceptionally liberal provisions here for education. It appears to have been its policy in Denver to expend more of its revenues upon schools and hospitals than upon the erection of fine churches; and for the former purposes money has been generously bestowed. There are several large and substantial modern buildings in the city for parochial schools which are conducted with the painstaking care that is characteristic of all the undertakings of that religious denomination, and to which is chiefly due the vast beneficial practical results it has accomplished.

Old residence of William Clayton—Open prairie back of it.

Conspicuous among the Catholic educational establishments is the Loretto Academy, the origin of which takes us back to pioneer times and to the first permanently maintained academy established in Denver. In 1864 the large frame dwelling of William Clayton, on the south side of California street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, and then out of town, was purchased and placed in charge of three Sisters of the Order of Loretto, who came from Kentucky in response to a call from Father Machebeuf to institute an academic school in Denver, which was called St. Mary's Academy, but was better known as the "Sisters' School." It flourished from the beginning, and within a few years the entire half-block was acquired and large additions to the original building were erected. These were three-story brick wings so constructed as to admit the later construction of the present central building forming the unified edifice. The Sisters of Loretto, having received additions to their numbers in the meantime, there conducted their school for many years; but, in 1889 it was decided to remove outside the city, away from its turmoil and noise. A large tract of land was purchased at the base of the foot-hills between six and seven miles southwest of the city, and preparations made for building a large and beautiful new home for the Academy. The location is a commanding one, overlooking the valley of the Platte, the city, and Fort Logan, with the great ranges rising back of it into the clouds. No place in the State affords a more attractive and desirable site than Loretto Heights. In 1890-91 a fine building of red sand-stone was erected there, at a cost approximating $300,000. It is a beautiful and perfect structure, especially designed after modern ideas of what a large school-home should be. From an architectural standpoint, as it is from an educational, it is regarded as one of the most attractive colleges in the west. As the old St. Mary's Academy in the city was to be continued, the new institution was given its present name. There, in that well ordered and inspiring retreat, the Sisters of Loretto conduct their admirable convent school for young women in the gentle and even tenor of their way.

St. Mary's Academy.

The old, St. Mary's Academy, is continued by the Sisters of Loretto as a select day school for all grades of pupils, under the old name. Before Loretto Academy was established the Sisters conducted a day school there as part of their educational work. The present methods at St. Mary's are an adaptation of those followed at Loretto.

The College of the Sacred Heart or, as it is more familiarly known, "the Jesuit College," is located northwest of the city about one mile north of Berkley Lake and overlooking the Clear creek valley. It was incorporated under Colorado law July 23, 1887, and by an act of the Legislature in April, 1889, empowered to confer University and Collegiate honors and diplomas. The College, which is for the advanced instruction of young men, was opened in 1887. Its large and massive building of gray lava stone is a prominent landmark in the section in which it stands.

Wolfe Hall, a seminary for young women, only, is the largest denominational school in Denver or in the State. It is under the care of the Episcopal church organization, and its history dates from early times. In 1866 Rev. George M. Randall, the first Bishop of this Episcopal diocese, determined to establish schools at or near Denver for boys and girls, and brought his intentions to the notice of the Mission Board of his church. The girls' school was first undertaken, and in 1867 the original Wolfe Hall building— a small one—was erected on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Champa streets, the site of the present Boston Building, and then on the outskirts of the town. Its cost was defrayed by contributions obtained by Bishop Randall in New York city, the larger portion of which came from John D. Wolfe and his daughter Catherine, to whom that great city is indebted for many benefactions. It was because of their generosity to the new school in the far west that Wolfe Hall received its name. In 1873 the original building was enlarged, and again in 1879; the last additions making it a structure of two stories and a "mansard" roof, as shown by the accompanying illustration. In 1888 this property was sold to the projectors of the Boston Building, and in 1889 the building was torn down to make room for the great business structure. A new site for Wolfe Hall was purchased back on Capitol Hill; the entire block bounded by Thirteenth and Fourteenth Avenues, Clarkson and Emerson streets, on which the present large and beautiful building of stone was soon afterward completed. The building contains 350 rooms which include study halls, recitation rooms, studios, gymnasium, laboratories, kindergarten rooms, parlors, reception rooms, dining rooms, and a large number of bright and cheerful sleeping rooms. As a preparatory school for the higher colleges for women, Wolfe Hall occupies a position in which it stands aloft among the schools of the State, and takes rank with the best in the country for thoroughness of work.

College of the Sacred Heart.

The present Jarvis Hall at Montclair, Denver's pleasant eastern suburb, is the outgrowth of the other of good Bishop Randall's pioneer educational institutions. After he had established Wolfe Hall, he decided to locate the school for boys at Golden. A large part of the funds he needed was contributed by George E. Jarvis, of Brooklyn, New York, and on September 23, 1868, the Bishop laid the corner-stone of "Jarvis Hall" at Golden. On the night of November 29, 1869, a storm almost totally wrecked the building which was then nearly completed. Prompt assistance enabled the Bishop to at once rebuild, and the school was opened in October, 1870.

Original Wolfe Hall at Champa and Seventeenth streets.

In the autumn of 1871 the Bishop appealed to his eastern friends for means with which to establish a theological school. In response to this, Nathan Matthews, of Boston, at his own expense, erected a handsome building for the purpose, adjoining Jarvis Hall. The new institution was named for him, and on September 19, 1872, Matthews Hall was formally opened. Matthews also endowed the school with a gift of $10,000 to be invested until it became double that amount, and thereafter the interest, only, to be used for educating young men for the ministry.

In April, 1878, Jarvis and Matthews Halls were totally destroyed by fire, and their work came temporarily to an end. In 1881 the Golden property was sold to the State which established the Industrial School for Boys on the premises. It was then decided to re-establish the two schools in Denver, as a more convenient location, and a building for each were erected near St. John's cathedral, where their work was resumed.

In 1888 a tract of about thirty acres of land in Montclair was purchased as a site for a new Jarvis Hall, and on which a fine building was completed in December of that year. The Jarvis school was removed thither, and on March 1, 1889, its new home was dedicated by Bishop Spalding. In recent years military training has become an important element in Jarvis Hall education. In every respect the school's standard of excellence is a high one, and its methods embrace physical and moral elevation with the same earnestness that they do thorough mental education. Matthews Hall continues in its old home near the cathedral, and the welfare of both institutions is a special charge upon the Trustees of St. John's.

Bishop Randall contemplated that these three Episcopalian schools be founded—Wolfe Hall, Matthews Hall, and Jarvis Hall—should constitute St. John's College, and as a unity they now bear that name.

The Baptist church organization has always manifested a deep interest in education, as proved by their many institutions of learning, from the great Brown University at Providence, R. I., down through many gradations. In 1890 arrangements were begun for founding in or near Denver a College for Women. A tract of thirty acres was purchased at Montclair, and in 1891 a fine building was erected on it, but which did not receive its interior finish. The adverse circumstances arising within a few years thereafter prevented the fulfillment of the purposes of its founders, and the institution was left to await a more favorable opportunity for entering upon the career for which it was designed. In October, 1900, the convention of Colorado Baptists in session at Pueblo unanimously decided in favor of that organization assuming charge of the property and obtaining funds with which to complete the building and open the institution at the earliest practicable date.

Loretto Academy.

In 1890 persons interested in real estate some distance out of the city, to the northward, donated a tract of land about eight miles north of the city's business center as a site for what they proposed should be "Westminster University," a Presbyterian educational institution. In 1892 a large and very fine building of the favorite red sandstone was erected there at a cost of about $75,000. The locality is a mesa beyond Clear creek, lying 350 feet higher than the city, and being the highest elevation in Arapahoe county. The view from it is one of great magnificence. Owing to the association of the proposed University with real estate "booming," the Presbyterian church as an organization, did not take kindly to it. The collapse in 1893 brought the entire enterprise to a standstill, and the unoccupied building has since remained a monument to the disappointed expectations of its projectors.

There are, of course, several excellent schools in Denver of a less public character than those mentioned in the foregoing. First among these stands the Miss Wolcott School at Fourteenth Avenue and Marion street, founded in 1898 by Miss Anna L. Wolcott, the present Principal of the institution. General charge of the School's affairs and welfare is committed to the Miss Wolcott School Association of thirty-three members who act as Trustees, and from among whom an Executive Committee of five and an Advisory Committee of three are chosen. Primarily the School is for girls and young ladies, but boys are received in the lower grades. The course of instruction includes all grades, from the rudimentary to those qualifying the student for entrance to advanced colleges. The School buildings are new, complete in their appointments, and exceedingly attractive in their exterior aspects. One is the School building, proper, occupying the corner part of the site; the other, Miss Wolcott's home fronting on Fourteenth Avenue and in which a limited number of non-resident girls are received and provided for during the School term. A diploma from the Miss Wolcott School opens to its bearer and without further ceremony the doors of several advanced American colleges for young women.

The Miss Wolcott School.

The limitations of this volume forbid further consideration of the semi-private schools in Denver, among which are some devoted to instruction along specialized lines, and all of which are doing well their part in the cause of education. Indeed, it would seem that nothing has been left undone in and around this city in providing for thorough mental training of those who are later to be the men and women of this great Commonwealth.

Our present fine Public Library, now housed at the southeast corner of Fifteenth street and Court Place, ranks as one of our great educational institutions. It was a long time before Denver had a free public library, or one of any kind worthy to be called a library. Before passing to the history of the one we now have, we will consider what was done in pioneer times toward affording reading matter for those then here who desired it. This takes us back to the summer of 1859, when A. E. Pierce, still a citizen of Denver, began a small news-stand and stationery business on a pine table under a cottonwood tree in old Auraria City—"West Denver." He soon afterward established his business in a cabin in that town, and later in that year, having supplied himself with a small number of good books, started a "circulating library" which proved a popular and useful institution in the community. His venture was the beginning of the book trade in Denver, and his "library," though not quite a free one, was the first thing of the kind at Cherry creek.

In the winter of 1859-60 some of the citizens, prompted by O. J. Goldrick, organized an association to establish a library and reading room for the use and benefit of its members. The record book kept by the Secretary of this organization is now the valued possession of our Public Library. The record does not definitely give the date upon which the association was organized, though, for reasons that will presently be stated, it appears to have been February 10, 1860. However, at the first meeting and as a preamble to further proceedings, the following was adopted:

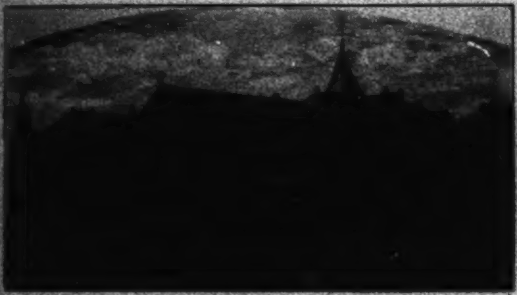
> "Whereas, the want of a place of resort where the citizens of our towns can meet during their leisure hours for the purpose of gaining information, improving their minds and engaging in social conversation and enjoyment, has long been and still is felt in our midst; and, Whereas, experience has proven by the establishment of reading rooms in other cities, that they tend to both mental and moral cultivation—Therefore, We, the undersigned, resolve to form ourselves into an Association, the name and style of which shall be made known in the first article of this Constitution; and for our government we adopt the following Constitution, By-Laws, and Regulations."

The first article of the constitution made known that the name and style of the association should be "The Denver City and Auraria Reading Room and Library Association." The constitution, by-laws, and regulations contain little of especial interest beyond the provisions for a President, Vice

President, Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian; the first-named three officers to be members of the Board of seven Directors. The organization was intended to be a permanent one, for the constitution provided that the Directors and officers first chosen should serve until the following June, when their successors were to be elected; and that elections should be held in that month annually thereafter. While the record has neither account nor specific date of the election of Directors or officers, their names are entered in the bold handwriting of O. J. Goldrick on a fly-leaf of the book, as follows:

"R. B. Bradford, President; C. P. Marion, Vice President; O. J. Goldrick, Secretary; A. E. Pierce, Treasurer; Jas. Kinna, Librarian; R. B. Bradford, O. J. Goldrick, C. H. Blake, Dr. G. W. Burck, T. H. Marion, W. M. Slaughter, and William Graham, Directors."

The only date in the record is that of "Feb. 10, 1860," appended to a short series of "Regulations pro tem." laid down "by order of the Board;" and it is not improbable that the constitution and so forth were adopted and the Directors and officers chosen on that date. The names of ninety-nine persons who became members of the association, are entered on pages ruled for entries of payment of dues, which were fifty cents per month.



Present Wolfe Hall.

The career of this organization appears to have been meteorically brief, judging from its financial exhibit. Seventy-five of the members paid their dues for February, eleven paid for March, only two for April 1, and none thereafter. One of the members was John Shear, of whose taking off at the end of a rope later in 1860 we have heretofore given some account. Opposite his name in the membership list someone subsequently made this notation: "Lynched and hung for horse-stealing."

While the record presents no narrative of the association's collapse, the appalling shrinkage of treasury receipts vividly tells the story.

For more than a dozen years thereafter there was neither library nor public reading room in Denver. Late in 1873 the great necessity for both, or a combination of the two, became of public interest, and a movement to establish something of the kind was inaugurated. Early in 1874 an organization of citizens, called the "Denver Library Association," was formed and quarters for it rented on the second floor of the building then at Number 1619 Larimer street. With the small but excellent private library of N. C. Bond which was purchased and donated to the association by Cyrus H. McLaughlin, the beginning was made. Magazines and newspapers were supplied for the reading room, and for two or three years the place was much frequented. But through lack of sufficient financial support and in consequence of waning interest the room had to be closed early in the spring of 1878. The library property passed into the possession of Walter S. Cheesman and W. D. Todd who, on April 19th, presented the entire collection of books to the Board of Education of District Number 1. In their gift-letter to the President of the Board they said:

"Having come into possession of the effects of the late Denver Library Association, we desire, through you, to present the collection of books to the Board of Education. We believe that, as a public body, holding in trust the management of the public education of the city, you have superior advantages, not only for preserving the library intact, but also for making it a potent instrument for the public good. We do this with the earnest hope that in your hands, at no distant day, it may become the nucleus of a grand public library for our city. Please accept, with the books, all the papers, magazines, etc., as well as the unexpired subscriptions to periodical literature now belonging to the library."

The reply of Dr. H. K. Steele, the President of the Board, to the donors, was as follows:

"We accept your munificent donation of six hundred volumes for our library. This, with the careful selection of books already in our possession, gives us a superior library of upwards of 1,000 volumes.

In the name of the interests of the people that we represent we thank you. We shall be ever glad to have your counsel as to the most efficient manner in which the library shall be managed for the highest interest of the public good and join with you in the hope that the institution of a public library and lyceum may soon be accomplished. We assure you that the books will not be shelf ornaments, but that they will be read by hundreds of the youth and adults of our community."

At that time the High School was accommodated in the old "Arapahoe School," in which a room was set apart for the books. Mr. K. G. Cooper and Dr. Arnold Stedman were appointed as an advisory board, and prepared rules for the library's regulation; and in this way the gift from W. S. Cheesman and W. D. Todd was made to constitute the nucleus of what later became a fine library. Prior to its receipt the High School of District Number 1 had slowly accumulated a small collection of books, principally those of reference. All the books, about 150 in number, in the general school library, had been placed at the disposal of the High School pupils; but funds were scarce, and the small additions subsequently made were in greater part paid for by proceeds of the annual entertainments of the High School Lyceum, the Board adding such small sums as it could spare. The Cheesman-Todd gift increased the number of books to about 1,000, and they were then classified and labelled under the name of the "Denver Public School Library." The library was thrown open daily to the public as a free reading room, in accordance with the wishes of its benefactors, and entered upon its career of great usefulness. But it had a slow growth in number of volumes year by year until 1885, when books to the value of about $800 were added by the Board. All the books were then re-labelled, stamped and classified as the "Denver High School Library." A new catalogue compiled in April, 1885, listed 601 volumes in the reference department, 1653 in the general library, and upward of 700 pamphlets and so forth. When plans were made for the High School building for District Number 1, the library was prominent in the minds of the members of the Board. One wing, the west, was designed and built for library purposes, and when it was finished the books and furniture were removed from the Arapahoe building, and the library and reading room thrown open to the public on June 8, 1882.

Public Library Building.

At that time, however, the Denver High School Library was not a free, circulating, public library, and did not become such until several years later; nor were either of those of the earlier periods such libraries. The High School Library, like its immediate predecessor, was open and free to public use, but the books might not be taken away for home reading by the general public. Until November, 1886, there was not nor had there ever been in Denver, or in Colorado, a free public library such as the great institution we now have.

The first library of that kind in the city or State was one of the consequences, if not one of the original purposes, of the organization of the Denver Chamber of Commerce; and the fact that a corporation formed to promote the commercial, financial and industrial interests of the city established, and maintained practically from its own resources, the first free public library in a city of more than 50,000 people, is an unusual and interesting one.

Upon the organization of the Chamber in 1884, Roger W. Woodbury its first President, and who continued in that position until 1887, conceived the plan of having attached to that organization of business men a free public library, reading room, and historical museum. On July 17, 1884, soon after the Chamber had been organized, a meeting of its Directors was held at Gen. Woodbury's office at which it was decided to establish the "Mercantile Library of Denver," to be conducted by the Chamber; and that quarters for it, a reading room, and a historical museum should be set apart in the building then designed to be erected for the Chamber.

In February, 1885, when construction of the Chamber of Commerce building had begun, President Woodbury appointed committees to solicit from members of the Chamber subscriptions to the library fund to be exclusively used for the purchase of books. As the library was to be owned by the Chamber, it was decided not to solicit contributions from persons not members, and not to refuse any voluntarily offered by such persons. In this way Gen. Woodbury and his committees soon secured $15,000; Henry C. Brown having started the good work by a gift of $1,000. On December 30, 1885, Mr. Charles R. Dudley was appointed Librarian, and began preparations for organizing the institution. The whole of the fourth floor (48 by 120 feet) of the Chamber's new building had been set apart for the library, reading room, and museum, and was fitted up and furnished at the Chamber's expense. The first list of books was prepared by Dr. Poole, Librarian of the Chicago Public Library, and the first consignment of them received on June 19, 1886. On November 1st, following, the library and reading room were opened to the public with about 3,000 volumes ready for circulation; the State Historical and Natural History Society having previously occupied the museum department. In his address upon that occasion President Woodbury said:

"Thousands of studious and ambitious young minds will have had the pathways of knowledge made free and clear to them; millions of household cares will have been lightened; millions of pleasurable thoughts will have been aroused, and these silent tables will have allured many and many a young man from the siren seductions of idle hours, and attractive but destructive resorts. As the idle and the vicious and the criminal make the business of our criminal courts and fill our jails, and create those great items of public expense which have few, if any, compensating results; and as the well-disposed and the prosperous must meet those expenses it follows that the establishment of an institution like this which shall overcome idleness and arouse ambition, appeals in the strongest manner to the practical support of men composing an institution like the Chamber of Commerce."

Through 1887 and 1888 books were added at the rate of about 400 each month, and at the close of the last-named year, the library contained upward of 15,000 volumes. In 1888 additional subscriptions to the book fund had been received, and to these $2,000 were added by a bequest by F. Z. Salomon an active member of the library committee who died in November of that year. These funds enabled the Librarian to add several thousand volumes early in 1889.

Such, briefly, is the history of the founding of the first free public library in Colorado. The city's need for it had long before been recognized, but ways and means for bringing such an institution into existence were not provided until that first administration of the Denver Chamber of Commerce applied its public spirit and energy to the consummation of a great and lasting service to the people. The library was not fairly settled in its work until 1888, and the avidity with which the opportunities it offered were seized is indicated by the record of more than 80,000 issues of books and magazines in that year.

In the meantime the Denver High School Library had been made a more important department of the school system of District Number 1, and many volumes were added to it. Then, and under a law of 1887, an annual levy of one-tenth of a mill tax was instituted on the property in the district for a fund used exclusively for the purchase of books, and which enabled the Board of Education to largely increase the resources of the Library. In the autumn of 1889 its name was changed to that of "The Public Library," and it was made a free, circulating library upon the same basis as the other, extending its advantages to the people of the entire city, county, and even of the whole State. Mr. John C. Dana was appointed Librarian at that time, and the Library's growth thereafter was steady year by year. When it passed out of existence as a separate institution in 1899 it possessed about 43,000 volumes. Notwithstanding that all expenses, including purchases of books, entailed by the maintenance of this library were borne exclusively by the tax-payers of District Number 1, the benefits were free and equal to all citizens; and, at the library, to non-residents, also. During the last fiscal year of its existence, ending June 30, 1899, these expenses aggregated $17,563.30.

The Mercantile Library had also steadily advanced, from the day of its opening. On September 12, 1893, its name was changed to that of the "City Library." In 1891 the City Council, under an earlier statute authorizing such use of a part of police court and other revenues, had begun extending financial aid to the Library by a moderate annual appropriation, and it was deemed proper in consequence thereof to give the institution the new name; furthermore, the old title had been somewhat misleading as to the character of the Library. Nearly all Mercantile Libraries are owned and maintained by limited associations of business men, making a charge for the use of books by non-members, and receiving annual dues from members. Therefore the old name commonly implied that the Chamber of Commerce Library was not a free one. By the close of 1894 it had outgrown its original quarters on the third floor of the Chamber's building, and in January, 1895, was transferred with the reading room to the main and second floors; the Historical Society removing to the new Capitol building. The City Library ended its career under that name in the Chamber of Commerce building, and at the time of the library consolidation in 1898-99, had an exceptionally choice collection of books aggregating about 35,000 volumes.

Charles R. Dudley.
Librarian of the Public Library of the City of Denver.

The Colorado Library Act of 1893 and as amended in 1899 is, perhaps, the most liberal statutory provision for public libraries now in force in

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Charles R. Dudley is a native of Connecticut; born in Easton, June 26, 1853. Having had the usual course in the public schools, he entered Yale and was graduated in its Law Department in the class of 1877. After about five years of law practice at Monson, Mass., he removed to Denver in November, 1882. As related elsewhere on these pages, his service as Librarian has been continuous from the inception in 1885 of the first public library in the city and State.

In 1888, Mr. Dudley was elected a Regent of the State University, and in 1894 re-elected; his two terms extending through twelve years to January, 1901. He has, also, long been identified with our State Historical and Natural History Society of which he is Secretary.—J. C. S.

any of the States. Under it any municipality may establish a free public library as one of its municipal departments. The method is very simple. The City Council by appropriate action decides to establish and maintain a free public library, and the Mayor then appoints a Board of six Trustees of which he becomes, ex officio, the seventh member and President. The members of the first Board determine by lot which three shall serve for one year, and which for two years. Thereafter the three members holding over elect successors to the three who annually retire on the first of each succeeding July; thus making the body self-perpetuating, and practically removing it from the domain of politics. The law authorizes an annual library tax at the discretion of the City Council up to but not exceeding one mill on all the property within the municipality.

In recent years the expediency and desirability of consolidating the City and High School Public Libraries into one large institution became apparent. In 1898 it was decided to do so, and to organize a new library under the State law to which we have referred. The City Council promptly took the necessary action. An ordinance introduced by O. B. Scobey, passed by the Board of Supervisors July 29th, by the Board of Aldermen August 8th, and approved by the Mayor August 11th, provided for a public library to be established in accordance with the provisions of the amended act of 1893, and to be known as "The Public Library of the City of Denver." Thereupon Mayor T. S. McMurray appointed, as the first Board of Directors, C. E. Dickinson, James B. Grant, L. E. Lemen, Platt Rogers, A. B. Seaman, and R. W. Woodbury; Dickinson, Lemen, and Seaman becoming the one-year members. Mayor McMurray being, ex officio, President, Mr. Dickinson was elected Vice President, and Mr. Woodbury Secretary. Mr. Charles R. Dudley, who had been Librarian of the City Library from its beginning, was elected to the same position in the new one; and Mr. John Parsons, who had succeeded Mr. Dana on January 1, 1898, as Librarian of the High School Library, was chosen Assistant Librarian under the consolidation.

All the formal routine details of the transfer of the two libraries to the new, municipal library department, are not of importance here. The Directors of the Chamber of Commerce had, by a resolution adopted on June 20, 1898, authorized their President and Secretary to execute a contract for the transfer of the City Library to the new organization. On August 13, 1898, all its books and other library property were turned over, and the City Library as such ceased to exist. The new Public Library remained in the Chamber of Commerce building until November 1, 1899, when, just thirteen years after the Mercantile Library had opened its doors, its successor began work in the building it now occupies and which was purposely erected for it. The transfer of the High School Public Library was delayed nearly a year. It was closed to the public on June 4, 1899, and on the 9th of that month by a unanimous vote of the Board of Education of District Number 1, and a consideration of one dollar, it, also, passed to the new organization.

The Board of Education had reserved several thousand volumes which were distributed for use in the grammar schools of the district, leaving upward of 35,000 volumes to go into the Public Library; a number somewhat greater than had been transferred by the City Library. The additions subsequent to the consolidation had, by the close of 1900, brought the total number of books to approximately 80,000. The only change in Directors or officers of the new Public Library since its organization was that occasioned by Mayor Johnson succeeding Mayor McMurray in the spring of 1899; the retiring Directors having been re-elected, and the Librarian and Assistant continued in their positions. The current tax levy is one-half mill, which produces an income sufficient to provide against any interruption of the Library's carefully nurtured growth.

This most desirable union of the two libraries was largely due to the active instrumentality of General Roger W. Woodbury. He drew the bill which became the present library law of the State and under which the Library was organized and is maintained, arranged the details of the consolidation, and was the guide and counsellor in consummating the union.

Beside our Public Library there are two other excellent libraries available for reference in Denver. These are the State Library, and the Supreme Court Law Library; founded in 1861, and occupying spacious apartments in the Capitol. The former now contains about 16,000 bound volumes and about 15,000 pamphlets; the latter about 13,000 bound volumes, chiefly consisting of legal works, the statutes of this and other States, and the laws and Court decisions of many foreign countries. There are, also, two or three Law Libraries of a semi-private character.

Our Public Library does not possess a home of its own; it is a tenant in the building it occupies at Fifteenth street and Court Place. That edifice, though a new one built especially for its accommodation, is inadequate for the purpose and wholly unfit to be the home of the only public library in the city. It is anticipated that before many years shall have elapsed a library building, commensurate with the size and wealth and dignity of the city will have been provided for this great educational institution.

The State Historical and Natural History Society had its origin in a meeting of a few public-spirited men held in the office of Joseph C. Shattuck, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, on February 10, 1879. Dr. F. J. Bancroft and Aaron Gove were respectively President and Secretary of the meeting. The Legislature had, in January of that year made some provision for assisting such a society, making it practically a State institution, and had appropriated five hundred dollars toward its maintenance; which was certainly not a very extravagant financial beginning. In consequence of the meeting to which we have referred, the Society was incorporated July 11, 1879; and on July 31, 1879, those interested in it met and organized by electing Dr. Bancroft, President; J. A. Sewell and Richard Sopris, Vice Presidents; W. B. Vickers, Recording and Corresponding Secretary; W. D. Todd, Treasurer; and Dr. H. K. Steele, Aaron Gove, and W. E. Pabor, Curators.

Lack of funds prevented the Society making much progress for several years, and also denied it suitable quarters for its home. However, it immediately began gathering historical data, manuscripts, books, pictures, and objects of historical interest, and when the Mercantile Library was about to open in the Chamber of Commerce building in the autumn of 1886, the Society's growing and valuable collection was, as we have stated, installed in the upper story of that building. In 1895 when the interior finishing of the State Capitol was far advanced, several fine rooms on the lower floor were set apart for the Society's use, and which it now occupies. Its exhibits are of great value and interest and in its archives are many documents, manuscripts, records, and the like, of priceless historical value, for access to which the editor of this work is greatly indebted for many facts stated in this volume and not hitherto published. The Society's collection of objects recovered from the ruined Cliff Dwellings in the southwest is probably the most varied and complete in existence. The rooms are opened free to all, and the annual aggregate of visitors there numbers many thousands.

The present officers are William N. Byers, President; Edward B. Morgan, Nathan A. Baker, and George L. Cannon, Jr., Vice Presidents; Charles R. Dudley, Secretary; William D. Todd, Treasurer, and William C. Ferril, Curator. Notwithstanding that the Society has always been hampered by inadequate funds, it has made remarkable progress, and is rendering a great public service. In recent years a more general interest has been taken in it by the people and it has received many valuable contributions to add to its store. Yet, there must be a vast quantity of manuscripts, letters, documents and other things of historical value and interest in Colorado which have not yet found their way to the Society, but which can not be made to do so any too soon. All its accumulations, and all gifts it receives, immediately become the property of the State of Colorado.

Another, and closely related institution, historical in its general character, and owned and maintained by the State, is the museum of war and kindred relics occupying commodious quarters in the Capitol near those of the Historical Society. The nucleus of the collection was made by Cecil A. Deane in 1885 and included objects brought from many of the great battle-fields of the civil war. In 1895 it was transferred to the State with the provision that it and its additions should be kept in the Capitol and accessible to visitors at reasonable hours. In accepting the trust the State made Mr. Deane the custodian and he still most capably fills that position. A large number of additions to the collection have since been made, and its growth is, as it has been, continuous. In 1879 the United States government made a very important contribution and has since added others; and the war with Spain has been followed by the appearance of many objects associated with that conflict. Aside from the strictly military part of the exhibit are a large number of objects and mementoes of great interest, including many belonging to the pioneer era in the west. Altogether, and for variety and historic importance, it is a collection not surpassed in kind by that of any State in the Union.

The collections of the Historical Society and those in the war relics museum are not all that the State keeps in the Capitol to interest and instruct the visitor to that magnificent building. The mineralogical exhibit occupying three large apartments connected with the Bureau of Mines, is probably as fine and complete as any in the world. It is well arranged and presents an almost endless variety of mineral formations, including many of exquisite beauty, and many others of great intrinsic value.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

Our Charitable and Benevolent Institutions—First Hospital—Early Public Charities—Present Hospitals—"Oakes Home"—Jewish Hospital for Consumptives—Provisions for Helpless Children—Other Helpful Institutions—Secret and Other Fraternal Orders and Societies—First Masonic Organization—Peak Lodge, I. O. O. F.—Outline of Local History of Grand Army of the Republic—History of the Society of Colorado Pioneers.

The history of the charitable and benevolent institutions of Denver begins about a year after the founding of the Cherry creek towns. We elsewhere tell of the organization in January, 1860, of the Ladies Union Aid Society that had been suggested in the summer and autumn of 1859. That was the first movement of the people toward providing assistance for the unfortunate.

In that same autumn Dr. Drake McDowell, who was the son of a noted physician in St. Louis, and who had come to Denver in the spring of that year, undertook to establish a hospital in Denver City. The Directors of the Denver Town Company, who were ready and willing to assist almost anything and everything with a donation of town lots, did not overlook Dr. McDowell's enterprise. At their meeting held on December 26, 1859, they resolved on motion of R. E. Whitsitt, that—

> "A committee of three be appointed, Consisting of Messrs. Steck, Williams, and the Pres. to wait on Doctor McDowell in relation to City Hospital."

The negotiations appear to have progressed favorably for, on January 23, 1860—

> "A committee was appointed to draw up articles of agreement between the Denver City Town Company and Doctor McDowell and submit the Same to the board at their next regular meeting for approval or rejection."

There is no record of the form of the agreement, but it was approved, and Dr. McDowell organized his City Hospital early in the spring of 1860, with Major R. R. Bradford as President; Rev. J. H. Kehler, Vice President; Amos Steck, Secretary; Judge G. W. Purkins, Treasurer; and himself physician in charge. The hospital was established in a small building on the north side of Larimer street between Nineteenth and Twentieth streets. On August 18, 1860, the Denver Town Company's Directors ordered the transfer of lots seven to sixteen, inclusive, in Block 108, to Dr. McDowell on account of his hospital; and with that, entries with relation to this hospital cease in their record.

Dr. McDowell was a young man of unusual energy, and while he was establishing his hospital was also instrumental in bringing the pioneer physicians of Denver and other towns in "Jefferson Territory" into an organization. On June 9, 1860, the "Jefferson Medical Association" was formed, the first in Denver and in what is now Colorado; Dr. McDowell having been chosen its President.

In the summer of 1860 Doctor O. D. Cass and Doctor J. T. Hamilton opened a hospital in a small building on Sixteenth street below Blake street, which they conducted about a year, when its career was ended by Dr. Hamilton's appointment as Surgeon of the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteers. On Nov. 21, 1860, Dr. Hamilton had been appointed by the Legislative Council of the city's then new "Provisional Government," City Physician, "to serve without salary;" and it is of record that he did so serve capably and faithfully for several months and until the war-time of 1861.

In the first year or two of the city's history there were not a great many destitute persons here worthy of aid and attention; but deserving ones in indigence or affliction were cared for by public subscriptions. On November 21, 1860, Lewis N. Tappan offered in the city's Legislative Council a resolution, which was adopted, recommending a course of lyceum lectures to raise funds for charitable purposes; but we did not find record of such a course of lectures having been held. On December 4, 1860, the Legislative Council of the city's "Provisional Government" appointed William N. Byers, Richard Sopris, and William Bell overseers of the poor, and provided a small fund to be expended by them. At that time the "county government" was in such a confused and inefficient condition in consequence of the chaotic political situation that all that was done in public charity had to be done by the city.

Father Machebeuf had no sooner finished his church on Stout street than he began thinking about a hospital and a school. In our historical account of the Denver schools we have quoted in

View in Denver, from Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets looking northward, in 1865.

full the resolution of the Denver Town Company's Directors on March 11, 1861, in compliance with "the petition of Rev. Mr. Machebeuf asking for a Donation for Hospital and also for a Seminary." That donation, as the reader will have seen, was of "one Block and one half Block," to have been selected "West of K [Twentieth] street and north of Welton." That action was taken at the last meeting of the Town Company's Directors of which their old record contains an account, and we have been unable to ascertain the location of the ground thus donated to Father Machebeuf for hospital and seminary purposes. The donation was made about a year after the Court House square and the Stout street property had been given to Bishop Miege, of Leavenworth.

However, Father Machebeuf made a beginning on his hospital building. Its location was near by that of the Omaha & Grant Smelter, and it appears he intended calling the hospital St. Vincent's. He had the foundations put in for a building, and then, for some reasons not now recalled by those who once may have known them, work on the structure ceased, and was never renewed. The foundations may still be seen out there, about as they were when construction was abandoned.

During the greater part of the war-period a military hospital was maintained at Camp Weld, and during the later years of its existence Dr. W. F. McClelland had charge of it.

Throughout the decade, 1860-70, public provisions for caring for the indigent sick were not upon a very broad basis, and there was no such institution as a county hospital, proper. Patients, including sick prisoners for whom the old jail was no fit place, were scattered in different parts of the city and often assigned to the care of special physicians; though Doctors W. F. McClelland and J. M. Clark did much of the public practice in those years. In 1870 Dr. John Elsner was appointed County Physician, and he instituted the movement that resulted in the construction in 1873 of the first of the buildings now constituting the County Hospital on Sixth Avenue between Evans and South Fourteenth streets, and of which we have elsewhere given some account. Prior to that time various buildings in "West Denver" had been used for county hospital purposes, and it was chiefly due to Dr. Elsner's efforts that a permanent and suitable public establishment for county patients was founded.

In that decade, also, and outside the church associations, there were but few provisions made for charity and benevolence; and none like either of the many organizations for such purposes we now have. The necessity for them was by no means even relatively so great, because, in a general way, the population was not of a kind to have very many worthy persons in need of assistance. It was, in the main, a population of young men and women, energetic, self-dependent, fairly thrifty, and very shifty if need be. While it was not entirely without those calling for a helping hand, the number was far less than the average for towns of nearly five thousand people.

Among the present charitable and benevolent institutions in the city the "Ladies' Relief Society" is a pioneer. Its origin is traced to some Christmas entertainments provided for poor people in 1872 by Mrs. B. T. Vincent, wife of the then pastor of what is now the Trinity Methodist Episcopal congregation, and her bible class. Acting upon an idea suggested by these entertainments, Miss Anna E. Figg, assisted by several other young ladies, among whom were Misses Jennie E. Downing, Laura Smith, Lou Robbins, Josephine Shackelton, Mary Henry and Lizzie A. Miller, organized in November, 1873, the "Young Ladies' Relief Society," for the purpose of establishing a home for the homeless and destitute, and also to give temporary relief in instances of sickness, accident, misfortune or death. The society existed without the formality of an incorporated organization nearly a year, when the expediency of including older women in its membership, of somewhat changing its purposes, and of incorporating it became apparent. Therefore on October 28, 1874, "The Ladies Relief Society of Denver"—the organization's present name—was incorporated by Miss Anna E. Figg, Mrs. Fannie Charles, Mrs. Harriet L. Elkins, Miss Alice M. Nichol, Mrs. Caroline O. Robinson, Miss Jennie E. Downing, Mrs. Sarah J. Vosburgh, Miss Lizzie A. Miller, Miss Lutie L. Lemon, Miss Emily P. Belden, Mrs. Ruth Hurd and Mrs. Ione Theresa Hanna. The Society's purposes were declared as follows:

Ladies Relief Society's old building at Logan and Eighth Avenues.

> The purposes of said corporation are and shall be: To establish and maintain a home for the destitute and homeless aged and infirm women (and for the care and cure of the sick, so far as practicable), to give temporary relief, provide suitable employment and to encourage and promote industry, thrift, and good morals among such classes of persons as shall come under our charge, care or influence.

The certificate provided for perpetual duration of the Society, and named Mrs. Charles, Mrs. Vosburgh, and Mrs. Belden as three Trustees to serve until the first election of Trustees and officers on the first Wednesday in November, 1874. Upon that day Miss Anna E. Figg, who served five years in the position, was elected President; Miss Lizzie A. Miller, Vice President; Miss Mary Henry, Secretary; and Miss Jennie E. Downing, Treasurer. In addition to this organization there was an Advisory Board consisting of Mrs. John Evans, W. J. Barker, D. D. Belden, J. Q. Charles, Henry Crow, John R. Hanna, C. B. Kountze, W. H. J. Nichols and R. E. Whitsitt.

In the spring of 1874 Whitsitt had donated the original society several lots at the southwest corner of Eighth and Logan Avenues, then far out of town and then a rather forlorn and barren location. Funds were provided for erecting a building, and on December 6, 1875, its corner stone was laid there by the Masonic fraternity. The building was finished early in 1876, and at once won the unenviable fame of being the ugliest new structure in the city. It was used for sheltering children, as well as women irrespective of age, and was maintained until May, 1897, when the property was sold for $15,000 to a citizen residing near by and who then had the building removed to relieve the neighborhood of its unsightliness.

The old Home, though much good was done in it, had not, under the varied uses to which it had been put, realized the anticipations of the Society. Therefore at the time the property was sold it was concluded that better ends would be served by separating the aged or infirm women who would probably become more permanent residents of a Home, from the younger women and the children. So, the children were removed to the Orphans' Home, and the Society continued to provide for the aged women. A site for an "Old Ladies' Home" was acquired on the north side of West Thirty-eighth Avenue, between Quitman and Raleigh streets, in "North Denver," and plans made for a large modern building. The central, or main, part of the structure was completed in 1898; the east wing in 1899; and the west in 1900; the whole being well furnished and equipped. At the close of 1900 the Home sheltered about forty aged women, otherwise alone in the world, and whose closing years are made comfortable and peaceful by the united efforts of noble women. The present Home is not a charitable institution in the common understanding of that term. For admission, one of its rules prescribes as follows:

Any woman of good character sixty-five years of age or over, who has been a resident of Arapahoe county not less than five years, and who is not a confirmed invalid and has a certificate from the Home physician to that effect, may enter the Home as a life inmate or boarder by paying the sum required by the following schedule:

From 65 to 75 years of age...........	$600.00
From 75 to 80 years of age............	400.00
From 80 years of age onward..........	300.00

The foregoing applying only to those who become life inmates, others, who may sojourn more or less temporarily, are charged at the rate of twelve dollars for each month of their stay.

This Society was the pioneer organization of its general character in Denver, and in the earlier years of its existence its work was not confined to maintenance of the old Home. In 1875 depots for receiving food and clothing for the poor in the city were established at the homes of various members and distributed therefrom. In 1883 this work was centralized at a room fitted up in the Court House and in charge of a paid attendant for greater facility. In 1884 the "Industrial Home for Working Girls" was opened under the Society's auspices; and a day nursery and free kindergarten was also conducted. In 1885 it assumed the work of the Home of the Friendless, and also established a wood-yard where food and shelter were exchanged for work done by needy boys and men; and in 1888 opened a free dispensary. In 1890 this "outside work" was transferred to the Charity Organization, the growth of the city and the increasing needs having made that change necessary. Since then the Ladies' Relief Society has confined its attention to the institution for the maintenance of which it was more especially incorporated in 1874. In later years the number of its Trustees and executive officers was increased to a total of thirteen, and at the close of our record Mrs. Thomas Macon was President of the organization.

In our historical sketch of Arapahoe county we have given some account of the County Hospital. With other hospitals the city is well provided, by means with which the public treasury has naught to do—several noble institutions. Of these, St. Joseph's Hospital, the pioneer among the present ones of its kind, had its origin in the zeal and benevolence of Bishop Machebeuf. In 1873 at his request a few Sisters of Charity came to Denver from Leavenworth, Kansas, to care for the sick. They quietly and unobtrusively began their work in a small dwelling, still standing at number 1421 Arapahoe street, that was given them by Mrs. William Perry, later Mrs. George W. Purkins, both of which names are those of pioneer lawyers. Within a few months the Sisters removed to larger quarters at Market and Twenty-sixth streets where they remained until 1878. In that year a three-story brick building, forty by ninety feet in dimensions, costing $40,000, was erected on ground purchased at Eighteenth Avenue and Humboldt street, and the Sisters then took possession of their new home where they have remained ever since. The original building had accommodations for about ninety sick, and served for a dozen years, at the end of which time the demands made upon it necessitated the erection of a large additional building. This is sixty by one hundred feet, four stories high, and was completed in 1890 at a cost of $60,000, making the total cost of the hospital buildings as they now stand, $100,000. Construction was done in high-priced times and was a burdensome undertaking for those who faced and overcame the task. The hospital has a beautiful location and its immediate surroundings have been made exceedingly pleasant by improvements on the ground. It usually has upward of one hundred patients, part paying and part free. It is open to all races and creeds; and to the prosperous and the pauper. There are no distinctions between rich

Ladies' Relief Home, West Thirty-eighth Avenue—Ladies Relief Society.

St. Joseph's Hospital.

and poor, or between this religion and that, or because of no religion. All receive the same attention. As has been truly said of them, "beyond their bare wants the Sisters in charge have not profited, except before God, in all these years."

St. Luke's Hospital is one of the noted institutions of its kind in this country, and its fame, especially for successful surgical operations of a difficult and delicate character, has gone far abroad. It is an Episcopalian institution and was founded in 1881. For several years it occupied a large frame building in "North Denver" that stood on the highest elevation in that section of the city. With the city's rapid growth came increasing demands upon the hospital that made a new and larger building in a more convenient location imperative. In 1890 the greater part of the block on the west side of Pearl street, between Nineteenth and Twentieth Avenues was acquired, and upon it were erected two large and handsome buildings completely equipped with everything experience has found essential to and that abundant means could provide for a model hospital. The buildings are of pressed brick and Colorado red sandstone, stand in one of the most pleasant parts of the city, and were completed and occupied in 1891. St. Luke's is under the immediate control and direction of a Board of Managers consisting of twenty-four members, and of which the Bishop of this Diocese is President. Its auxiliary, the Ladies' Hospital Aid Society, does much charitable work in connection with the institution and also has in charge many of its internal affairs. The total cost of the property was $100,000; and the hospital accommodates seventy-five patients.

The Homeopathic Hospital at Park Avenue and Humboldt street is a recent addition to the city's homes for invalids. In 1894 the homeopathic physicians of Denver formed an organization known as the Denver Homeopathic Medical College and Hospital Association, to establish and maintain a medical college for instruction in that school of medicine, and a hospital for patients who believe in the methods of treatment laid down by that school. The hospital was first located at 2348 Champa street. In 1898 the present building at Humboldt street and Park Avenue, which is also used for college purposes, was erected, and made ready for use by the close of that year. While not a large establishment, it is an attractive one.

The Steele Memorial Hospital, at Evans street and Seventh Avenues, is a city institution founded in December, 1892, through the instrumentality of the late Dr. H. K. Steele, then city Health Commissioner. Prior to that time the only place available for the treatment of contagious diseases was the Sand Creek Quarantine, or "pest house," as it is commonly called, seven miles northeast of the City Hall, and three beyond the city limits. In 1885 two small buildings were erected there near Sand creek, for the care of small-pox cases. Later it became the practice to send cases of scarlet fever, diphtheria, and measles there for treatment at times when there were no small-pox cases, as the city had no other hospital. In 1892 Dr. Steele undertook to remedy this objectionable state of affairs, and later in that year provided from his personal means sufficient money to purchase four small cottages at the present location of the hospital. These were remodelled, and during Christmas week, 1892, the hospital was opened for the reception of cases of diphtheria, measles, and scarlet fever. Before that time, however, Dr. Steele had been stricken by an illness that terminated fatally on January 20, 1893, and he had no opportunity to see the result of his labors for this special hospital. In recognition of

St. Luke's Hospital.

Dr. Steele's great services to the community, the City Council by resolution soon afterward gave it the name it bears. Since its opening the hospital has done a constant and increasing good work for the children of the poor, for whom it was designed, and has been of special usefulness in limiting the spread of contagion among inmates of the various charitable institutions for the care of children. Since 1892 two other small buildings have been added to the original four, on ground donated by Mrs. H. K. Steele, and the institution now comprises a half-dozen small, detached cottage structures with a maximum capacity, under crowding, of between fifty and sixty. The hospital is maintained by the city under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Health, at recent annual expenses approximating $8,000.

The great Hospital of St. Anthony in the western part of the city, is the largest institution of its kind in Colorado. It is finely located on West Sixteenth Avenue between Quitman and Raleigh streets, near Sloan Lake. In addition to the entire block upon which the large building stands, two other and adjoining blocks belong to the property; the one immediately in front of the hospital being laid out and improved as a park for the comfort of patients. St. Anthony Hospital, conducted by the Sisters of St. Francis, was founded in 1891, when the erection of the great building was begun, and which was completed and occupied in May, 1892. It has accommodations for 250 patients, and possesses every provision for their successful treatment and their comfort. The building, beside being of modern design and construction, is complete in all its appointments, having cost $175,000. An addition to it is now in progress, and for this and other structures on the ground, the total outlay for improvements will have approximated $225,000. Than this no finer hospital exists in our western country; and it is open to all, regardless of creed, or of condition in life.

St. Anthony's Hospital.

"The Home" or, as it is more familiarly known, "the Oakes Home," on West Thirty-second Avenue between Decatur and Elliott streets, is not a benevolent institution in the common acceptance of that term. It is simply a finely appointed and completely equipped Church Home for invalids ill of consumption, and only for those who have a chance for life; a home where light, airy, cheerful rooms, abundance of sunshine, good food, and general comforts in pleasant surroundings may be had at a cost within the limited means of many, and still not be a charity; to give such men and women the refinements, comforts and conveniences of a home at no more than the bare daily cost of providing them. The institution does not undertake to meet the needs of all classes of people, the majority of its guests being of the moderately well-to-do, but to whom economy is essential when impaired health has caused reduced income.

The Home was the conception of Rev. Frederick W. Oakes some years ago, and his thought of it grew out of his own experience in earlier years during which he had strong personal reasons for realizing the great benefits that would arise from such an institution properly conducted, and on a basis leaving self-respect untouched. It was not until a little more than five years ago that he saw the consummation of his long-cherished plans.

The Home comprises four handsome, modern buildings; the Emily House for women, and the Grace House for mothers and sons or husbands and wives, were opened September 9, 1895; the St. Andrews House for men, opened January 1, 1896; and the Heartsease for the very sick and who require constant attention and nursing, opened in October, 1897. The buildings occupy an entire city block, and are connected by covered, glass-inclosed porches called "the cloisters." The property represents an outlay exceeding $100,000, much the larger part of which was expended in the low-price times immediately following the panic. The institution is not self-supporting. The expenditures directly for its maintenance in the last year were about $42,000, of which about three-fourths were received from guests; the remainder having been of gifts from those interested in its welfare. The Home is under the direct ownership and management of the Episcopal church of the Diocese of Colorado, but it was brought into existence by the united offerings of Christian men and women of various creeds; mostly, however, by Episcopalian people and Presbyterians. It makes no distinctions because of creed, but seeks only to draw lines at unworthiness of character. The property is held in trust by Rt. Rev. John F. Spalding, Rev. Frederick W. Oakes, Samuel A. Fisk, M. D., and David H. Moffat. The Board of Advisers consists of Mr. Oakes, Mr. Moffat, Dr. Fisk and Dr. S. G. Bonney; Mr. Oakes also being Superintendent and having direct personal charge of the institution.

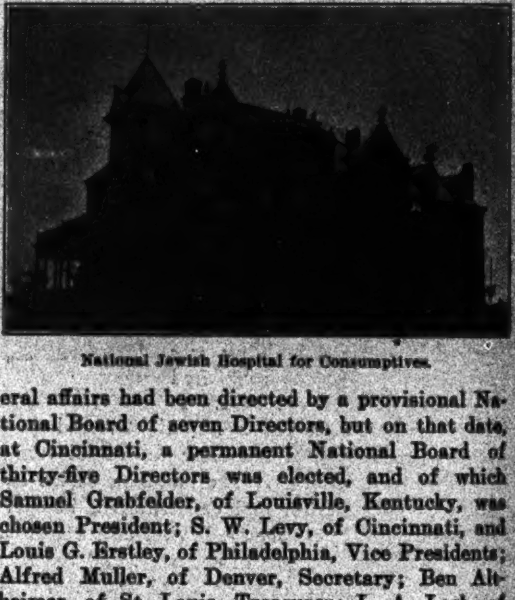
With the exception of one room provided with the income from $4,000, the Home has no endowments; therefore no charity cases may now be received. Still, the Home has not denied quiet assistance to many worthy persons in need. It is anticipated that in the near future a sanitarium will be provided in connection with which opportunities will be afforded consumptive men and women without means, to earn their living while receiving the benefits of a sojourn here under the care of the Home. It is also anticipated that the Home will have a building for the reception of incurable consumptive invalids and in which they will find comfort and have intelligent care while life lingers with them.

The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, the last addition to Denver's charitable institutions, was opened December 10, 1899. It was founded in 1890, and was the conception of the Jewish people of Denver. A large site for it was secured on the south side of East Colfax Avenue, between Jackson and Garfield streets, opposite the City Park, and in that year the erection of the building was undertaken. Among the nobly charitable women in Denver at that time was Mrs. Frances Jacobs, the wife of one of the city's pioneer merchants, and who died November 13, 1892. Her friends, desiring to make this hospital a memorial to her, contributed $8,000 to its funds; and it is because of this that the institution is commonly known as the Frances Jacobs Hospital. The building was completed in 1890-91, but owing to lack of funds could not be furnished, opened and maintained at that time. The panic period that soon followed, and its consequences that prevailed for several years, further prevented the fulfillment of the benevolent designs until 1899. At the beginning of that year a committee from Bnai Brith, of which Alfred Muller was Chairman, took up the work and successfully carried it to completion. The property, including furnishing and equipping the hospital, cost $51,000.

This institution stands unique—the first and only one of its kind in the world. It is for consumptives, only, and absolutely a charity. No paying patients are received; only those whose resources are exhausted, who are friendless and destitute, may enter and receive its ministrations. It is non-sectarian, and a patient may come from any part of the United States, receive the best medical attention, and have a home provided with every comfort, for a period limited to six months; the only condition being that some responsible person or persons shall guarantee that such patient shall not become a charge upon the Denver community after leaving the hospital.

The hospital as completed in 1899 had accommodations for sixty-five patients. At the close of our record provisions had been made for erecting, at a cost of $35,000, an addition that would increase its capacity to 135. The cost of maintaining the hospital has been at the rate of $22,000 a year, and it is anticipated that after the enlargement of the building shall have been made the annual maintenance expense will approximate $35,000. Funds for meeting these expenses are obtained exclusively from Jewish people; the lesser part by a tax on members of Bnai Brith, and the greater by contributions.

The management of the hospital is also exclusively Jewish. Until November 11, 1900, its general affairs had been directed by a provisional National Board of seven Directors, but on that date, at Cincinnati, a permanent National Board of thirty-five Directors was elected, and of which Samuel Grabfelder, of Louisville, Kentucky, was chosen President; S. W. Levy, of Cincinnati, and Louis G. Erstley, of Philadelphia, Vice Presidents; Alfred Muller, of Denver, Secretary; Ben Altheimer, of St. Louis, Treasurer; L. A. Loeb, of Chicago, P. Humberger, of Pittsburg, and Ignatius Rice, of New York, with the several officers, constituting the Executive Committee. The management of the hospital's local and internal affairs is entrusted to a Board of eleven Managers, consisting of Alfred Muller, Chairman; L. Anfenger, Vice Chairman; E. Monash, David May, L. H. Guldman, Henry Frankel, Lesser Levy, Meyer Friedman, Mrs. E. Pisko, Mrs. M. S. Appel, and Mrs. A. W. Weil. The hospital has a large medical staff consisting of city physicians of experience and first rate ability, and of which Dr. John Elsner is Chairman; there is also a Medical Advisory Board consisting of Dr. Elsner, Dr. Robert Levy and Dr. S. Simon. The physicians donate


National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives.

their services, and the members of the Board of Managers do likewise; so, there is no expense for medical attention nor for administration.

After various Colorado railroads were organized as the Union Pacific, Denver & Gulf system in 1890, the "Union Pacific hospital" for sick or injured employees of that and the Kansas Pacific road, was built near the Union Pacific shops in the northern part of the city. It was a large, fine building of stone and was maintained by a monthly tax upon all employees of the two roads. It was closed in 1898, and in 1899 all but its walls was destroyed by fire.

Each of the Denver hospitals renders much wholly charitable service both in receiving and treating the indigent sick and in dispensing medicines to many who do not become inmates.

For the helpless, the infirm and the unfortunate, though not invalids, there would seem to be provision for giving temporary or permanent aid to every deserving person. The city is not without victims of poverty and misfortune, though it may be fairly said that she has a smaller number strictly of her own than most cities of equal size; and for any one to actually suffer there is no unavoidable reason. Common begging is seldom practiced, and when it is it is usually by the undeserving or by the wayfarer who passes on tomorrow. There is wretchedness and misery in the city, but so much of it is directly associated with wantonness and other vice.

For helpless children especially generous provisions exist. One of the older, and the most important of the institutions for the care of such children, is the Mount St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum on Homer Boulevard between West Forty-second and West Forty-third Avenues in "North Denver." It, also, had its origin in the zeal of Bishop Machebeuf. In 1880 he determined to establish here an orphan's home. Several Sisters of Charity came from Leavenworth and he and they began the work. The Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company gave them several lots upon which they succeeded in building the fine brick and stone Asylum which was opened on September 1, 1882, and has been the only home of many children from that day to this; the number cared for in recent times beneath its sheltering roof having averaged near two hundred. The present House of the Good Shepherd, now located on South Evans street between Cedar and Byers streets, was also founded by the old Bishop, and developed under his care. In 1883 he called five Sisters of the Good Shepherd from St. Louis and under their charge, which still continues, this institution for girls was opened September 18, 1883, in small rented quarters which it soon outgrew. In 1885-86 fifty Indian girls from Dakota became inmates and were trained in the ways of civilization.

Other institutions for children, and young girls, are the Denver Orphans' Home at the northeast corner of Race street and Sixteenth Avenue—a noble charity; the St. Clara's Orphan Asylum at 952 Tenth street, the Sisters of St. Francis in charge; the Home League Home for Children at 403 Downing Avenue; the Belle Lennox Nursery at 1018 South Fifteenth street, a home for young children; the Haven at 1146 Broadway, an industrial training school for young girls; the State Home and Industrial School for Girls; and the State Home for Dependent and Neglected Children.

In addition to those already mentioned, there are various other charitable and benevolent institutions and organizations such as the Florence Crittenton Home at 4901 West Colfax Avenue; the Colorado Cottage Home at 635 Pearl street; the Mothers' and Children's Home at 1009 Thirty-second street; the Working Boys' Home at 1129 South Fifteenth street; the Young Women's Friendly Club at 808 Thirteenth street; the Ladies' Aid Society; the Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society; the Tabernacle Dispensary; The Denver Flower Mission; the Children's Home Society; the Women's Christian Temperance Union Mission; and the Colorado Humane Society.

A few years ago a number of the charitable and benevolent associations were in one sense merged into the Charity Organization Society; though without surrendering their identity or ceasing active work as individual organizations. Those now forming the Society, which maintains a separate office of its own in the county Court House, are the following-named organizations, and those having in charge the following-named institutions:

Children's Home Society, Colorado Humane Society, Denver Flower Mission, Denver Orphans' Home, Florence Crittenton Home, Hebrew Ladies' Benevolent Society, Home for Mothers and Children, House of the Good Shepherd, Ladies' Relief Society, North Side Charity Organization, St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, Tabernacle Free Dispensary, Women's Christian Temperance Union Mission, and the Working Boys' Home.

A large number of Denver's charitable people are identified with the Charity Organization Society, the work of which may be described as that of a council of supervision over its various individual institutions and associations; and especially that with relation to apportioning financial aid among them from the funds received by the general treasury. In 1900 funds aggregating upward of $23,000 were thus apportioned, including the sum used directly by the Society at its central office; and through these various agencies 3,700 persons were more or less assisted.

In the summer of 1900 the Haven, the Lennox Nursery, and the Young Women's Friendly Club, with the City Temple Institutional church were incorporated under the laws of the State as the "City Temple Institutional Society," "for the prosecution of religious, educational and benevolent purposes." These four institutions are maintained under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal church, but in practice are non-sectarian.

Ordinarily we do not realize the extent, variety, and immeasurable usefulness of the charitable and benevolent institutions and organizations in Denver. Their work goes on day after day, quietly and without ostentation; yet they require the unceasing attention and devotion of many people, and call for the expenditure of vast sums of money. It is only when they are considered as constituting one great unity that we appreciate its magnitude and comprehend its far-reaching influences for the good of our fellow-beings upon whom misfortune has laid its hand.

Masonic Temple, Sixteenth and Welton streets.

Secret orders and societies, and fraternal benevolent associations, flourish in Denver to an extent certainly not surpassed, if it be equalled, by that existing in any other city of the same size in the country. They literally abound, and the city directory must devote several of its pages to a mere enumeration of them. The reasons for this are not difficult to see. So many men, and in a large proportion young men, constituted the successive increases of male population by immigration, that membership in some mutually helpful organization was desirable, if not essential, to most of them. Such a relation to thousands of isolated men seeking to establish themselves in a new, distant and hurrying community, was and is important as a means of forming acquaintances and friendships, of giving or receiving needed aid and comfort in misfortune and distress, and in extending a helping hand in many other ways growing out of circumstances that attend the varied phases of human effort in modern life.

It would be out of place in this volume for any attempt at a detailed account of the rise and growth of all these orders and societies to be presented. It is another subject which could only receive full treatment in a volume devoted entirely to it; and such a volume would properly be of no mean proportions.

The Masonic order was the first to organize an identity of this kind in Denver. As we have elsewhere stated, a relatively large number of the pioneers of Denver and Colorado were of that order, and the bonds of union between them were unusually strong and influential. The strength, potency and results of those influences among the men who resolved to suppress lawlessness and to maintain order in our pioneer communities, and who established forms of government of their own devising, would afford material for a most interesting chapter of pioneer history if the story in its entirety might be told.

Early in that first winter here, 1858-59, the Masons in the little hamlets frequently held informal meetings in cabins of the brethren; more frequently, perhaps, in those of Sagendorf and Lehow, Dr. L. J. Russell, Henry Allen, and E. A. Willoughby, than any others. Through the efforts of H. P. A. Smith authority to organize a lodge under the dispensation of the Grand Lodge of Kansas Territory was obtained early in 1859, and on April 21st of that year an organization was effected at the cabin of Sagendorf and Lehow. The following notice, which was the first public Masonic notice published in the Rocky Mountain country, appeared in the first issue of the Rocky Mountain News two days later:

"MASONIC."

"The Arapahoe Lodge of F. & A. Masons meets every Saturday night at their lodge on Cherry street, Auraria, K. T.

H. P. A. Smith, Sec'y. H. Allen, W. M.

N. B.—Visiting brethren are respectfully invited to attend."

The "lodge on Cherry street" was the cabin of Sagendorf and Lehow, where the organization was maintained several months. In the autumn of 1859 the lodge secured a charter by which, on September 24th, it became independent of Kansas jurisdiction and formed the nucleus of the present great organization in Colorado. The stride from the beginning in that humble log cabin to the magnificent Masonic Temple erected in 1889, would seem to sufficiently indicate, without amplifying words, the progress of this great order through the intervening thirty years; and it is, of course, still stronger now, with the accretions of another decade. There are at present, including the Grand Lodge A. F. & A. M. of Colorado, the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Colorado, and the Grand Commandery Knights Templar of Colorado, a total of twenty-seven Masonic organizations in Denver, aside from the four of Colored Masons.

There were among the early comers many members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, a society that has a strong hold upon the affections and good-will of the people, and that has found a broad field for its usefulness here in the west. Its beginning in Denver was by the institution, on Monday, December 24, 1860, of "Peak Lodge," which became extinct about three years later and was succeeded by "Union Lodge No. 1." The new lodge was organized by authority of the Sovereign Grand Lodge, with five charter members; the dispensation bearing date July 6, 1864. From that beginning the order has expanded to its present commanding proportions and influence. The Grand Encampment for Colorado came into existence at Pueblo on March 13, 1873. Here in Denver this order annually disburses for relief and benefits an amount that would make for an individual a comfortable fortune, and in comparison with which the transactions of some quasi-public institutions of a benevolent character shrink to moderate dimensions. Including the Grand Lodge and the Grand Encampment of the State there are thirty-one organizations of Odd Fellows in the city, to which may be added six among the colored people.

Of other and more modern orders, nearly all of which are usually regarded as "secret societies," there are now in Denver 170 organizations. Of these, twenty-four are of the Knights of Pythias; fifteen of the Improved Order of Red Men; fourteen of the Woodmen of the World; thirteen of the Foresters of America; eleven of the Deutscher Orden der Harugari; nine of the Ancient Order of United Workmen; eight of the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America; seven of the Knights of the Golden Eagle; seven of the Knights of St. John; seven of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics; six of the Knights of the Maccabees; five of College Fraternities; five of the Orden der Hermann Soehne; five Catholic Mutual Benefit Associations; four of the Knights of Honor; three, each, of the United Moderns, the Royal Arcanum, the Knights and Ladies of Honor, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians; two, each, of the Guardians of the Home, the Sons of the Revolution, the Veteran Legion of the United States of America, the Modern Woodmen of America, and the Fraternal Union of America; one, each, of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, the National Union, the Bankers' Union of the World, the Improved Order of Heptasophs, the Chosen Friends, the Bnai Brith, the Sons of St. George, and the Independent Order of Foresters. Of other associations, outside of the several clubs, and classified as benevolent, scientific, technical, professional and so forth, there are forty-nine permanent organizations; and to all of these are added sixty trades unions and other associations of workingmen. Not included in this rather long list are two great organizations that stand very close to the hearts of the people of Denver and of Colorado—the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Society of Colorado Pioneers.

The Grand Army of the Republic is now represented in Denver by eight Post organizations, but for a rather long period after the civil war it was not very well represented here in organized form. In addition to the survivors of the Colorado civil war regiments a relatively large number of other men eligible to Grand Army membership located in Colorado within a few years after the close of hostilities, but for some reason they did not effectively get together.

In 1867 there came into existence here an informal association of about three hundred Union Veterans, of which Major Jacob Downing, Richard Sopris and Louis Dugal were the leading spirits, but it was not, properly speaking, a Grand Army organization; having been merely a local association for mutual assistance, co-operation, and protection of members' interests, and that was not long maintained.

In July, 1868, a small number of veterans, anticipating the creation here in the west of a Provisional Department of the Grand Army, organized on their own account a Post which they named "John A. Rawlins Post, G. A. R;" the name having been proposed by Philip Troustine, who had served under General Rawlins. Whatever of records Rawlins Post may have had were long since lost, and the brief account of it given here reflects the reminiscences of Louis Dugal, Philip Troustine and Jacob Downing.

On November 14, 1868, General John A. Logan, then Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, issued General Order No. 18, creating the Provisional Department of Colorado consisting of the Territories of Colorado and Wyoming, with headquarters at Denver; Dr. F. J. Bancroft having been appointed Commander, and Louis Dugal Assistant Adjutant General. John A. Rawlins Post became Post No. 1 of that Department, and appears to have been its only one; at all events the only one that existed in Colorado in that period. However, the Post did not long survive, nor did the Provisional Department do very much better. Men eligible to Post membership were rather widely scattered and formation of new Posts was thereby made difficult; and furthermore, sentiment was not crystallized as it became in later years. Within three or four years Rawlins Post was forced by circumstances to disband, as many of its members had gone elsewhere, some had died, and sufficient new membership to insure its maintenance did not appear available. This left the Provisional Department in only nominal

View in Denver, from light-tower near Eighteenth and Grant Avenues, looking northeast, in autumn of 1882.

existence and it so continued a couple of years longer.

In 1875 when a general re-organization of Grand Army affairs took place, a general order of the Commander-in-Chief issued in February of that year, created the "Mountain Department," embracing the Territories of Colorado, Utah, Wyoming and Montana, with headquarters at Fort Sanders, Wyoming, and in which six Posts were subsequently organized but none of them in Colorado. Myles W. Keogh Post No. 1 was located at Fort Keogh in Montana; the other five were at Forts Cameron and Douglas in Utah, and Forts Fetterman, Laramie, and Sanders in Wyoming. These Posts included few civilian members, having been in the main composed of soldiers in the regular army who were then stationed at these several forts. But as they were afterward sent to other stations, those who took their places did not sustain the Grand Army organizations, and all of these Posts soon disbanded, surrendered their charters and passed out of existence.

The failure to organize Posts in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado under this new dispensation here in the west had been largely due to dissatisfaction with the apparent domination of the regular army in what was going on, and also because an out-of-the-way military post of the United States had been made Department headquarters. The old Provisional Department had been, as we have mentioned, nominally continued, and Louis Dugal having become its Commander, an effort to put new life in it was afoot at the time the new Department was created. But an early order from Grand Army Commander-in-Chief Devens to immediately ship to the new headquarters, a lot of arms and other Post equipment that had been provided here, chiefly at expense of Denver veterans, added to the irritation and caused a further loss of local interest in Grand Army organization. Therefore there ensued a period of indifference that continued several years.

In 1879 Colorado and Wyoming became a new Department, and the work of rehabilitating the Grand Army here was earnestly begun; but it was a difficult task and the growth of the order was slow. Posts were organized at Laramie, Wyoming; and at Georgetown, Golden, and Denver—our A. Lincoln Post, present No. 4, being the pioneer among the existing Grand Army organizations in Denver; although when it was mustered in in October, 1879, it was Post No. 8 in the new Department. For two or three years the maintenance of these posts was quite difficult. There were enough eligible men to have made it otherwise, but those were the days of excitement over the developments at Leadville and in other silver districts, men were coming and going, running hither and thither, and could give little time or attention to Grand Army matters. Slowly but surely, however, the tide of immigration brought in men who became recruits, and one by one Posts were organized in the Department until, in 1883, seventeen were in existence; of which six were in Denver when the National Encampment of the Grand Army was held here in that year.

Holding the Encampment at Denver gave a great impetus to general interest in the Grand

Army, and before the close of 1883 thirty-two new Posts had been organized in the Department, making in all forty-nine. Thereafter the growth of the order was steady until, in 1893, the Department membership reached 3,068; and then, from natural causes, the tide began to slowly turn the other way.

There are now, as we have said, eight Posts in Denver: the pioneer A. Lincoln, No. 4, organized in 1879; the Reno, No. 39, organized in 1883; the Veteran, No. 42, in 1883; the Farragut, No. 46, in 1883; the George G. Meade, No. 47, in 1883; the M. M. Crocker, No. 81, 1890; the George Washington, No. 85, in 1891; and the J. H. Platt, No. 99, in 1896. The Denver membership has always constituted about one-third of the total in the Department, and at present is about 800. The highest total membership in Denver was 850 in 1897. Each of the Denver Posts, excepting the Lincoln and the Platt, has an auxiliary Relief Corps. In addition to these organizations there is the G. A. R. Memorial and Benevolent Association, and the allied Farragut Camp of the Sons of Veterans. Denver is, as it long has been, the headquarters of the Department of Colorado and Wyoming.

Two Grand Army Posts organized in Denver in comparatively recent years did not long exist. Harney Post, No. 50, was organized in the spring of 1884. Its name was later changed to Broadway Post which disbanded in 1885. Phil. Kearney Post, No. 19, was organized in 1882 and disbanded in 1889.

Recently a proposition was made to consolidate the Denver Posts into one large, resourceful, and compact organization. While some strong reasons for doing so were presented, the proposition as a whole was not received with favor sufficient to secure its adoption. However, the reasons for doing so are fast growing stronger and will probably soon prevail.

Early in 1899 the resident veterans of the Confederate armies organized in Denver Beauregard Camp, No. 1206, United Confederate Veterans, and it now has a membership of about 70. It is somewhat difficult to exactly define in words the sentiments of the people of Denver toward this organization, for they are the result of mingled sincere respect and regardful veneration, with much of the pathetic lying between. This confederate Camp participates with the Grand Army Posts and other city organizations in the observance and ceremonies of Memorial Day.

The Society of Colorado Pioneers is an organization in which great and general interest is manifested, and which inspires the highest public regard. The present organization is, in one sense the third of its kind undertaken; but its predecessors can hardly be said to have existed strong enough and long enough to really take rank with it. In the summer of 1859, before the town of Denver was a year old, Henry Allen, William N. Byers, Richard Sopris, Dr. L. J. Russell, J. H. Dudley, and several others associated as a pioneer society. It was a rather informal organization, yet it was a beginning. However, it did not endure; the thoughts and attention of its members becoming absorbed in the events of the immediately following years.

No attempt to revive it or to form a new association was made until the summer of 1866. On June 22nd in that year a meeting of Colorado pioneers was held in Denver to organize such a society, and so far as providing officers went, they did very well. Those who attended this meeting were Dr. Adams, Joseph L. Bailey, William N. Byers, William Graham, Andrew Hiveley, A. C. Hunt, H. R. Hunt, John S. Jones, S. M. Logan, A. McFadden, J. W. McIntire, W. H. Morgan, Dr. J. H. Morrison, D. C. Oakes, Charles C. Post, John J. Riethmann, A. G. Rhodes, John Robinson, Henry J. Rogers, J. Q. A. Rollins, Andrew Sagendorf, F. Z. Saloman, Nelson Sargent, George C. Schleier, William M. Slaughter, E. B. Sopris, Richard Sopris, L. N. Tappan and E. A. Willoughby.

Permanent officers were chosen as follows: D. C. Oakes, President; Richard Sopris, of Arapahoe county; C. L. Tourtelotte, of Boulder; John S. Jones, of Clear Creek; Lafayette Head, of Conejos; Captain Hendren, of Costillo; George A. Bute, of El Paso; William H. Green, of Fremont; William M. Slaughter, of Gilpin; James S. Gray, of Huerfano; W. A. H. Loveland, of Jefferson; Robert L. Berry, of Lake; Henry R. Chubbuck, of Larimer; H. A. W. Tabor, of Park; R. B. Willis, of Pueblo; W. P. Pollock of Summit; and M. B. Houghton, of Weld, Vice Presidents. Recording Secretary, H. R. Hunt; Corresponding Secretary, William N. Byers; Treasurer, Henry J. Rogers.

The name adopted by this organization was the same as that of the present one—the "Society of Colorado Pioneers." It would seem that with such an array of officers the society should have flourished and lived long. On the Fourth of July, 1866, there was a reunion of pioneers under the auspices of the new organization, in Denver, and a fine banquet at the old Broadwell House. A good beginning appeared to have been made, but there is no record of another meeting or reunion of that society; nor do any of its survivors in Denver recall any subsequent gatherings under its dispensation. Whether the banquet was in any way to blame for this consequence is also not of record.

Thus matters rested until the winter of 1871-72, when a movement was instituted to organize a society on a broad and permanent basis. This resulted in a public meeting of pioneers on January 16th, 1872, at Cutler's Hall on the south side of Market street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets. Mr. W. N. Byers made an address urging the formation of a society similar to that of the

California pioneers of 1849, and for the same general purposes. Others heartily indorsed Mr. Byers' suggestions, and the meeting appointed a committee to prepare a constitution, and plan of organization. On January 22nd the second, and larger, meeting was held at the same place, and at which the constitution was adopted and officers elected: Hiram P. Bennet, President; Dr. J. H. Morrison, First Vice President; Richard Sopris, Second Vice President; William N. Byers, Secretary; F. Z. Salomon, Treasurer; John L. Dailey, Marshal.

E. A. Willoughby. Photographed 1888.

"The Society of Colorado Pioneers" was adopted as the name of the association, and the objects and purposes declared to be to preserve the memories of the pioneer days, to be mutually helpful in times of need, to gather and preserve historical records of the settlement of the city and Territory, and to provide for annual reunions of Colorado's pioneers. Eligibility to membership was limited to those who came hither before 1860.

On June 27, 1884, the Society was incorporated under the State laws, the certificate thereof being of record in the office of the County Clerk under date July 14, 1884. At that time provision was made for expanding the limitations and admitting those who came in 1860; but since then no more of the bars have been let down.

Ever since its organization the Society has had an uninterrupted, prosperous and most useful existence; and its annual reunions are events of the deepest and most pleasant interest not only to those constituting the Society, but to the whole community. There are now a few more than five hundred members; but, as the months and years go by, the responses to roll-call are lessened and lessened.

Edmund A. Willoughby who has been Secretary of the Society since 1893, is one of the few surviving pioneers of 1858 still residing in the city. Younger son of General Franklin Willoughby, he was born in Groton, Tompkins county, N. Y., January 6, 1836. Educated at Groton Academy, he subsequently became a carpenter and builder. In 1857, he removed to Omaha, and in 1858 crossed the plains in company with Blake & Williams, arriving at the mouth of Cherry creek on October 27th. Engaging here in his business in partnership with M. A. Avery, another "Fifty-eighter," he erected many of the pioneer and later buildings in Denver, having continued in that business until the close of 1873. In 1870-72 he was a member of the city Board of Aldermen, and in 1873 was elected Sheriff of Arapahoe county. One of the old-time Masons, he is a member of high degree in that ancient brotherhood of men. At one time he was the owner of much real estate in Denver, but was not among those who profited by the later great increase in value of such property. Like not a few of his fellow-pioneers who bore part of the heat and burden of the early days, he helped in building rather more for others than for himself.

CHAPTER LXV.

Pioneer Women—Ladies' Union Aid Society Their First Organization in Denver—Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society—Development of "Club Movement" in Denver—More Prominent Organizations in Denver—Outlines of Their Work—Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs—Club Influence—First Movement for Woman Suffrage and Its Failure—Second Failure—Established by Popular Vote in 1893—Women as Public Officers—General Results of Woman Suffrage.

Few white women and children, as our reader has seen, were reckoned among the inhabitants of the Pike's Peak country in and before 1858. Five white women (but no children) saw the beginnings of Denver. These were in order of their coming, as we have stated in preceding chapters, Mrs. Rooker and her grown-up daughter, from Salt Lake City; Mrs. H. Murat, now (1900) living at Palmer Lake; Mrs. Smoke, who helped her husband keep the first "hotel," and who afterward went to Montana; and Mrs. R. L. Wooton, wife of one of the pioneer merchants who has figured in much of our history of pioneer timers. Besides these there were, to be sure, the half-blood Sioux "wives" of John S. Smith and William McGaa, each of which frontiersmen had participated in the organization of the pioneer town companies at the mouth of Cherry creek. "Mrs." Smith, in her Indian fashion, was the first woman housekeeper here, and "Mrs." McGaa the mother of the first child born here after the settlement had been begun. There were also several other Indian women here at that time, but Mrs. Rooker was the first white woman who presided over a housed domestic establishment on the site of Denver; having begun her reign early in November, 1858. About the first of the new year (1859) the sixth white woman, Mrs. Jack O'Neill, joined the community.

The earliest account of American white women visiting the Rocky Mountain country, dates in 1836. In that year a missionary party consisting of Dr. and Mrs. Marcus Whitman, Rev. and Mrs. H. H. Spalding, and W. H. Gray, convoyed by the yearly outward expedition of the American Fur Company, crossed the mountains by way of the South Pass, bound for the Oregon country. After these people crossed the plains and mountains, there are no available definite accounts of the passage of any American white women until the movement of the Mormons, and the later hegira to California after the gold discoveries there; although it is more than probable some passed to Oregon in the early "Forties." Among the California Argonauts a considerable number of women was included.

The first American white woman who came direct to the Pike's Peak country—and she preceded the pioneer women of Denver whom we have just mentioned—was Mrs. Anna Archibald Holmes, wife of Charles Holmes. They came hither as members of the "Lawrence party" of gold-seekers that put in to the base of Pike's Peak early in July, 1858, and camped in the Garden of the Gods. Mrs. Holmes was in all probability the first woman who set foot on the summit of Pike's Peak, for Indian women were not much given to the extreme exertion required to climb that mountain, for no greater reward than the satisfaction of standing on its top. A few days after the "Lawrence party" went into camp in the Garden of the Gods, several of its members, including Mrs. Holmes, made the ascent of the Peak, though some of the men of the party had, as we have previously related, gone to the top within a day or two after their arrival. The adventurers of whom Mrs. Holmes was one, were three days on the journey, going and coming, and it is of record that she endured the labor and fatigue better than some of her male companions. Mr. and Mrs. Holmes did not come to the mouth of Cherry creek and were not among Denver's pioneers.

When the great tide of immigration came rolling into this region in 1859 it brought a larger number of women with it than would have been expected to come under such circumstances; and from all oral accounts that have been transmitted they bore the fatigue and hardships of the journey as well as their alleged lords; some bringing children, even babes in arms, with them. After the great developments of gold discoveries on the upper branches of Clear creek in the summer of 1859 had assured permanency to the Cherry creek towns, the making of homes, which only women can do, was begun here in earnest. At that time the men constituted probably ninety-five per cent. of the population, and womankind was accorded much distinction. Women were not so few as in some of the pioneer towns in California in 1849, but the appearance of a good one on the streets of Denver in the summer of 1859 inclined men to take off their hats and get off the sidewalks when they met one. It was in the local annals of that year that we found record of the first organization of women for any purpose, in Denver and in what is now Colorado.

The existing conditions in the growing towns at Cherry creek in the summer and autumn of 1859 had suggested to several of the pioneer women the expediency of organizing a charitable and benevolent society among themselves; but nothing effective was done at that time. Later in that year and after the Union Sunday School had demonstrated its usefulness, the matter was taken up in greater earnestness, and early in January, 1860, a meeting of women of Denver and Auraria was held at the home of William N. Byers in Auraria, at which the "Ladies Union Aid Society" was brought into existence; the first organization of women in the two towns. Its purpose was to give aid and comfort to those in need and to engage in any benevolent work consistent with the organization and its motives. The officers chosen were Mrs. W. N. Byers, President; Mrs. F. A. Farwell, Vice President; Miss E. C. Miles (who later became Mrs. R. E. Whitsitt), Secretary; and Miss F. C. Miles (who later became Mrs. Gerrish), Treasurer. Meetings were appointed to be held semimonthly, and membership dues were fixed at ten cents per month. The Society continued in existence until it was supplanted by those for like purposes later organized in the several church congregations that soon afterward came into being.

Mrs. Catharine Murat.

After the pioneer churches became fairly established there were organized among their women members the usual church societies; but nothing of especial historical interest attached to them. So, for twenty years or more affairs went on in the old fashion of the days before the present era of women's clubs. The change came slowly, after 1880, and but few club organizations of women were known in that decade in Denver, though the new dispensation at that time received an intelligent and generous welcome. Its great development belongs to the decade just closed, and in which the city became famed for its host of women club-members. But there is one association of women, though not a club, formed eleven years ago, that is entitled to consideration before passing to some account of the others.

Of unusual interest among the many benevolent organizations in Denver is this Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society, having for its especial object the care of indigent pioneers and those dependent upon them. Relentless Time and the consequences he carries with him, are rapidly contracting the circle in which the Society was formed to distribute its ministrations. The ranks of the pioneers of 1858-59-60—comers in subsequent years not yet being recognized as true pioneers—are becoming sadly decimated. The Society was organized as an auxiliary to the Society of Colorado Pioneers in September, 1889, by the following-named women who were pioneers themselves: Mrs. William N. Byers, Mrs. Birks Cornforth, Mrs. L. W. Cutler, Mrs. J. F. Henderson, Mrs. Alvin McCune, Mrs. C. H. McLaughlin, Mrs. H. W. Michael, Mrs. D. Mitchell, Mrs. R. Moseley, Mrs. A. G. Rhoads, Mrs. Andrew Sagendorf, Mrs. Richard Sopris, Mrs. Augusta Tabor, and Mrs. Justina Trankle. Of these charter members Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Sagendorf, Mrs. Cutler and Mrs. Tabor are dead. The first officers were Mrs. Cornforth, President; Mrs. Byers, Mrs. Sagendorf, Mrs. Tabor and Mrs. Moseley respectively first, second, third, and fourth Vice President; Mrs. Cutler, Secretary; and Mrs. Mitchell, Treasurer. The Society was incorporated in 1894, at which time its membership was about one hundred and fifty. The number has diminished since then but the interest and zeal of the survivors have not. The organization has been regularly maintained and no doubt will be so long as any of our pioneers remain with us. No other benevolent association in the city has so much of the regard, sympathy and good-will of all the people. Its expenditures are, of course, relatively not large; but whatever and whenever it needs, the responses are eager and generous. Unless the field of its benevolences be widened in the future there arises the pathetic fact that the Pioneer Ladies' Aid Society will, as an organization, in a few years more follow those for whose assistance in poverty, comfort in despair, attention and aid in sickness, and fitting burial at death it was brought into existence.

Of women's clubs and associations, under what may for convenience be termed the modern dispensation, there has been, as we have heretofore remarked, a surprising and significant development in recent years, in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado. The statistics of "the club movement" reveal the interesting facts that in number of women's organizations and in aggregate membership therein, Colorado, in proportion to population, surpasses every other State in the Union; and that

View in Denver, from Arapahoe and Fourteenth streets, looking northward, in 1865.

Denver, in proportion to population, not only leads in Colorado, but is in advance of every other city in the Union. A recent commentator on this interesting state of affairs thought it worth while to declare that "for a city of its size Denver is club mad." But in this view of the situation he would probably find himself without support among the thousands of Denver women who are members of one or more of these helpful organizations.

To repeat a statement, the great development of "the club movement" in Denver has been accomplished in the last decade, though some of the existing organizations were formed between 1880 and 1890. It is beyond the purposes of this volume to consider the origin and progress of even all the really important clubs and associations of Denver women, but it is thought essential that some account of several that are conspicuous in the great and growing family be given.

The Denver Fortnightly Club is the pioneer among the present women's club organizations in the city. It was formed April 13, 1881, with the following-named twelve charter members: Mrs. John Evans, President; Mrs. George L. Scott, Mrs. W. B. Coy, Mrs. J. V. Hilton, Mrs. A. R. Dyer, Mrs. J. R. Hanna, Mrs. Charles Denison, Mrs. E. M. Ashley, Mrs. D. D. Belden, Mrs. J. F. Spalding, Mrs. J. L. Adams, and Mrs. J. F. Brown. The primary object of the Club is "the union of congenial friends for study and discussion;" and the secondary "for the furtherance of good in such practical ways as may from time to time be presented to the Society." It has no philanthropic committee, as all its members throughout its career have been actively identified with charitable and benevolent work in other organizations. The membership of the Club is divided into four committees: "Art and History," "Science and Philosophy," "Literature," and "Current Topics," designations that indicate the general scope of the Club's work. The Fortnightly has been a most influential organization, and potential in what has been termed "the woman's club movement in Colorado." It was instrumental in forming the State Federation, and the Woman's Club of Denver; and was the only Colorado club represented in the convention at Philadelphia in 1889 that organized the General Federation of Clubs. It now has a membership of thirty, and has included therein since 1881 many of Denver's most intellectual and benevolent women. Its motto is "To the truth add other truth," and its flower the Marechal Neil rose. Its programmes are adorned with an engraving of Mt. Evans, in remembrance of the services of some of its members in persuading the Legislature to formally bestow upon the lofty mountain just west of the city the name of Colorado's Territorial Governor, and foremost citizen in bygone times, whose memory will be revered so long as the State endures.

The Monday Literary Club is also one of the old associations of Denver women, having begun its career in 1881, almost simultaneously with that of the Fortnightly. Aside from its restricted number of honorary members, its membership is limited to thirty, and there are usually several awaiting candidates. The Club was formed "to bring together women interested in intellectual culture," and this purpose has been well accomplished.

Der Deutsche Damen Club, an organization of German-speaking women, ranks as a pioneer among the existing associations. It was organized in 1884 with a membership limited to fifteen, for the study of German literature, history, and music, and for social purposes. This Club's "Spruch" is paraphrased from Schiller, and runs "Wis wollen sein ein einzig volk von Schwestern in keiner noth uns trennen und Gefahr."

The Young Women's Christian Association, a most noble philanthropy, was originally formed in 1887 and incorporated as the Woman's Home Club, by a number of the good women of Denver to befriend other good women. In 1893 the association was re-incorporated, and received its present name; and is now a link in the great chain of similar organizations that may be said to encircle the globe. In 1898 the Association acquired a large building site on the northwest corner of Sherman and Eighteenth Avenues at a cost of $14,000. The accumulation of a building fund had to be awaited until 1899 when the Association erected there its present home at a cost of about $35,000 for the structure; its furnishings having been largely provided for by other subscriptions. Through the hospitable doors of the fine new building may enter and find welcome not only the timid girl unused to city ways, or the woman who needs a kindly word and a helping hand, but the capable, self-reliant and self-supporting young woman who seeks and there finds a comfortable home amid genial surroundings and congenial associations. While the fundamental purpose of the organization is not to dispense charity, it extends temporary relief in shelter and food to many women until something better can be done for them. Other calls are numerous and varied and in response to which the Association becomes counsellor, guide and friend to thousands. Management of the general affairs of this organization is vested in a Board of Directors consisting of twenty-one Denver women who have at their call when needed an Advisory Board of twelve men of activity and prominence in the community.

The Round Table is another of the older organizations. It had its origin in October, 1888, with twelve members, and its purpose was, and is, to thoroughly study American, English, French, German and Greek history and literature. Later the membership was increased and limited to twenty-five, the Rocky Mountain columbine was adopted as the Club flower and color, and many delightful social features were added. "Step by step we gain the heights" reflects the progress of the Round Table.

The Tuesday Musical Club was organized in the autumn of 1891 by twelve women, as the Amateur Musical Club; but in May, 1892, was given its present name. Primarily its purpose is for musical advancement; secondarily, for the study of the literature of music and general literature. The Club within its membership maintains a fine chorus, and gives public concerts during each winter. It has done much for musical culture, and in elevating the musical tastes of our people. Candidates for membership must pass a rather rigid examination in musical theory and practice.

Of Clio Clubs there is a small family; or rather a mother and three descendants. The original Clio Club was organized in 1892, for, as its name suggests, the study of history. In 1895 it established the Monday Evening Clio for the intellectual and social benefit of both men and women members—the first literary organization of that kind in Denver. This branch now stands as one of the representative clubs of the city. In 1895, also, the Junior Clio Club, consisting of daughters of members of the parent organization, came into existence, and was the first girl's club admitted to the General Federation. In 1896 the Young Ladies' Clio was formed for historical and literary study, and for charitable work of which it does much among needy children. These four Clio organizations are closely allied, and are held in very high esteem by all familiar with them.

The Sevigne French Club came into existence in December, 1892, with twenty members, and a limit of membership of twenty-five. It pursues the study of the French language, and of French history and literature. Though but few of the members are French women, all its proceedings are conducted, and its records kept, in French; no English being spoken at its meetings.

The Woman's Club of Denver is the great, potent, and influential organization of women, in the city, with a membership exceeding 1,000 and including several nationalities and almost every creed. It was the conception of Mrs. Charles Denison, one of the charter members of the Fortnightly Club, and among its founders was nearly all the members of that old association. The first meeting to consider the organization of such a Club was held at the home of Mrs. Denison early in the spring of 1894, and soon afterward a general meeting assembled in the basement of Unity church when the organization was effected with nearly two hundred members, upon the general plan of the Woman's Club of Chicago. This provides for dividing club work into many departments, with one or more of which each member may become directly identified and in which she may find her preferable field of action in forwarding the general purposes of the great organization. Some of these purposes are exemplified in the Pingree gardens, the children's park, the School of Domestic Science, the child study classes of the educational department, the free library established in the lower part of the city by the home department, the social union work of the science and philosophy department at the People's Tabernacle, the "travelling libraries" sent out by the same department to the mining towns, and the systematic decoration and adornment of the public school rooms. It is impractical to record in detail here all that has been done by this organization or all that is springing from it as it becomes better and better adjusted to the great work it finds to do; but of its Pingree gardens and its Domestic Science School some particulars will presently be related. This Club has prompted the organization in Denver of many small but helpful literary and other associations of women, and by it strength, earnestness and usefulness has done much toward advancing women's clubs to the position of commanding dignity they now occupy. Of the broad character, the methods, and the influence of the Woman's Club, we quote the following from the pen of Miss Minnie J. Reynolds:

"The strength of the club is that it brings together many women of many minds. When it becomes committed to any one object, however good that may be, it will lose interest for those indifferent to that object. Every earnest worker in any particular line thinks her line the most important of all. She would gladly see the Club committed to it if possible. It is the President's idea that the club should be committed to none of them, but should foster all, and make a common meeting place for all workers. The temperance worker addresses the Club, but the Club is not asked to indorse the Prohibition ticket. The worker along educational lines tells the Club of its duties to the schools, but the Club does not indorse any candidate for the School Board. Work is done, money given and interest aroused for every charitable institution in the city, but the Club does not pledge itself to any one philanthropy."

"It is a great thing for so large a club as the Woman's to even exist so many years without wars and rumors of war, even if it did nothing else. It is a living proof that large bodies of women can work together in harmony. There has never been a quarrel in the Woman's Club. There are constant differences of opinion, but they are settled invariably in a decent, womanly and business-like manner. There have been hotly contested elections in which defeated candidates have accepted defeat gracefully, and won respect and admiration."

"The great benefit of the Club, to my mind, is the acquaintance it has brought about among women. When today there is a movement for any good purpose started, its leaders know exactly where to place their hands upon women who will carry it on. With this has come the breadth of mind which results from acquaintance with women of different beliefs, different cliques, and different social standing. The religious beliefs in the Club vary from the Catholic to the agnostic. The Catholic does not become an agnostic, nor the agnostic a Catholic; but each learns to know the other for a lady and a good woman. The political beliefs vary from those of the most ardent Populist to the most conservative Republican, but there will never be any bitterness over political differences among the representative women of Denver, because they know each other in the Woman's Club. The Club is getting the women out of their old, narrow, bigoted ways of thinking into a broader, more liberal and more charitable atmosphere."

The Colorado Society, Daughters of the Revolution, a division of the National Society, is a State organization composed of members who are residents of Colorado, but the membership is chiefly of Denver women. Any qualified woman above the age of eighteen, and a resident of the State, is eligible to membership. She must be a lineal descendant from an ancestor who, in the army or navy, or in some official position, actually participated in the achievement of American Independence; becoming thereby liable to conviction of treason against the government of Great Britain, but remaining always loyal to the authority of the Colonies or States. Organization was effected in Denver in 1894. An informal meeting was held on July 15th of that year, and on October 29th, the first regular meeting of the Board of Managers occurred. The growth of the society has been greater than was anticipated, considering the difficulties that often arise in substantiating eligibility by records, as under the rules of the Society "allegations of facts based upon tradition can not be considered." The Society's motto is "Liberty, Home and Country," and its membership now exceeds two hundred, exclusive of that of several local Chapters later organized elsewhere in the State.

View in residence section of "East Denver" in 1865.

The panic years of 1893 and 1894 brought very harsh conditions upon many worthy people in Denver. In the spring of 1895 the philanthropic department of the Woman's Club undertook to relieve some of the destitution upon the method first proposed and instituted by Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, Michigan. Unoccupied land was secured in "North Denver," seed and plants were supplied by the Charity Organization Society, water rights by the city, a superintendent detailed and plowing done by the County Commissioners, tools and incidentals furnished by the philanthropic department, and the planting of "Pingree gardens" was begun. Bountiful crops were produced, and the experiment was in every way gratifyingly successful, many families engaging in the work of cultivation, and securing a much-needed food supply. In 1895 and 1896 this helpful benevolence was under the personal direction of Mrs. Fred Butler who was untiring in her labors and attention, and who won the lasting gratitude of the hundreds she was instrumental in assisting to help themselves. The cultivation of "Pingree gardens" is still continued under the direction of the philanthropic department of the Woman's Club.

The City Improvement Society is an active body for the betterment of general practical conditions in the city. Organized early in the spring of 1896, its first meeting thereafter was held on April 8th. The Society is an outgrowth of the reform department of the Woman's Club, and while it is under the general direction of women, its membership includes both sexes; its meetings being usually held every Wednesday. The Society was organized to arouse and stimulate public opinion against existing evils, to create a civic ambition for cleaner, more healthful, and more beautiful environment, to afford an opportunity for complaints to be made and investigated, to prevent lethargy in the discharge of duties by public officers, and to arouse public sentiment against slovenly conditions in the city. The work of the Society is divided among several committees, such as a committee on street ordinances, on trees and weeds, seats, placards, children's societies, literature, home industries, schools, gambling, sidewalks, street cleaning, and so forth. It has public lectures delivered on various subjects associated with its work, and is persistently engaged in the prosecution of its most laudable purposes.

The North Side Woman's Club was organized in the spring of 1896 for "mutual improvement and co-operation in all that pertains to the good of humanity," and under the motto "Charity and Progress." The work of the club is done through departments and auxiliaries, among which are the reform and philanthropy department, the home and educational, the music and art, department of literature, and of social affairs. Committees regularly visit the county and city jails, the Home for Dependent Children, the Industrial Home, County Hospital, Crittenton Home, and the Old People's Relief Home. The North Side Charity Organization is one of the club's auxiliaries, and it also conducts and maintains a kitchen garden where young girls are practically trained in the duties of housekeeping. The home and educational department, through committees, keeps in close touch with the schools in that division of the city, and which are regularly visited. This Club is a strong, important and influential one, and stands socially, intellectually and morally for the best that it can give the individual and the community.

The Athene Musical Club was formed in 1896 by lovers of music whose opportunities did not enable them to meet the exacting qualifications required for membership in the older musical organization. The theory upon which the Club was founded and on which it proceeds is that the dissemination of musical knowledge should be upon broad lines, and that it should be placed within the reach of the greatest possible number. The Club has a large membership and has undertaken to found scholarships for musically educating promising younger members of the organization. In 1898 it added a literary department.

The Domestic Science School originated from papers read and lectures delivered before the Woman's Club in the winter of 1895-96 on the preparation of food for the family. It took definite form early in 1897 as a department of the Woman's Club, and was incorporated in 1898. In the beginning it was a school of instruction for club members; then its work was extended to classes of young girls in the poorer parts of the city and to whom instruction was given in cooking and general housework. In 1898 a permanent and properly equipped cooking and sewing school was established and which is conducted and maintained as one of the auxiliaries of the Woman's club.

The Colorado branch of the General Association of Collegiate Alumnae was formed in Denver in February, 1898, with twenty-seven members, and at the meeting of the General Association at Philadelphia in October of that year was duly admitted. Only women graduated in colleges ranking with Wellesley, Vassar, Smith, and Bryn Mawr are admitted; and the objects of the Society are to cultivate and preserve interest in college education of women, and social intercourse among its members.

The Women's Press Club was organized March 16, 1898, at a meeting called for that purpose by Miss Minnie J. Reynolds, who became its President. There were nineteen active members and one associate in the charter organization. Membership is limited to thirty-five active and fifteen associate members, and new candidates must now await vacancies. The object of the club is "to advance and encourage women in literary work, to cultivate acquaintance and friendship among women of literary tastes, to secure the benefits arising from organized effort, and to drive dull care away." Any woman residing west of Chicago, who has received money for her writings, is eligible to active membership.

The Daughters of the American Revolution is an organization almost identical with that of the Daughters of the Revolution. The Denver Chapter, organized May 26, 1898, with thirteen members, was the second in Colorado; one having been previously formed at Colorado Springs, both being divisions of a National organization. The qualification is descent from an ancestor who, with unfailing loyalty, aided in the Revolutionary struggle; and the Society's insignia: a wheel and distaff, suggestive of the Colonial period. The Denver Chapter has had a steady growth in membership.

The Civic Federation of Denver is an organization of women formed in June, 1895, and incorporated under Colorado law in October, 1898. It is principally a political, non-partisan association, but its work includes philanthropy, and the propagation of municipal economics through unselfish citizenship. Its "Declaration of Principles" says:

> The object for which said Association is organized, is to investigate the condition and needs of the City of Denver and to promote by education and active co-operation, a higher public spirit and a better social order; to separate city and county affairs from State and national politics; to endeavor to secure the nomination and election of competent and trustworthy persons to public office regardless of party and creed, and to see that appointive offices are not used for political purposes; to secure the widest possible application of the principles of civil service reform in all city and county departments; and to this end, to federate the moral forces of the city, and generally, to promote, in all ways, the welfare, order and prosperity of the said City of Denver.

The Federation has taken an active, and an undeniably influential, part in recent county and municipal elections. While it does not aim to be a nominating body it seeks to accomplish its ends by aiding in the nomination of proper candidates for local offices by worthy methods; it "prepares and endeavors to secure the passage of reform ordinances; it co-operates with the official effort for the betterment of the social order through governmental action; it gives philanthropic service by visiting public institutions, studying their conditions and helping to secure needed improvements; it educates public sentiment by the printing and distribution of reform literature and by holding public meetings at which addresses are given by well known authorities in all branches of scientific municipalism and general reform."

The Artists' Club was originally organized December 16, 1893. On October 31, 1896, it was reorganized under a revised constitution, and on November 22, 1897, incorporated under the State law. Its membership embraces both sexes, but of its present list of thirty-one active members, seventeen are women. The constitution provides that members may be active, associate, and sustaining; and that candidates for active membership must submit an example of work upon the approval of which admission depends. There are now thirty sustaining, and upward of 450 associate, members. The Club gives an annual art exhibition each spring, and has made some progress toward acquiring a fund for the erection of an appropriate building for an art gallery and a museum of artistic objects.

Home of the Young Woman's Christian Association.

The Council of Jewish Women is a division of the National association of that name. The Denver Section was organized in 1893 and now has a membership, exclusively of Jewish women, of about 230. "Faith and Humanity" is the motto of the Council, the work of which is largely philanthropic; yet much of its attention is given to the study of history and literature, and to social and economic considerations. It joined the State Federation in 1895.

The Denver Council of the National Association of Woman Stenographers was organized June 28, 1898. In October, 1898, the Council formed with

View in Denver, southwest from roof of Court House, 1884.

the Woman's Club an alliance that is known as the evening extension of the last-named organization, and which may be joined by any business woman. The Council now has a large membership of stenographers and type-writer operators.

The Denver Poets' and Authors' Club organized March 2, 1898, includes both sexes in its present membership of fifty-five; but a majority of its members are women, and several are non-residents. Among the latter are Mrs. Edward Bellamy, of Springfield, Massachusetts; Marion Crawford, of New York; and Bessie Miller, of Indianapolis. The name of this club sufficiently indicates its character and purposes.

The Denver Coal Guild is an association of Denver women organized in December, 1898, to provide fuel for destitute families. It does its work quietly and without any administrative expense, the executive members voluntarily discharging all such duties. Its funds are derived from a tax upon its members, and through other contributions. The organization has done a vast amount of good; in single seasons of past years between 300 and 400 households were assisted by it. In recent winters the demands upon the Guild have been much lessened, but remained, as they will continue, of sufficient extent to make the permanent maintenance of the organization one of the charitable necessities of the city.

In addition to these of which we have given the outlines of their history and purposes, there are scores of other organizations of women, literary, artistic, or social in their character, and graduating into private groups of intimate friends. There are also several associations, of which the Denver Philosophical Society is a prominent example, the membership of which is principally of men, but in the transactions of which women members bear an active part.

The Colorado Federation of Women's Clubs was formed in 1895 and in that year entered the General Federation. Its constitution states its object to be "to bring the women of the State into communication for acquaintance, mutual helpfulness, and the promotion of higher social and moral conditions." The Federation now includes 100 clubs having approximately 4,500 members, and representing about forty Colorado cities and towns.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs,—the National organization—held its biennial convention of 1898, in Denver in June of that year, and its proceedings were characterized by ability and dignity that made it the most interesting assemblage that has yet convened in this city.

That the influences of women's clubs in Denver have had a distinctively broadening result is undeniable. They have been effectively hostile to the narrow spirit of exclusiveness that is the refuge of those who are always in dread of the consequences of intellectual contact with others. The inspiration of the so called department clubs is essentially democratic, and their tendency is toward a still broader catholicity; and with them the smaller organizations are moving into regions of fast widening intellectual horizons.

Much of this club work, as has been indicated in the foregoing, is charitable and benevolent for the relief, assistance and uplifting of women and children in need. The ordinary conception of a woman's club usually does not include consideration of this, nor does it usually fully comprehend the other purposes of a majority of these organizations in Denver. To the women of this city who have leagued themselves in these and other associations in which they are accomplishing so much for the betterment of all; who have established and are maintaining their clubs and guilds and homes and hospitals and missions; and who are so active and earnest in seeking fulfillment of their aims and hopes, unmeasured honor and credit are due.

It is not, necessarily, nor as a matter of fact, a short step from women's clubs to women at the ballot-box and in politics; but it may as conveniently be taken here as at any other time and place.

The first serious discussion of the woman suffrage question in Colorado arose in 1869, and figured in the Territorial campaign of that year. A bill to confer suffrage on women was introduced in the Eighth Legislative Assembly, that convened in Denver on January 3, 1870. The Denver Tribune, then published and edited by General Roger W. Woodbury, warmly supported the measure; and that paper was about the only one, certainly the only daily one, in Colorado that did so. Mrs. McCook, wife of the then Governor, Edward M. McCook, was an enthusiast in favor of the innovation, and at her solicitation Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony came to Denver to assist in persuading the Assembly to pass the bill. While Mrs. McCook was the heart and soul of the movement among the women of Denver and of Colorado, she was ardently supported by hundreds of them. A "Suffrage Association" was organized which conducted a campaign of great vigor. But, after a protracted season of much trial to the legislative statesmen and of a great deal of artful dodging and hedging by some of them, the bill was defeated by a close margin, and the woman suffrage question, though not abandoned by its advocates, withdrew to the background where it remained several years.

The foundations of the movement that later resulted in admitting women to suffrage in Colorado were laid by the framers of the State Constitution. The second section of Article VII—"Suffrage and Elections"—provided:

> "The General Assembly shall, at the first session thereof, and may at any subsequent session, enact laws to extend the right of suffrage to women of lawful age, and otherwise qualified according to the provisions of this article. No such enactment shall be of effect until submitted to the vote of the qualified electors at a general election, nor unless the same be approved by a majority of those voting thereon."

Therefore the First General Assembly enacted a law providing for such suffrage, and it was submitted to a vote of the electors of the State at the general election held October 1, 1878. Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton returned to the fray, and a rather active campaign for suffrage led by them and prominent Colorado women, had been made throughout the State; but the proposition was defeated by more than two to one. The total vote at that election was 22,047; and of these 6,612 were in favor of women's suffrage and 14,053 against it; the others not voting on the question.

The suffrage movement rested for more than a decade after that disastrous defeat. Then the Legislature of 1893, by an act approved on April 7th of that year, provided for again submitting the proposition to the electors, and at the general election held November 7, 1893, it carried by a not very large majority. The total vote on the question was 65,249, and of these 35,798 were affirmative and 29,451 negative; an affirmative majority of 6,347. After the returns had been canvassed and the result officially made known, Governor Waite issued the following proclamation, and women stood politically on an equality with men in Colorado:

EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF COLORADO.

Whereas, The Ninth General Assembly of the State of Colorado passed an act, approved April 7, 1893, entitled "An act to submit to the qualified electors of the State the question of extending the right of suffrage to women of lawful age, and otherwise qualified, according to the provisions of Article VII, Section 2, of the Constitution of Colorado," and

Whereas, The said question, as provided in Section 2 of said act, was submitted to the qualified voters of the State of Colorado at the general election held on Tuesday, November 7, 1893, and

Whereas, After canvass of the official returns of said election by the State Canvassing Board, it appeared that of the votes cast,

35,798 votes were cast for "Equal Suffrage Approved" and

29,451 votes were cast for "Equal Suffrage Not Approved," and that the majority for "Equal Suffrage Approved" was 6,347 votes.

Now, therefore, I, Davis H. Waite, Governor of Colorado, do hereby proclaim, as provided in Section 5 of said act, that every female person, a resident of Colorado, shall be entitled to vote at all elections in the same manner in all respects as male persons, and subject to the same qualifications.

"GOD AND LIBERTY."

Done at Denver, December 2, 1893.

DAVIS H. WAITE,
Governor of Colorado.

(Seal)

NELSON O. McCLEES,
Secretary of State.

The bars thus having been thrown down, it was expected that the political field of activity would become an attractive one to many women; but it has not yet proved to be so. Only a few have entered the State political arena and attained positions in the executive and legislative departments. Since 1893 the position of State Superintendent of Public Instruction has somewhat by general consent, been conceded to women. Angenette J. Peavey, elected in November, 1894, was the first woman incumbent, and served two years. She was succeeded by Miss Grace Espy Patton, elected in November, 1896, who, also, served two years. In November, 1898, the present incumbent, Helen L. Grenfell, was elected for the term of two years; and she was re-elected in November, 1900. In the Legislatures elected in 1894, 1896, and 1898, there were three women members in the House, but none in the Senate. In the Tenth General Assembly, elected in November, 1894, Clara Cressingham and Frances S. Klock of Denver, were among the Representatives from Arapahoe county; and Carrie S. Holly, of Pueblo, was a Representative from Pueblo county. Politically each of these was a Republican. In the Eleventh General Assembly, elected in November, 1896, the three women members of the House were from Arapahoe county and were citizens of Denver, namely: Olive C. Butler, Republican; Martha A. R. Conine, non-partisan; and Evangeline Hearst, Populist. In the Twelfth General Assembly, elected in November, 1898, Mrs. F. S. Lee, Democrat; and Mrs. H. G. R. Wright, Populist; both of Denver, were among the Arapahoe county Representatives; and Dr. Mary F. Barry, Silver Republican, of Pueblo, was one of the Representatives from Pueblo county. The Thirteenth General Assembly, elected in November, 1900, has but one woman member—Evangeline Hearst, of Denver, a Populist and one of the Arapahoe county Representatives.

The foregoing includes all who have thus far been placed in elective positions in the State government. Several have very satisfactorily filled appointive positions on various State Boards; Mrs. Sarah S. Platt-Decker having been for several years the conspicuously capable President of the State Board of Charities and Correction.

In the administration of county affairs women have also begun taking some part, but thus far it has been limited in elective office to that of County Superintendent of Schools. Mrs. T. A. Rhoads, elected in November, 1895, was the first woman chosen for that position. She was succeeded by a man, but in November, 1899, the tide turned the other way, and Miss Emma M. Herey, the present incumbent, was elected. For a longer period and to a far greater extent women have participated in public school administration in Colorado as members of Boards of Education. The constitution of the State in its original form (1876) admitted women to suffrage in the election of school directors, and made them eligible to membership in school boards. The second clause of Section 1, Article VII (Suffrage and Elections), provides—

> "That no person shall be denied the right to vote at any school district election, nor to hold any school district office, on account of sex."

Effect was given to this provision of the constitution by an act approved March 8, 1877, and which became operative June 6, 1877. Since that time women have frequently been elected to school administration in Denver. But no woman has yet been chosen a member of any branch of the city government, proper.

It is conceded even by those who take the most conservative view of the innovation, that in all the public positions held by women under the new order of things, the duties thereof have been as intelligently and as efficiently discharged as they ever had been by the former masculine incumbents.

It may not, however, be fairly said that any conspicuous political or economic reform has followed this expansion of suffrage. It is true that the new dispensation has not been long enough on trial to afford a basis for intelligently measuring its general benefits or to warrant judgment upon it. Still, so far as experience with it has gone the visible results and those that may be considered as immediately prospective, bear rather modest proportions to those anticipated and promised by such enthusiasts and advocates as Miss Anthony. There are those who maintain that the only conclusion clearly and definitely warranted by the results and the experience of these few years was concisely expressed in the words of a toast proposed at a Denver banquet not long ago by a jurist of this city: "The women: once our superiors, now our equals." However that may be, one suggestive fact appears to stand out rather plainly: within the last three or four years there has been a relative decrease in the aggregate vote of women. Within that time a disposition to refrain from voting has been manifested by many of those the better qualified to intelligently discriminate; while, upon the other hand and with but few exceptions, those whose absence from the polls on election day could not possibly entail any serious public misfortune, are unified, prompt and persistent in the performance of what is held to be a seriously important public duty.

CHAPTER LXVI.

DENVER'S WATER SUPPLY—PIONEER "FRANCHISES" FOR "WATERWORKS"—DITCHES OF THE PRIMITIVE ERA—FIRST WATERWORKS SYSTEM—DENVER CITY WATER COMPANY—ITS TRYING EXPERIENCES AND UNFORTUNATE CAREER—ORGANIZATION OF THE RIVAL CITIZENS' WATER COMPANY—FIERCE AND DISASTROUS COMPETITION—BANKRUPTCY OF OLD SYSTEM AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE TWO AS THE DENVER UNION WATER COMPANY—HUGE RESERVOIR IN THE MOUNTAINS—OUTLINES OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT UNDERTAKINGS IN RESERVOIR CONSTRUCTION.

If the old records did not explicitly say so, it would be somewhat difficult to believe that the first Denver water company was organized within four months after the organization of the Cherry creek town companies. In February, 1859, a party of Auraria City men, calling themselves the "Auraria and Cherry Creek Water Company," planned to convey water into that town by a ditch from some point up the creek to a reservoir they expected to bank up as high as the ditch flow would permit, and from it distribute water over the town. Of course, they wanted to be subsidized with town lots; and they got them, or the promise of them, as indicated by the following extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Auraria City Directors held on March 11, 1859:

> "Resolved, That there be and there is hereby Donated to the Auraria & Cherry Creek Water Company one entire Block in the City of Auraria for building a reservoir, and for other purposes of Said Company; And furthermore that the City of Auraria grant a Charter to Said Company for the purpose of supplying said City of Auraria with water."

It does not appear that this water company ever built the reservoir, nor that any great value ever attached to the "charter" which the Auraria Directors "granted" in such an off-hand fashion. But there were a few short water-ditches made in 1859 in Auraria, though combined they were not a very extensive system.

The reader may well feel sure that this was not the only pioneer water-works proposition. After Auraria City had "chartered" a "water company" the Denver City men could not have slept o'nights had they not cast about for some way to match their rivals' municipal enterprise. They were some time in scaring up a water-works "promoter," but they finally did so. At a meeting of the Denver City Directors held January 23, 1860, the action mentioned in the following entry in their record was taken:

> "The petition of Thomas F. Pim & others in reference to water works for the benefit of the city being read, on motion of R. E. Whitsitt
>
> Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to Confer with Thos. F. Pim & others in relation to their petition. Carried."

Whatever happened to this water-works project of "Thos. F. Pim & others" is not of record nor of reminiscence. The conference between the committee and Pim must have been final and fatal, for the Denver Town Company was silent about the enterprise ever after. Still, it probably served its intended chief purpose—that of letting the Auraria City people know that there were some other men in this immediate locality who understood the art and mystery of "town-booming." Pim was a rather prominent citizen here in the pioneer times, and remained so for some years after making his proposition "in reference to water works for the benefit of the city."

Of course, whatever there may have been of earnestness in either of these proposed enterprises, nothing beyond small irrigation systems was contemplated. There was no thought of piping potable water anywhere, in orthodox water-works fashion.

In 1860 another and very pretentious undertaking for its time was actually put under way, and eventually resulted in our present "City Ditch." It was not only the first attempt to bring water to Denver in comparatively large quantities, though not designedly for household and personal use, but it was the first artificial water-way outside of mining operations surveyed and begun in Colorado. Early in 1860, A. C. Hunt, Andrew Sagendorf, John M. Clark, Amos Steck, Turner & Hobbs, R. R. Bradford, J. B. Doyle and F. Z. Salomon organized the Capital Hydraulic Company to construct a hydraulic canal from some suitable point up the Platte to the high ground overlooking Denver, and now our Capitol Hill. A. C. Hunt was elected President; Andrew Sagendorf, Secretary;

and U. Turner, of Turner & Hobbs, bankers, Treasurer. The plans included a reservoir up the Platte and near the mouth of the creek now figuring on the county map as Dry creek, a mile or so north of the present town of Littleton; and its embankments, parts of which are still there, were constructed, and a beginning made on the ditch, in 1860. In the autumn of that year the company became discouraged, gave up the enterprise, and abandoned the work and the water right; the Capital Hydraulic Company, as such, ceasing to exist. The surveys were made by John M. Clark, now President of the Chicago Telephone Company; and he had charge of the construction work done by the company, having been educated as a civil engineer, and having assisted in the survey of Auraria City.

View of the Lake Archer pumping station.

In 1861, Amos Steck, Bradford, Doyle, and Saloman, members of the company, together with Daniel Witter, R. S. Little (later the founder of Littleton), and several others, made a new start toward constructing the waterway, which then became known as the Witter Ditch. They abandoned the reservoir plan, went up to Little's ranche and there started the ditch directly from the river. After some vicissitudes, shifting of interests, and delays, the ditch was finally completed to Denver in the spring of 1865, as stated in a preceding chapter. It cost what was for those times a large sum of money, but was never a source of great revenue; nor was it ever a water-power ditch, as the name of the original company might have suggested. Its great service was to planters along its route, and to the people of Denver in enabling them to grow trees and have grass-plots to relieve, if not entirely banish, the verdureless dreariness of pre-existing conditions in the town; for, previous to its completion, and especially in "East Denver," there were few trees anywhere, and no lawns, the door-yards being as destitute of turf as the middle of the streets; it not having been practicable to get water from wells for irrigation purposes. So, Denver was not adorned with greenery and bloom as it is now. But upon completion of the ditch, irrigation became a ready and easy proposition, and at that time began the era of general tree planting, lawn-making and such like matters over nearly all of the city; and in a few years hundreds of young trees were flourishing, for most of the gutters ran with the clear, invigorating water. By means of some small ditches diverting water from the Platte and Cherry creek, the "West Denver" district had previously made a little progress in the same direction, but the Capitol Hill ditch was the main dependence until the completion of the first water-works system in 1872. A later extension of the ditch which, by purchase in 1875, became the property of the city, now supplies the lakes in City Park.

In a preceding chapter we have briefly mentioned the inception and construction of Denver's first water-works system, under the more active management of Colonel James Archer. That company was organized on October 30, 1870, with Colonel Archer as President; David H. Moffat, Treasurer; and R. R. McCormick, Secretary; they, with Jerome B. Chaffee, Wilson Waddingham, E. M. McCook, E. F. Hallack, F. Z. Saloman, Walter S. Cheesman, and Daniel Witter, constituting the Board of Directors. All of them were personally, and from the standpoint of public spirit, also, largely interested in the development and growth of the young city which, at the time the company was organized, had a population increased by the advent of railroads to between 5,000 and 6,000. The capital stock of this original "Denver City Water Company" was $250,000.

The experience, trials and misfortunes that attended efforts in subsequent years to procure and maintain an adequate supply of pure water for the city, together with the circumstances of the conflict between rival water companies, may constitute an interesting chapter, or part of one, in these annals of Denver.

Immediately after the completion of the Denver Pacific and the Kansas Pacific railroads to Denver in 1870, and the beginning of the Denver & Rio Grande road in the same year, the city took on ambitions somewhat disproportioned to actual, immediate conditions, and in which the men who invested their means in a water-works system for it fully shared. As we have heretofore stated, construction work was energetically forwarded in 1871, and on January 10, 1872, the new water-works went into service. Up to that time the town's domestic water supply had been drawn from wells; and for other purposes from the clear flowing streams in the street-gutters that were supplied from the ditches of the pioneer era. These arrangements, however, provided no adequate fire protection for the town, nor was the water from wells in the more closely built-up parts above suspicion as to its uncontaminated character.

In those days the South Platte was a larger and quite different proposition from the Platte of these times. There was but little occupation of the land along its banks above the then rather confined limits of the town, and irrigation was taking only a small quantity of the river's flow, which was then a stream of sparkling mountain water, pure and undefiled. In the beginning, as through the ensuing years of trouble and expense, the company seems to have had in view the one great object of furnishing an abundant and pure supply of water; and the fact that the subsequent remarkable growth of the city compelled frequent enlargements of capacity, and successive removals to new and more distant sources of supply beyond the encroachments of contamination, does not detract from the worthiness of the original plans, nor does it reflect upon the judgment of those who conceived them and carried them into effect. The owners and managers of the original water-works did not anticipate, nor could they foresee, what was destined to happen here within the next ten or fifteen years. So, they built their pumping station at the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Bassett streets, near the clear and sparkling river, from a large well on the bank of which the pumps were to draw the water. The small but substantial brick building is still standing there, dismantled of its machinery, somewhat dilapidated, and now used for warehouse purposes. When it was built, Fifteenth street up to Lawrence, had become rather more of a continuous business thoroughfare than any other, though to make such a showing it had to borrow the four corners at the intersections of the crossing streets.

Rear view of the Lake Archer pumping station.

The pumping capacity of the plant was 2,500,000 gallons daily; or, about 500 gallons per capita of population. Within two years the city's population and consequent water-demands had increased to such an extent that it became necessary to almost double the plant's pumping capacity; and therefore, in 1874, another pump, of 2,000,000 gallons daily capacity was added. This enlarged equipment of the original plant, with its ability to supply 4,500,000 gallons daily, sufficed for public needs until the year 1879.

During the last half of that decade the city had been growing still more rapidly, and greatly extending its area. The demands on the River Platte for water for irrigation purposes above and near the city, as agriculture had developed and expanded, had materially reduced the usual flow in the river's channel, and the drainage from the growing town was contaminating the river water in the vicinity of the Fifteenth street pumping station. Then began the water company's long and costly struggle against contamination, and that continued for years before the victory was finally won.

In 1878 the company had decided to erect a new pumping station at a point near the Platte river and about two miles above the mouth of Cherry creek, and more than a mile beyond the city's limits in that direction at that time. The new location was then surrounded by unoccupied stretches of country, and with no prospective sources of contamination. Littleton was a mere hamlet, and between it and the city there was nothing but the scattered farm-houses; and they did not entail pollution of the river's flow. No anticipation then existed here of the astounding growth of the city that set in with a bound very soon afterward; and the location of the new pumping station was thought to be far beyond the possibility of the city's encroachment.

On November 23, 1878, the Denver City Irrigation & Water Company was organized as an auxiliary to the Denver City Water Company, and as an agency by which to carry through a part of the improvements required for the new station, the location of which afforded opportunity for utilizing the river's water-power for operating pumps, instead of driving them by steam, as was done at the Fifteenth street station. A hydraulic canal some two miles in length and terminating in a reservoir named "Lake Archer" in honor of the water company's President, was constructed along the right bank of the river. A building was erected on West Twelfth Avenue and equipped with water wheels and new pumps, the plant having a daily capacity of 5,000,000 gallons, drawing the water from Lake Archer. The new station began operation in May, 1880, and in co-operation with the old one enabled the company to supply 9,500,000 gallons daily in an emergency, and more than double the previous capacity. The Lake Archer establishment had hardly become well settled in its work before the growth of the city, which may be said to have begun its great strides in 1880, demanded a large increase in water supply. Therefore, in 1881, two more pumps of a combined capacity of 5,000,000 gallons, were added to the Lake Archer equipment. As the available water-power from the river by the hydraulic canal was insufficient at times to operate all this machinery, a 350-horse power steam engine was also added.

Upon completion of the Lake Archer plant—or the "West Denver" pumping station, as it is commonly called—in the spring of 1880, the Fifteenth street station had been practically put out of commission. However, it was used at intervals during the next two or three years, and then dismantled.

In November, 1882, the Denver City Irrigation & Water Company and the Denver City Water Company were consolidated into a new corporation—the Denver Water Company, which was incorporated with $1,500,000 capital stock, on the 6th of that month, and the original water company, as such, passed out of existence. This consolidation was rather an union of the same proprietary interests, than a change of ownership in either of the two participating corporations; Colonel Archer becoming President of the new water company, and its other executive officers being about the same as in the old one.

The history of Denver's water-works corporation is a story of repeated and costly changes in endeavors to secure and maintain an adequate supply of good water. Wherever it pitched its tent it found only a temporary abiding place. The swift growth of the city, and other causes, mostly incident thereto, compelled it, like the "Wandering Jew," to move on. It was not long after the capacity of the Lake Archer plant had been enlarged, until the quality of the water procurable there began gradually deteriorating through the accumulation of silt, vegetable and other matter in the canal and lake. The company had paid dearly for the conviction that merely removing the pumping

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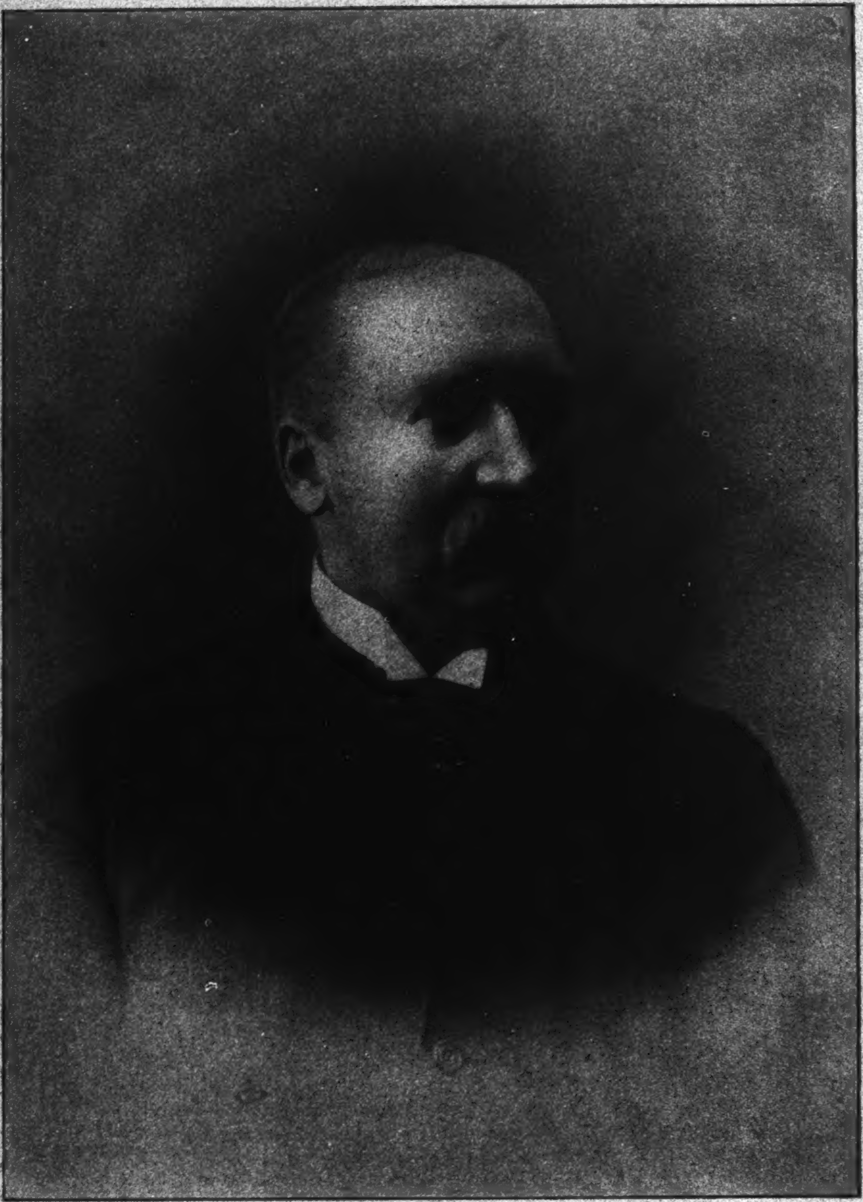
Walter Scott Cheesman, son of Joseph B. and Grace Rowling Cheesman, was born at Hempstead Harbor, Long Island, New York, June 27, 1838. He was educated in the public and High Schools of New York city and under private tutors. His father was a merchant of New York city, and during the war of 1812 with England served as Captain in a New York State regiment. His grandfather, Joseph Cheesman, also of New York city, was an officer in the Army of the Revolution; first serving as a First Lieutenant in Colonel William Malcom's New York regiment, and thereafter and until the close of the war as Captain of Artificers under General Kosciusko at West Point.

Mr. Cheesman lived in New York city until 1854, when he became a resident of Chicago, where he remained until the spring of 1861. In 1860 he had established a drug store in Denver that later developed into one of the prominent business houses of the pioneer era. To give personal attention to this business was the immediate cause of his coming hither from Chicago in the spring of 1861 to enter upon his long and useful citizenship in Denver. He continued in that business until 1874, when he withdrew from it to give his attention to other interests with which he had become associated; as he had, in the meantime, been actively engaged in the organization, direction and consummation of semi-public enterprises of commanding influence in the development and upbuilding of this city and this State.

Mr. Cheesman, as our reader will have learned in this Story of Denver, was a conspicuous member of that remarkable group of men, comparatively few in numbers but of indomitable faith and courage, that undertook in defiance of what to most men seemed insurmountable obstacles, the building of the pioneer railways in the Denver region; and followed with other great undertakings that were also potent in making this city what it is in the opening year of the Twentieth Century. No fact in the history of Denver stands out more clearly, more unmistakable, than that it was chiefly due to that group of sanguine young men that Denver was saved from the fate of remaining a mere village—if it sustained itself at that; and that the way was prepared and opened for the city becoming the metropolis of this great region of the Rocky Mountains. It is for the purpose of plainly setting forth such facts as this that this work enters so far into circumstantial details of Denver's development, of old-time conditions here, and of old-time difficulties and obstacles encountered and overcome by those who laid and made secure the foundations of this city and this Commonwealth.

Mr. Cheesman's active identification with the construction of the Denver Pacific, the Denver & Boulder Valley, the South Park, the Denver & New Orleans, the Denver, Texas & Fort Worth railways; his leadership in the Denver Union Depot & Railway Company; his long-existing official association with the First National Bank; his prominent connection with the water-supply system of the city from its inception; his relations to civic organizations; are fully stated in various chapters of this volume dealing directly and at length with these several subjects, and therefore need not be recounted in this note. His personal history as a citizen here is very largely a part of the history of Denver, as our reader will have seen.

Mr. Cheesman has withdrawn from direct participation in the affairs of several of the great enterprises with which he had been identified. He is now President of the Denver Union Water Company; President of the South Platte Canal & Reservoir Company; a Director of the First National Bank, of which he has long been First Vice-President; President of the State Bank of Aspen; and is largely interested in several companies engaged in mining. An owner of much real estate in and around Denver, his direct identity is with the city and its fortunes, as it always has been since he became a citizen in the pioneer days; and the spirit that led him on as one of that old-time group of State-builders remains with him. No man has a deeper, more sincere, regard for the welfare and advancement of Denver, nor greater honest pride in its history, progress, and in what promises to be its future, than he.—J. C. S.



Walter S. Cheesman.

plant and intake farther up stream would afford only temporary relief. Therefore, in its renewed efforts to procure water which would be permanently pure, the company devised the plan of obtaining it from the underflow through the gravel beds adjacent to the river, at the intersection of Mississippi street, and nearly three miles above the Lake Archer pumping station. At that time Littleton was still a hamlet, incapable of appreciably affecting the river water, Fort Logan had not come into existence, and there did not appear to be any probability that the city's growth would encroach upon the locality of the proposed new source of supply. In 1883 the company completed there a system of wooden galleries deep below the level of the river bed for the purpose of collecting the water which, percolating through the beds of sand and gravel which formed a large and perfect natural filter, entered the galleries clear and pure. This water was conveyed by a 48-inch conduit of 16,000,000 gallons daily capacity down to a new reservoir which had been constructed at the "West Denver" pumping station, and from which it was pumped into the distributing mains. Lake Archer, as a source of water supply, was then abandoned, and since that time the water pumped by the "West Denver" station has been drawn from the galleries at Mississippi street, which remain part of the present supply system. The water-power afforded by Lake Archer is used to some extent in the pumping still done by the station.

View at Marston Lake—Denver Union Water Company.

In 1883 considerable public interest was awakened in artesian wells, and from several sunk by individuals a fair flow of water was obtained. The beginning of the short-lived utility of artesian wells was in the spring of that year, when a good flow of water was struck rather by accident near the old St. Luke's Hospital in Highlands. In 1880 the City Council had been urged to drill an experimental well, but lack of faith and inclination stood in the way. In the summer of 1883, T. G. Anderson, the Alderman who had insisted on the city making a practical investigation, drilled a well on his own property on Colfax avenue, near Cherry creek, and received a moderate flow from a depth of three hundred and forty feet. After that, many wells were drilled in various parts of the city, and the Water Company also tried them. Several were sunk near the "West Denver" pumping station, but, like that of the others, their supply soon failed.

The underground galleries in the bed of the Platte continued to supply large quantities of excellent water, but, notwithstanding their subsequent extension and enlargement, the water company was soon required to again move on. The Platte river gallery supply became inadequate to meet the demands of the marvellously growing city, and on July 9, 1886, the auxiliary Domestic Water Company was incorporated which, in 1886-87 constructed in the bed of Cherry creek, at a point about nine miles above Denver, a new and larger system of water galleries similar to those in the bed of the Platte river. About 7,000,000 gallons daily of exceedingly good water were obtained there, and conveyed by a 37-inch underground conduit direct to the distributing mains in the city. These Cherry creek galleries are still in use and supply a portion of the water distributed by the present water-works system.

In June, 1888, two other auxiliary corporations, the Mountain Water Company and the Beaver Brook Water Company, were incorporated by the proprietary interests of the Denver Water Company to seek further water supplies from the sources indicated by their names. These corporations, together with the Domestic Company, did not long independently survive, as we will presently see.

The repeated and costly changes and enlargements in those days of extravagant prices for labor, and exorbitant freight rates on the vast quantities of pipe and machinery required for them, combined with a revenue at no time proportioned to the total outlay, entailed a great burden upon the stockholders of the several organizations that had made them. The water-works proposition had not at any time been a money-making one for those who had invested their capital in it, notwithstanding the inestimable benefits it had conferred upon the community. The unavoidable great expenditures, especially those entailed by constructing the

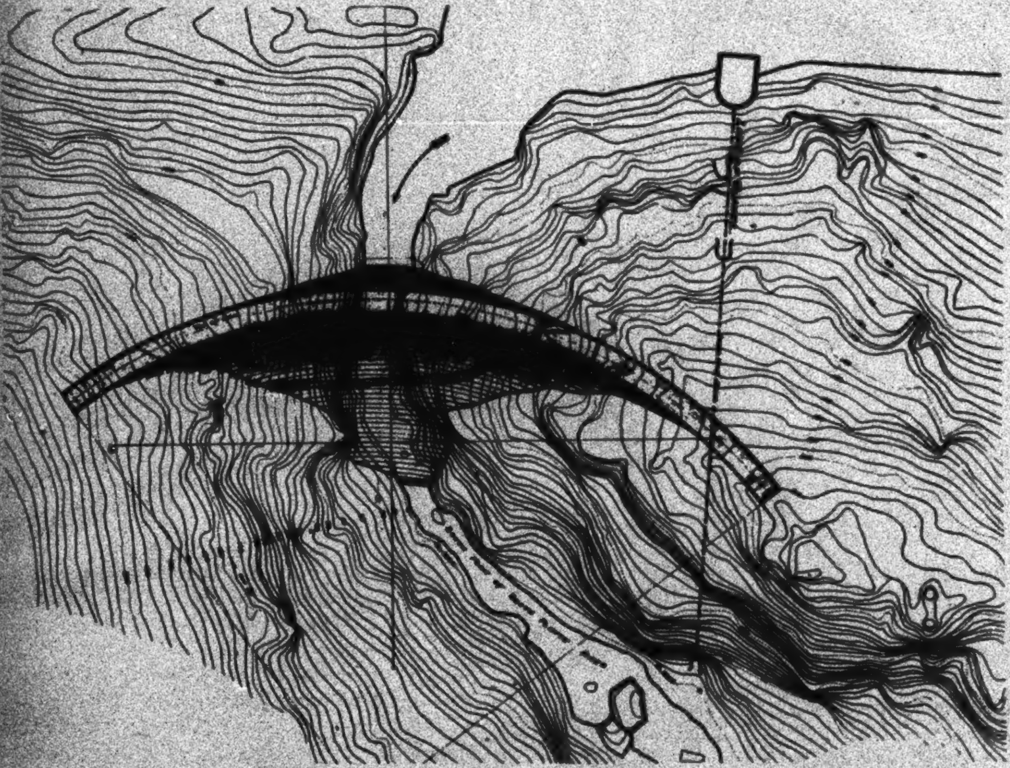


Fig. 1. The Great Dam at Lake Cheesman; canon and buttressing mountains as they would be seen from an overhead point of view.

water galleries far up Cherry creek, had caused much discontent among the stockholders. This finally resulted in open dissension breaking out among them early in that year, and in organizing a new and rival corporation—the Citizens' Water Company, which planned to go direct to the mountains for a water supply that would permanently meet the city's fast-increasing demands for quantity and quality.

The Citizens' Water Company was organized on March 30, 1889, with a capital stock of $3,000,000. Its first Board of Directors consisted of D. H. Moffat, E. F. Hallack, Richard Holme, George W. Clayton, W. S. Cheesman, Charles P. Allen, and W. B. Mills. D. H. Moffat was elected President; E. F. Hallack, Vice President; Richard Holme, Secretary and Manager; Charles P. Allen, Chief Engineer; the First National Bank being the Treasurer of the company.

By Ordinance No. 119, of 1889, approved November 22nd, the new company was authorized to lay its water mains in the streets, but it did not have a fire-hydrant contract with the city.

The Citizens' Company entered upon its career with great vigor, but it soon found plenty of trouble of its own. On every hand it encountered almost insurmountable obstacles of various kinds, legal and otherwise, but in less than two years was ready for its fierce and general competition with the older system. The new system was entirely a gravity one. Its water supply came from underground galleries constructed in the deep gravel beds of the South Platte at the mouth of the Platte canon, twenty-two miles distant from the heart of the city; and it was almost absolutely free from all contamination. From the Platte canon galleries the water was conveyed through a thirty-inch underground pipe having a daily capacity of 8,400,000 gallons, and connected with seventy-five miles of new distributing mains, which pretty thoroughly covered the entire city; the service being inaugurated in October, 1889. The quality of the water proving very fine—above suspicion or criticism, the new company was soon serving a large proportion of the Denver people. But, before the new system was much more than fairly in operation it became evident that with the rapid growth of the city, consumers would be found for a far greater quantity of water than the original thirty-inch conduit could supply; therefore, in 1892-93 a second one, of thirty-four inches diameter, receiving water under greater pressure, and having 16,000,000 gallons daily capacity, was laid from Platte canon. In preparation for this enlargement of capacity the company had discovered that it would be impossible to draw from the underground

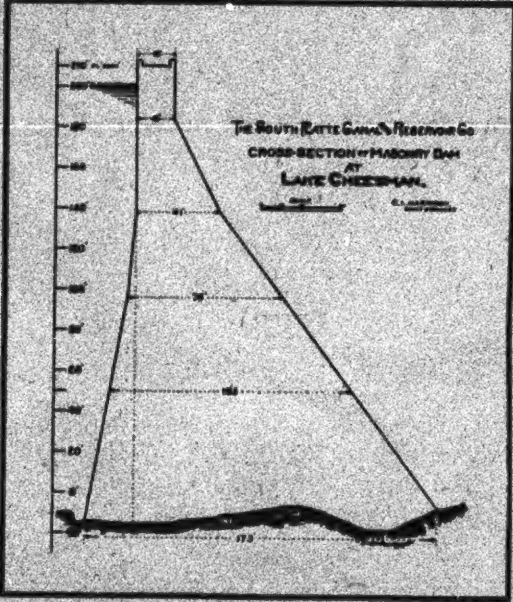

THE SOUTH PLATTE CANAL & RESERVOIR CO.
CROSS-SECTION OF MASONRY DAM
AT
LAKE CHEESMAN.
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Fig. 2. Cross-section of the Lake Cheesman Dam, showing horizontal thickness of masonry at various heights.

galleries at the mouth of the canon sufficient water to supply both conduits. Therefore it was decided to take water for the new and larger pipe directly from the river at a point high up in the canon. This gave the new conduit, proper, a length of nineteen miles, and necessitated construction of a large mechanical filtering plant at the place of inflow. This second line of pipe and its filtering appliances in the mountains went into service in April, 1893, and supplied an abundance of the purest and best water that had been brought to Denver up to that time.

In the meantime the old water company had passed through two more transformations. On November 15, 1890, all the property and other interests of the Denver Water Company (of 1882), and those of the subordinate Domestic, Mountain, and Beaver Brook water companies, passed by deed to the Denver City Water Works Company, a new corporation that had been organized by the proprietary interests of the three that were merged into it. This Denver City Water Works Company had an existence of but five months, for, on April 25, 1891, its entire property passed by deed to the American Water Works Company, which had been incorporated March 31, 1891.

In 1890 the distributing capacity of the Lake Archer station had been augmented by the addition of two more steam-driven pumps capable of discharging, combined, 12,000,000 gallons daily, and increasing the total capacity of the old system to 24,500,000 gallons daily; or nearly ten times that of the original system as built in 1871. However, the city in population and area, had increased in even greater ratio.

The Citizens' Company had also found itself confronted by some of the same trouble that had beset the older one, and had to move on. The demands upon its system had quickly become so great as to require doubling, and then trebling, the capacity of the filtering facilities in Platte canon; and finally, in 1892, necessitated constructing a new filtering establishment and obtaining additional sources of supply. For this purpose the company purchased a large natural basin beyond Fort Logan, transformed it by means of embankments into the immense storage reservoir now known as "Marston Lake," erected there a large filtration plant and connected it by a forty-four-inch conduit with the two mains leading to the city. The combined resources of the two water corporations could then afford the city, if necessary, an available daily maximum water supply exceeding 50,000,000 gallons; or a daily maximum per capita supply of 425 gallons, assuming the population to have then been 120,000. Quite enough, it would seem; but, ever since the first waterworks were constructed the consumption has been extravagantly large, though water is not the only beverage held in esteem by Denver people.

The competition between the two water corporations had become acute immediately upon the en-

Temporary bridge and false-work over the dam-site. Crest of the dam will be 110 feet above the top of the bridge.

trance of the Citizens' Company in the field. This, with all the other adverse circumstances, made the burden of the American Company, which had taken over many of the troubles of its predecessors as well as their property, greater than it could bear; and on February 2, 1892, it passed under the protecting care of a Receiver. However, the conflict between the two systems, which had become practically a war of extermination, still continued. The Citizens' Company had valorously and promptly abolished all charges to consumers, and for about two years supplied them with water absolutely free; its rival making a merely nominal charge in the meantime.

Colonel Archer had remained at the head of the old system until his death, in August, 1882; and his position had been subsequently filled in succession by R. R. McCormick, William B. Mills, W. P. Robinson, and Dennis Sullivan—a frequency of change that would seem to have reflected something of the straits into which the old system had fallen.

The ruinous warfare between the two systems, disastrous to both, though the older was in a condition that could not have been made much worse, was terminated in 1894. On September 5th, of that year, the property of the American Company was sold by the Receiver to a committee representing its creditor interests. Arrangements had been made for the consolidation of the two companies, and on October 18, 1894, a new corporation, the "Denver Union Water Company," was incorporated with $7,500,000 capital, to take over both properties. Its Board of Directors consisted of Walter S. Cheesman, David H. Moffat, George W. Clayton, Moses Hallett, James B. Grant, and Thomas S. Hayden, of Denver; Daniel Heald and George Coppell, of New York; and Theodore C. Woodbury, of Portland, Maine. The executive officers elected were Walter S. Cheesman, President; David H. Moffat, Treasurer; and Walter P. Miller, Secretary. Of the Directors, David Heald soon resigned, and Edward E. Poor, of New York, was chosen to fill his place. The same Board and executive officers have been annually re-elected since that time, saving at the last meeting (1900) of the stockholders Colonel David C. Dodge succeeded to the place made vacant by the death of George W. Clayton. On October 19, 1894, all the property and rights of the Citizens' and the American companies passed to the new organization, and the two theretofore warring corporations ceased to exist.

Immediately upon this reorganization the consolidated company proceeded to unite the two plants into one comprehensive and coherent system, and prepared to make extensive improvements and additions to it with the view of having it become one of the most complete and efficient in the country; though it would seem to have been, in the quality and quantity of water it afforded at that time, entitled to take high rank as it then existed. But this progressive policy received a backset in 1895 when the company became involved in a controversy with the city regarding water rates, which resulted in the company making a voluntary reduction of twenty per cent. in its charges. The margin between receipts and expenditures had already been a narrow one, but this reduction destroyed it and left the company in a seriously hampered condition. The consequent uncertain state of its finances and the hostile spirit which developed in the city government, compelled the company to abandon at that time its large designs and contemplated extensive additions to the system, and required it to limit itself strictly to such work as immediate needs demanded. In the summer of that year the larger of the pair of conduits from Platte canon was carried about one and one-half miles farther up the canon and provided with a new intake; and with this and certain extensions of water mains in the city, that year's improvements rested.

Entrance to the canon in which the dam is situated.

Through 1896 no important work in the direction of extending and enlarging the water-resources of the company was done; but plans were perfected for the large undertakings which were in contemplation the previous year. One of these was to greatly enlarge the storage capacity of Marston Lake, which is about ten miles southwest of the Capitol building. As originally constructed in 1892, that reservoir was about one-third of a mile wide and a half-mile long. In 1897 its embank-

Mountain wall of granite nearby the dam.

ments were raised some twelve feet, which gave the lake an area of about one square mile and made its storage capacity two and one-half billion gallons.

In 1898 the work of raising the Marston Lake embankments an additional sixteen feet was begun, and which is now practically completed. This increases the lake's storage capacity to over eight billion gallons of water; a quantity sufficient to supply the city on the basis of present consumption, over seven months, if every other source of supply were unavailable.

But this work was merely an incident in comparison with the colossal undertaking for which plans were projected in 1896-97—closing great canons in the mountains by giant walls of granite, back of which will be formed a large mountain lake of the purest water obtainable on the face of the earth, and permanently exempt from all probable future sources of contamination. This artificial body of water will much more than restore what once was a geologically ancient lake there in the mountains. The locality is on the South Fork of the South Platte, below the confluence of Goose, or Lost Park, creek, and distant about forty-eight miles from the Capitol building. The general region of the water-shed is in the southwestern part of Douglas county and the southern end of Jefferson, and is one of the more picturesque in Colorado. The projected short line to Cripple Creek of the Colorado & Southern Railway Company, will, if built, pass within view of the larger part of the new lake.

The reservoir will extend backward from the dam nearly seven miles up the South Fork, and about three miles up the rugged canon of Goose creek; the waters of both streams being intercepted. The width of the reservoir, which will be of very irregular contour, will vary from five hundred feet to about one mile; and the depth of water will be two hundred and twenty feet at the dam, one hundred and fifty feet at a distance of three miles, and fifty feet at a distance of six miles. These depths will not prevail over the whole area, but will represent conditions in the middle parts of the basin. Several small lateral canons will also be flooded by long and narrow, but deep, inlets of the sparkling water, of which there will be impounded the enormous maximum of thirty-five billion gallons.

Such quantities as thirty-five billions of units of anything stagger the mind in its efforts to comprehend them; but, as water quantities are always stated in gallons, the figures have to be used. Suppose all that water were put in tin cans six inches square, each holding a gallon, and all stood in a straight row, in contact with each other; 10,560 of them would extend a mile, and the whole thirty-five billion would stretch away 3,314,394 miles. There would be nearly enough to make fourteen rows—a solid belt seven feet wide—from the earth to the moon; almost enough to make 133 rows around the earth at the equator, or a belt of water-cans, each in contact with the other, sixty-six and one-half feet wide—the width of an

View of canon showing river when flowing over the temporary dam which is about thirty feet above bed-rock.

average city street, including the sidewalks. If other comparisons be desired, it may be said that the Capitol building is the only one in the State that approaches what will be the height of the finished dam; yet, the waters of the reservoir would submerge it, dome and all, if the building were set down just inside the dam.

The construction and proprietorship of this great work are committed to the South Platte Canal and Reservoir Company, an organization auxiliary to the Denver Union Water Company and owned and controlled by the proprietary interests of the water company. Of this dependent corporation Walter S. Cheesman is President; Thomas S. Hayden, Vice President; David H. Moffat, Treasurer; Walter P. Miller, Secretary; and Charles L. Harrison, Chief Engineer. Preliminary construction work began in the autumn of 1898, and the dam when completed will be nearly double the height of the Equitable Building. The locality of the reservoir is an irregularly shaped rugged basin through which the South Fork of the South Platte flows, and from which the stream escapes through a narrow, winding gorge about a mile long, its granite walls rising very abruptly to a height of 500 feet. The dam is situated near the upper end of the gorge the sides of which are its buttresses. The bottom of the gorge is quite narrow, the base courses of masonry in the dam being only some thirty to forty feet in length; at the height of fifty feet they faster become elongated, until the top courses of the completed dam have a length of about 600 feet, and a height of 230 from the foundation.

The dam as originally contemplated was to have been of the structural type known as a loose-rock fill, made water-tight by the addition of a plating of steel upon the water-side face. It was finally determined, however, by the company's Chief Engineer, that the advantages of a structure of solid masonry of approved design were sufficient to warrant the greatly increased cost. The new plans show a structure with convex face, 173 feet thick at the base, eighteen feet thick at the crest, built of large granite blocks quarried near the site, and laid in a rich Portland cement mortar; making the structure as solid and enduring as the granite rock on which it is founded, or the granite mountain-walls between which it rises.

The accompanying drawings prepared for this work by Chief Engineer Harrison assist to an understanding of the character of the structure. Figure 1 (page 799) shows the general plan of the dam which is in the form of an arc of a circle with a radius of 400 feet, the convex side being up stream, and the two ends abutting against the solid granite mountains. It will be seen that the water-pressure against the up-stream face of the dam will tend to wedge it tighter into the canon, making it an absolutely safe and stable structure. Figure 2 (page 800) shows a section of the dam, giving its thickness at various heights from its foundation to its crest.*

Charles L. Harrison.

When the reservoir is filled there will be a greater depth of water (220 feet) in front of the dam than is to be found retained by any other in the world. The new Croton dam now in process of construction near New York city is to have about 140 feet; the Wachusett dam near Boston, has about 100 feet; and the Furens dam in France, 164 feet. The Lake Cheesman dam will also, with

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*After this work had gone to press, the expediency of adding ten feet to the height of the dam was taken under consideration, with probabilities that the addition would be made.

Charles L. Harrison, Chief Engineer for the Denver Union Water Company and the South Platte Canal and Reservoir Company, was born at Auxvasse, Mo., March 5, 1857. Entering the Missouri State University, he was graduated from its Civil Engineering Department in 1880. Soon thereafter he was engaged on the United States' improvement of the lower Mississippi river, and subsequently on the government's reservoir system at the headwaters of that stream in Minnesota. Later he was for seven years District Engineer of the Chicago end of the Chicago Drainage Canal, and was then called to the United States' survey for a ship-canal between the great lakes and the Atlantic seaboard. Upon completion of that service he was sent to participate in the United States survey of the Panama Canal, to report upon the condition of that work, the feasibility of its route as compared with that of the proposed Nicaragua Canal, and to estimate the cost of finishing it. From Panama he came to Denver to take engineering charge of designing and constructing the great dam that will retain the waters of Lake Cheesman. —J. C. S.

HIGH WATER LINE

View of the reservoir when containing about twenty feet of water, looking toward the canon. On the left is shown the intake of the lower tunnel; in the center, the bridge spanning the canon 110 feet below the top of the dam.

the single exception of the new Croton dam, be the highest dam, from the foundation to the top, ever built; but a large portion of the Croton dam is required to be, for foundation purposes, below the normal surface of the valley in which it is built, while practically no excavating was required to find suitable foundations for the Lake Cheesman dam. Therefore, as a visible object this dam will be by far the highest retaining wall structure in the world. The elevation of extreme high water in the reservoir will be about 6,850 feet above sea level, and about 1,600 feet higher than Denver, taking the city's elevation at one mile; thus making it, also, the highest artificial large body of water in the world.

Considering that the bottom and sides of the entire reservoir area, and the water-shed of some 1,600 square miles rising above it to an elevation of 14,000 feet, are composed of granite and granitic sand, and that the lake will be fed by pure mountain streams formed by melting snows, there is nowhere else to be found a large reservoir so admirably adapted to storage of potable waters.

Provision for the quick escape of surplus water, and for withdrawing that intended for consumption, and for maintaining the South Platte river's irrigation supply as required by law, is made, not by conduits through the dam structure nor by allowing the water to overflow its crest, as are common practices, but by great tunnels cut through the solid granite of the mountains adjacent to the dam; and also by way of a depression, or "saddle," forming a natural spillway about 600 feet from the dam and ten feet lower than its crest, which will discharge surplus water through what was probably an ancient outlet. The discharge over the rim of this natural opening between mountains will form a cascade flowing into the canon below, the waters continuing their course down the Platte river. This natural spillway is intended to take only the surplus waters, and is made large enough to discharge five times the greatest volume of water ever known to have passed down the river from that region.

The larger and lower, or main, tunnel is 470 feet long, six feet wide and seven high through the upper half of its length; and eight feet by nine feet, respectively, through the lower half. Connecting with this tunnel are two others, running down at different angles, from the fifty-foot, and the 100-foot, levels. The tunnel from the fifty-foot level is six feet wide and six high, and the other, from the 100-foot level is of the same dimensions, and pitches downward through the mountain granite at an angle of forty-five degrees; the aggregate length of the two minor tunnels being 675 feet. Their arrangement provides for drawing water from what may be the upper level of the reservoir at varying stages of rising or falling between the level of the lowest or main tunnel and that of the natural spill-way. However, it is not probable that the lower valves will often be opened in the course of many years. But, as the water may be lowered in the reservoir, each series of successive valves and the tunnel they supply are of sufficient capacity to discharge water enough for a city of a half-million people.

View of the river immediately above the dam, looking upstream, and showing the character of ground that will form the reservoir benches.

The controlling valves with which the tunnels are fitted will be operated by hydraulic power, and through them the outflow for city consumption and irrigation needs will be regulated, when water ceases to flow over the natural spill-way. The sizes of the valves used may be conjectured from the weight of two of the larger ones, which aggregate twenty-two tons, while the four-way valves weigh eighteen tons. In one series there are eight, thirty-five-inch, balanced valves worked by one stem and which control the inflow to the larger tunnel. The available water-power at and below the dam, estimated to be near twenty thousand horse-power, may be utilized for electrical purposes.

The arrangements for handling and controlling the water without passing it through or over the dam are made available by the peculiarly favorable conditions of the mountain topography; and when completed the entire work will be a great engineering achievement. Its total cost will approximate $1,000,000, and the finished dam, with all its safeguards and devices, will represent the best known engineering practices for impounding and controlling large bodies of water of great depth.

The sources of supply are undoubtedly the best that can be found within practicable distance of Denver; and that the great reservoir will afford the city a water-supply far exceeding in purity and general excellence that of any other city in the United States, also admits of no doubt. One of the means to this end is the clearing of the entire area that will be flooded, of timber, undergrowth, and mountain rubbish that by decay, might adversely affect the quality of the impounded water. Before construction work began the locality was visited by L. E. Cooley, Chief Engineer of the Chicago Drainage Canal, and a man distinguished in his profession of hydraulic engineer, who, in his report to the water company which had requested his presence and judgment, said:

> "It will be seen that the conditions are most ideal. A forest reserve, which avoids any considerable future population, the surface more or less shaded against excessive evaporation, a substantial absence of humus, and soil conditions which de-

liver the majority of the waters to the stream by percolation, or natural filtration, and equalizes the flow.

"Attention has already been called to the remarkable conditions favoring a pure water from the South fork of the South Platte. The character of the collecting ground and of the storage reservoir, and the protection afforded by the forest reserve make it pre-eminently the water supply reservation for the future of Denver. I can hardly conceive of conditions elsewhere any more favorable, or that any other city of the semi-arid West can be more richly endowed."

It is anticipated that before the close of the second year of the new century the great work will have been completed, and a practically unlimited supply of pure water, absolutely secured to the city, that will meet every emergency likely to arise. That such a consummation is entitled to rank as the greatest public benefit a community can possess is beyond discussion.

Toe of the dam, downstream face; construction at ninety-five feet above foundation. Photographed September 1, 1901, while this work was in press.

The landscape effects produced by this fine engineering work will be rarely beautiful. From the surface of the mountain-locked lake will rise the summits of a dozen or more partly submerged elevations and peaks which will make granite islands, with growths of pine trees upon them, here and there in the expanse of crystal water. Rising abruptly from the shores to heights exceeding 11,000 feet above the sea, the lofty mountains will complete the wild, rugged and majestic beauty of the picture. The place will not, however, be permitted to be made a "resort," but will be rigorously kept in its natural seclusion and free from the contamination that would follow its invasion by excursion parties and other crowds of summer visitors. Even fishermen and hunters will be excluded by guards who will keep all intruders from disturbing the solitudes of Lake Cheesman, a name that has by common approval already been bestowed upon the soon-to-be artificial body of water up there in the mountains.

The reader will have seen that from the beginning the problem of providing the fast-growing city with the extraordinarily large quantity of pure water demanded by the people for the extravagant use to which they have become habituated, has been continually one of extreme difficulty, and involving expenditure of vast amounts of money. In the vicinity of the city there are no large natural bodies of water, nor are there any streams of consequence. There are a few small lakes the waters of which rapidly disappear by absorption and evaporation in the summer months, and would frequently be unfit for use if they did not. The South Platte, once a river in fact as well as in name, has, through a variety of causes, chief of which is the drain for irrigation, become ordinarily a mere brook in its channel flow, excepting in times of occasional freshets which soon run out. The only recourse was to go to the mountains, far from sources of contamination, for a sufficient and permanent supply. But that was not all that the circumstances and conditions required. In our warm summers the snow melts rapidly on the mountain slopes, and in the season when demands are greatest Nature's rain-fall contributions are smallest. This left no alternative but to wall up the cañons and create great reservoirs to hold the abundant waters of the spring season as an absolutely sure reserve for use through the summer, autumn, and winter, in any emergency, and that would meet the demands of a city of five times Denver's present population. It was a bold proposition, both from the standpoint of the engineer and from that of the men who provide the money to pay the great cost; but the problem has been met and finally and triumphantly solved upon a scale that is unsurpassed by that of any engineering work for a similar purpose in the world.

In addition to this great new reservoir and to Marston Lake, the Water company has several smaller reserves. Two miles west of Marston Lake are Harriman and three or four other smaller lakes supplied by a conduit extending up Bear creek—the rights to the surplus water of which

Upstream face of the unfinished dam with masonry ninety-five feet above foundation, and retaining seventy feet of water. Photographed September 1, 1901, while this work was in press.

are owned by the company—to a point above Morrison. These lakelets supplement Marston Lake. The Company also owns two large reservoir sites at the mouth of Platte canon; considerable work has been done on reservoirs there, calculated to impound about ten billion gallons of the surplus spring water of the mountain river. The company controls all the surplus water of the Platte, and of Cherry and Plum creeks, together with the underflow of those streams. In the city there are three reservoirs, and three steel storage tanks, with a combined capacity of about sixty million gallons. One reservoir is at the "West Denver" pumping station, another on Columbine street in the eastern part of the city, and the third in the northwestern part of the city. One of the tanks is in the Cottage Hill district and the other two in the northern part of the University Park section.

It would seem that there is no end to the provisions made and precautions taken to guarantee this city a bountiful supply of water. The statistics of the enormous total storage capacity, of water rights aggregating over 250 million gallons daily, of a filtering system capable of taking care of fifty or sixty millions, of trunk conduits able to deliver seventy millions, cause the mind to grow aweary of figures.

While in a general sense the Denver water system is a gravity one, some pumping is done in the city. As we have mentioned, the old "West Denver" station is still in service. To maintain high pressure in the elevated eastern part of the city, a steam pumping-station with two pumps of 6,000,000 gallons combined daily capacity is maintained on Columbine street at one of the city reservoirs. In the "North Denver" district a similar station on Ashland Avenue, with a capacity of 2,000,000 gallons daily, serves the elevated section in that part of Denver. The water pressure throughout the city ranges from 45 to 115 pounds. The distributing equipment in the city now consists of upward of 400 miles of street-mains to which are attached about 2,700 fire hydrants.

Upon completion of additions to the distributing system within the city, as provided for at the close of our record, it will be capable of continuously supplying seventy million gallons of water daily—sufficient for double Denver's present population; and with Lake Cheesman in reserve all that will be required for abundantly meeting the needs of a still greater population will be further additions to the distributing facilities as demand for them arises. As we have mentioned, the usual consumption is still abnormally large; something over 260 gallons daily per capita of the present population. During the summer months of 1900 the total consumption ranged from forty-two to forty-eight million gallons every twenty-four hours, as shown by meters in the several trunk-line conduits.

Comparatively few men realize the commanding influence an ample supply of good water has on the growth and prosperity of a city. No community can expand beyond the limits of its water resources, and all larger cities in this country and elsewhere in the world are within easy reach of abundant fresh water. Denver, situated in what is not improperly termed an arid region, is the largest city in the world so situated; yet it has become the financial, commercial and manufacturing metropolis of the vast empire of arid country. It could not have become such nor could it continue to grow greater with a water supply insufficient for the daily needs of the people and industries within its limits. No other community so large as that of Denver is so peculiarly circumstanced with relation to its water supply. In other cities the great problem is to efficiently distribute to consumers water from sources readily accessible and practically unlimited in quantity; here the problem is—or was—to secure water for distribution.

View of Lake Cheesman with seventy feet of water behind the unfinished dam. The line above the center of the picture marks elevation of the additional 140 feet of water the finished dam will retain. Photographed September 1, 1901, while this work was in press.

The available water supply in this part of the country is being more heavily drawn upon year by year for irrigation, so that the only recourse now available for securing large quantities is to store the flood-waters of the spring and early summer. In pioneer times the South Platte was a year-round stream worthy the name "river;" during the summer of 1900 it was, between Denver and the mouth of its canon, at one time reduced to a succession of mere pools. When this city shall have doubled, trebled, its population, as it certainly will within a few decades, the people will appreciate at somewhere near full value the wisdom and foresight of those who secured for them, before it was too late, the priceless water-rights and resources included in the great work of which we have given some account on these pages.

It is to be said, also, that the water system of no other important city possesses a physical equipment capable of meeting, without burdensome expense to the consumer or taxpayer, so large a per capita consumption as that of Denver; and no such city permits the lavish, almost unrestricted, use of water from street mains that is the common and negatively sanctioned practice in Denver.

Covering all waterworks operations since Colonel James Archer made the beginning thirty years ago, the Denver water-supply system will, after the Lake Cheesman reservoir and its adjuncts shall have been completed, represent an outlay of about $14,000,000; the larger part of which will have been expended in successive and finally successful efforts to secure a great plenty of pure water for present needs, and for future demands of a city population increased to more than a half-million people.

CHAPTER LXVII.

BANKS AND BANKING—PIONEER FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS—CLARK, GRUBER & COMPANY'S MINT AND ITS COINAGE—PARSON'S COINS—SCRIP ISSUES—HISTORY OF VARIOUS BANKING ORGANIZATIONS—ERLANGER'S "BANK"—WALTER A. STUART—NATIONAL AND SAVINGS BANKS—EFFECT OF PANIC OF 1893—EXISTING NATIONAL AND OTHER BANKS—DENVER CLEARING HOUSE—UNITED STATES MINT—DENVER AS A FINANCIAL CENTER—ENORMOUS PRESENT RESOURCES OF DENVER NATIONAL BANKS.

The comparatively few pioneers who came to the Pike's Peak region in 1858 brought but little money with them. They had little to bring, and there was not much use for it here around the mouth of Cherry creek in that first year, or part of a year, in Denver's history. Those who intended remaining here through the winter of 1858-59 had brought their outfits and supplies with them, and had small need to buy. There was a good deal of swapping among Denver's pioneers that winter, but the two or three merchants here at that time had few cash customers, or any other kind of customers.

The inrush of people in the spring of 1859 brought a relatively large amount of money with it—practically all gold and silver coin. Every man was his own banker, and tried to hold on to his money until he could see from where more might be coming, but did not always succeed. The region was then not producing anything of consequence either in mineral or agricultural value, and until actual values began to be produced in the country, it had no need for banks and bankers. The gold discoveries on Clear creek and its branches in the spring of 1859 were soon followed by the appearance and use of gold dust and small nuggets in business transactions. In paying large amounts there was little difficulty in weighing the gold with sufficient exactness to be fair to both sides; but in small transactions, such as buying a drink or two of whiskey, or making other purchases calling for comparatively small quantities of dust, the weighing was against the customer nearly every time. As an offset to this the dealer pointed out that much of the gold was impure, and carried more or less base stuff in consequence of the crudeness in methods of retorting. Furthermore, and to his grief and loss, some unworthy citizens were adulterating the dust with filings of brass and spelter, which were hard to detect. So, the crude weighing probably made a fair average for both parties in the long run.

The purity of the placer gold depended to some extent upon the locality of its discovery. The Platte river, Cherry creek, and the lower reaches of Clear creek, yielded gold that was almost absolutely pure. That from the other diggings in the general region of Denver was usually attended by foreign matter to the extent of about five per cent. The common, rough and ready, way of determining these values approximately, was by rubbing some of the dust on a piece of native "iron-stone" polished for the purpose. The amount of discoloration left on the stone in the form of marks by the base material in the dust afforded a rough means of determining its proportion, and so of estimating the true gold values.

These circumstances, and the fast increasing quantity of dust in the hands of the population, called for the services of men who would make a special business of buying crude gold at its value as ascertained by more accurate methods, and paying for it in definite money of some kind. It was because of this immediate necessity that the first "bankers" began business in Denver. They were not bankers, in the true sense of that term, but brokers, who bought gold dust, paying for it in money, and shipping the dust to bankers in the towns along the Missouri river, whose agents the brokers in one sense were. The prices paid the miners ranged between twelve and sixteen dollars per ounce, according to the varying quantities of foreign matter carried. Bright yellow gold was almost the pure article; while that of darker hues was debased by copper or some of the other cheap metals. As silver was not produced for several years after, the pioneer "bankers" had no trade in it. The express company's charge for carrying gold dust on its stages from Denver to the Missouri river in 1859-60 was five per cent. of its value. Some parties, to avoid what seemed to them an excessive charge, sometimes bargained with the stage coach passengers to carry the dust in concealment for a smaller compensation. But, as we have seen, the company soon found a remedy for that sort of business.

Notwithstanding that a relatively large amount of gold and silver coin was brought into the country by the hosts of the spring of 1859, by autumn of that year gold dust constituted the principal part of the circulating medium. After midsummer of 1860 the gold coins minted by Clark, Gruber & Co. came into quite general use. In 1862 the United States paper money of the war time made its appearance here in limited quantities, and in 1863 in company with a few of the notes of eastern National banks; but it was not until August, 1865, that National bank notes of local origin—those of the First National—made their appearance here. During the war time Denver and Colorado were practically on a specie basis.

The first buyers of gold dust in Denver, the first "bankers and brokers" to begin such business as a business in a permanent establishment, were the brothers, Samuel and George W. Brown, who came here in 1860, and in June of that year opened their office in a log building on the north side of Larimer street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, next to the old Apollo Hall. Samuel Brown did not long remain in the business or the country, but George W. Brown, who later became the first collector of Internal Revenue here, continued the business several years and during part of his term as Collector. He was a citizen of Denver until his death which occurred but a few years ago.

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Bank and Mint, autumn of 1860.

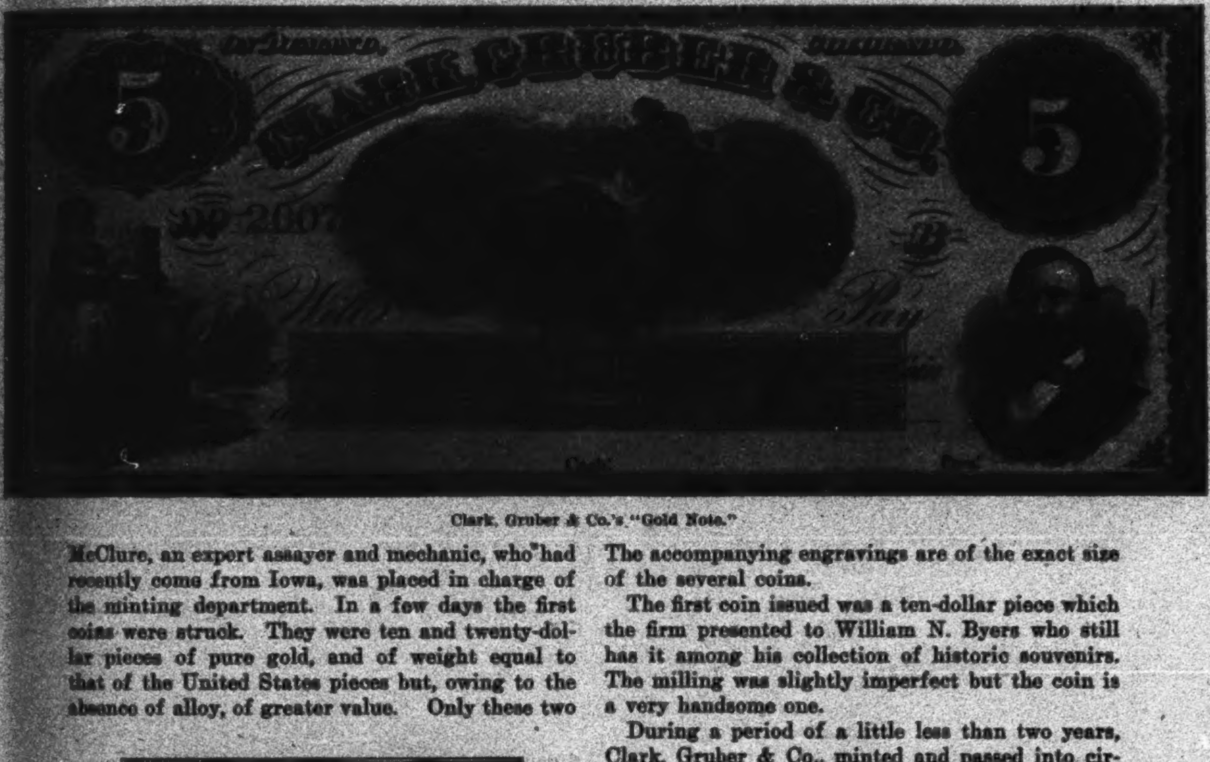
A week or two after the brothers Brown had located themselves, a second establishment opened its doors. This was that of Turner & Hobbs who also arrived in the spring of 1860, and late in June began business as "bankers and brokers," with the late George W. Kassler as Cashier. William H. Russell, of the plains freighting firm of Russell, Majors & Waddell, and of the overland Stage and Express Company, was the financial backer and principal owner of the concern.

U. Turner and Joshua Hobbs who, at least nominally, constituted the firm of Turner & Hobbs, first established themselves in Reed & Hiffner's building on Eleventh (Ferry) street, but later occupied a two-story brick building, which was among the pioneers of its kind in Denver and which is still standing on the southwest corner of Larimer and Tenth streets. Governor Evans afterward used the second floor of that building for the Territorial executive offices. The business of Turner & Hobbs took on banking features at the outset, and it would seem that they were the first bankers in Denver. However, this pioneer banking house did not long endure. In the summer of 1861, after a career of about one year, it was discontinued and the two nominal proprietors went back to the States. If the bank did much business it ought to have made money, for the interest rates charged ranged from ten to twenty-five per cent. per month.

Denver's great financial institution of pioneer times was the bank and mint of Clark, Gruber & Co. This historic establishment was also founded in 1860, and its operations had an extended and beneficial influence in the development of the new country. In 1858 this firm was located at Leavenworth, Kansas, and engaged in banking. Austin M. Clark and Milton E. Clark, brothers, had come to Leavenworth from Ripley, Ohio, in 1857; and E. H. Gruber, a native of Hagerstown, Maryland, had removed thither from St. Louis in the same year. In the spring of 1858 the three young men formed the partnership above mentioned. In the course of events the firm began to receive gold dust from the new gold region at Pike's Peak, and as the quantity rapidly increased, these men conceived the plan of establishing a bank at Denver, and in connection with it a mint to convert the dust into coins of the weight and value of those of the United States. By this means they would save the excessive cost of transporting the dust across the plains with armed guards to protect it; and that saving alone would afford a good profit. Their plans contemplated coining full weight and full value pieces of regular denominations, and which would be above suspicion and deception in every way. It was also believed that the conversion of the dust into such coins by an establishment located within sight of the new gold mines would prove an attractive and popular proposition to the people in the new country. At that time there was no explicit provision of United States law forbidding private coinage, and some similar minting had been done in California ten years previous. Furthermore, the firm intended to transact a general banking business in connection with their production of gold coinage; and it is to be said that all these plans and purposes were well fulfilled.

The new project crystallized at Leavenworth in the winter of 1859-60, and early in the spring of the last-named year Austin M. Clark and E. H. Gruber came to Denver to institute preparations for carrying it into effect, while Milton E. Clark went to Boston to procure dies and presses for minting. The firm bought several lots at the northwest corner of Market and Sixteenth streets, and on the corner lot erected a rather small two-story brick building. The machinery arrived that spring, but owing to delay in completing the building and installing the presses the establishment was not ready for business until midsummer.

On July 20, 1860, Clark, Gruber & Co. opened their bank and coinage mint and began business. The building was an imposing one for its time—the "show-place" of the town—and the interior was handsomely fitted and furnished. George W. McClure, an expert assayer and mechanic, who had recently come from Iowa, was placed in charge of the minting department. In a few days the first coins were struck. They were ten and twenty-dollar pieces of pure gold, and of weight equal to that of the United States pieces but, owing to the absence of alloy, of greater value. Only these two denominations and designs were coined in 1860. In preparation for the next year's work new dies of different designs and of two additional denominations were provided. The coinage of 1861 consisted of \$2.50, \$5, \$10, and \$20 pieces. These were alloyed according to the United States standard, as it had been discovered that the pure-gold coins of 1860 were abrading too much by reason of their softness; but the coins of 1861 were given one per cent more gold than United States coins contained. This was done to protect holders against loss by wear, and to be an absolute guarantee of full value. This increase in weight was really sufficient to cover the reduced later transportation charges on the coins to the Missouri river, if holders chose to treat them as bullion. These issues of 1861 bore a close resemblance to United States coinage. For the figure of Pike's Peak the Liberty cap with the words "Pike's Peak" on it was substituted; and around it were the words "Clark, Gruber & Co." The accompanying engravings are of the exact size of the several coins.



Clark, Gruber & Co.'s "Gold Note."

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Ten Dollar "Pike's Peak Gold" coin, 1860.

The first coin issued was a ten-dollar piece which the firm presented to William N. Byers who still has it among his collection of historic souvenirs. The milling was slightly imperfect but the coin is a very handsome one.

During a period of a little less than two years, Clark, Gruber & Co., minted and passed into circulation about \$3,000,000 worth of their coinage, which was accepted at par everywhere in Colorado; and also, in common with every form of gold, passed to a premium. For a year or more the propriety of such private coinage was not questioned here, though it did later arise here and elsewhere. The firm's perfect good faith, the honesty and overflowing value of its mintage, and the freedom of everything savoring of deception, forbade any serious questioning of their operations. For a short time they coined dust for brokers and miners at a maximum commission charge of five per cent., but that was soon discontinued and the work confined to their own purchases of bullion over their counter. Late in 1860 they opened a branch bank at Central City, and at both places paid for gold in their own coin, or in drafts or checks available elsewhere, and later in currency as soon as the early war issues began making a straggling appearance out here. They also issued handsome steel-engraved demand notes, of the denomination of five dollars, payable in their coinage, at the Denver house. These readily passed current and were redeemed in money that, toward the close of the firm's minting operations, was at a premium. Indeed, in 1862 the notes commanded a premium in United States currency, thus presenting the extraordinary circumstance of paper promises to pay issued by three private citizens being of greater value than the paper promises issued by the Nation.

Of course, these coinage operations were of immense benefit to the general banking business of the firm, and gave it many advantages over competitors without a minting annex. An enormous and profitable business was transacted, and in all its operations the firm's honor and integrity were never questioned. But in 1861, after the first Territorial administration had fairly settled down to its work, some discussion as to the propriety, if not the legality, of this coinage within the shadow of the new government, began; not by Governor Gilpin, nor any of his officers, but in a general way and, perhaps, as one of the consequences of the presence, at last, of established government by authority of the United States.

In the summer of 1861 a movement was inaugurated to have the government establish a branch mint at Denver. The first Territorial convention of the Republican party was held at Golden on July 2nd, of that year, and among its resolutions was one declaring the necessity for a public mint here, and pledging the party's support in whatever might be necessary to procure it. Clark, Gruber & Co., conscious of some technical impropriety in continuing their mintage, though of no turpitude whatever, heartily favored the proposition and became chiefly instrumental in bringing it to a favorable conclusion, and one that enabled them to bring their minting operations to a termination.

Hiram P. Bennet was elected in the autumn of 1861 as Colorado's first Delegate in Congress. Austin M. Clark accompanied him to Washington before the assembling of Congress that year, and they brought the matter first to the attention of the Secretary of the Treasury, with a statement

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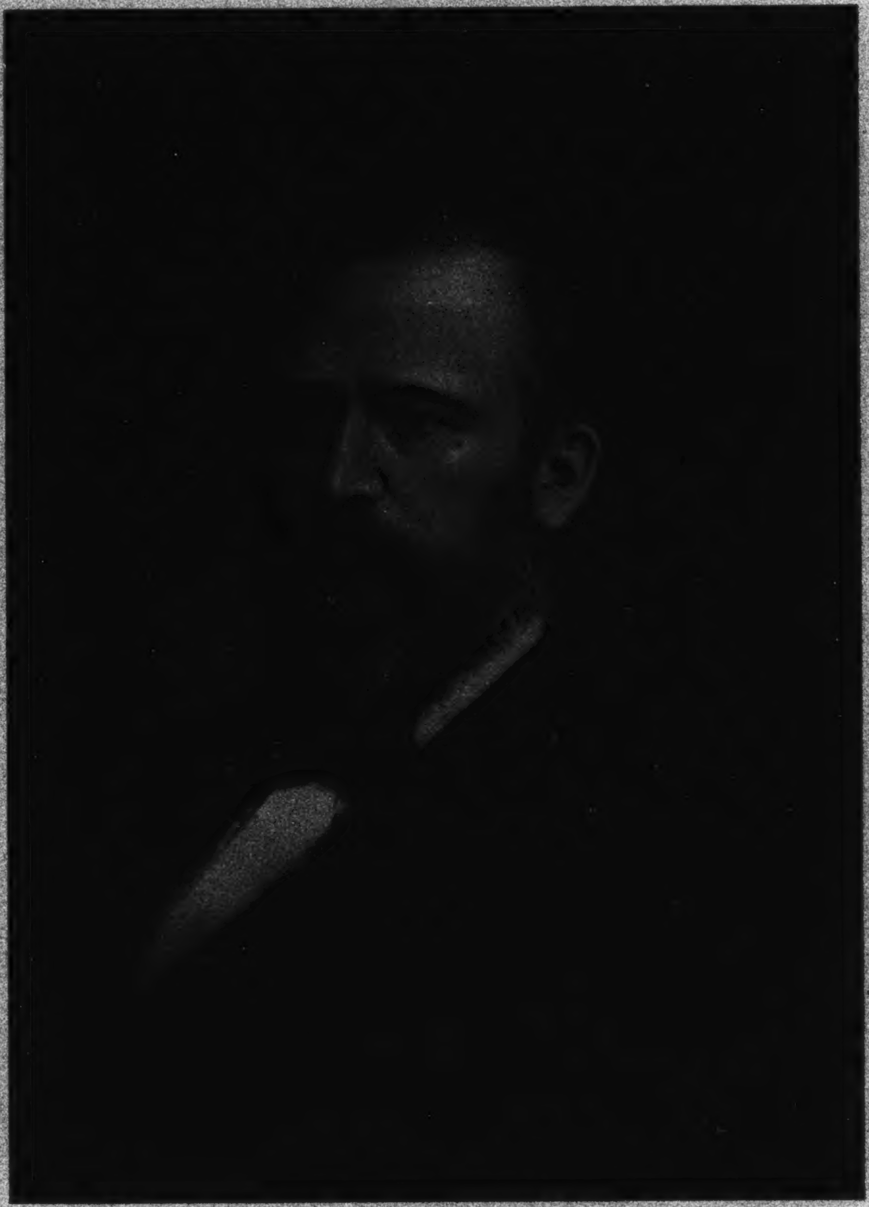
Jerome B. Chaffee, who was chiefly instrumental in organizing the First National Bank of Denver, was born in Niagara county, N. Y., April 17, 1825. After receiving an academic education he located in Michigan, but soon afterward removed to St. Joseph, Mo., where he subsequently engaged in banking. In 1857 he organized the Elmwood, Kan., Town Company, of which he became Secretary and Manager.

Coming to Colorado in the spring of 1860, Mr. Chaffee went to Gilpin county where he engaged in mining and later, in company with Eben Smith, erected a stamp-mill. For many years thereafter he was one of the great mine operators in Colorado, having been a large owner in the famous consolidated "Bob Tail" mines in Gilpin county, the Caribou mine in Boulder, and in scores of lesser note elsewhere in those counties and in Clear Creek county; and when Leadville developed he became one of the owners of the little Pittsburgh and other opulent mines in that district. His mining operations, which he continued until his death, yielded him a large fortune, much of which he lost by the failure of Grant & Ward.

Having previously established his home in this city, he was, as elsewhere related in this chapter, elected President of the First National Bank of Denver when that institution was organized in 1865, and continued at its head until January, 1880. About the time the bank was organized, or soon thereafter, he was appointed one of the United States' representatives in the Board of Directors of the Union Pacific railroad, a position he filled several years.

But it was in his political career that Mr. Chaffee gained his wider fame. This began in 1861 when he was elected Representative from Gilpin county in the first Territorial Legislature of Colorado. In 1863 he was re-elected and became Speaker of the House. We have already told of the efforts between 1864 and 1869 to gain Colorado's admittance as a State and in which he actively and zealously participated, and also during which he was elected United States Senator in the earlier preliminary proceedings. After those several movements had met defeat, he was elected, in 1870, Delegate in Congress from Colorado, and was re-elected in 1872; serving four years in that position. As a delegate he was remarkably successful and influential in securing enactment of laws, several of which were of especial importance and economic value to Colorado. A forceful figure in the movement that made Colorado a State in 1876, he was elected one of Colorado's first two United States Senators, taking his seat in December, 1876, for the shorter term that ended in March, 1879. Several laws favorably affecting miners enacted at that time originated with him, and he also made vigorous and effective war against the abuses practiced by the Union Pacific railroad in that period. He declined a re-election to the Senate, and devoted the remainder of his life to his private affairs. He was one of the founders of the Republican party, always adhered to its principles and policies, and took great pride in the fact that he had been a Delegate in each of its National conventions from its beginning up to and including the convention of 1884. He was a great power in our Territorial and State politics, long a leader of the Republican party in Colorado, and a man of large influence in National affairs.

Senator Chaffee died March 9, 1886, at the home of his son-in-law, U. S. Grant, Jr., at Salem Center, Westchester county, N. Y. In the closing years of his life he had not been so closely identified here as in the preceding periods, but still retained his general interests. While not among the first great host that came to seek fortunes in Colorado, he was by instinct a pioneer, a natural leader of the way and of men; and in Denver's history and in that of Colorado he stands upon an eminence.—J. C. S.



Jerome B. Chaffee.

of what the firm had done in coining gold, and submitting specimens of the coins. The Secretary sent the coins to the Director of the Mint at Philadelphia who reported them as being of full weight, fineness and value. Then the Attorney-General was asked by the Secretary whether any law had been violated in producing the coins; he reported that no law had been violated. In his report to the President, which the latter transmitted to Congress, the Secretary recommended that the existing coinage laws be so amended as to prohibit private coinage in the United States; that a branch mint be established at Denver; and that authority be given for the purchase of the property of Clark, Gruber & Co., and for its conversion and equipment as a branch mint of the United States.

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Five Dollar "Pike's Peak Gold" coin, 1860.

Mr. Bennet's first service in Congress was the preparation and introduction of a bill to give effect to the recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury concerning a mint at Denver. In the turmoil of that war-time Mr. Bennet naturally had some difficulty in getting his bill before the House for action. Broker George W. Brown went to Washington with a sack of Colorado gold as tangible evidence of a supply of raw material for a mint; a gold snuff-box was given Thaddeus Stevens, then leader of the House; and so, under the combined influences of the Secretary's recommendation, Mr. Bennet's persistent earnestness, the sight of the sack of gold, and the snuff-box, the bill, which provided for establishing a branch mint at Denver, went through. In the Senate there was less difficulty, and when the bill was reached in turn it was passed on April 16, 1862; becoming a law by the President's approval April 21, 1862.

But this did not consummate the purchase of Clark, Gruber & Co's. property; that transaction having been delayed about a year. By an act approved March 3, 1863, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase the property, and $25,000 were appropriated with which to pay for it; that having been the price for which Clark, Gruber & Co. had agreed to sell. The transfer was made in April, 1863, and the government took possession in that month. Enactment of a law forbidding private coinage was delayed until 1864 when, on June 8th, a bill forbidding, under heavy penalties, such coinage of any metal, "intended for the use and purpose of current money," was passed.

It was the purpose of the acts of April, 1862, and March, 1863, to make the Denver establishment one for coinage, but Congress later changed its mind and provided otherwise. Of these circumstances some particulars appear on a later page of this chapter.

Thus ended one of the most interesting episodes in the history of any city in this country. To the isolated, hard-working people of the new country it was of tremendous advantage; it guaranteed them full value for the results of their laborious toil in the mines; it supplied them with a circulating medium of definite, unquestioned worth; it afforded them facilities for exchange with distant places at nominal expense; and through it all honesty and integrity ruled every transaction. No finer business record has been transmitted to us than that of the old-time banking and minting firm of Clark, Gruber & Co.

Soon after the government acquired the property, an addition was built to the original structure on the corner, and which gave the building its present familiar appearance. But the corner part, aside from changes made in its front, is the Clark, Gruber & Co. "Bank & Mint." The firm remained in business about a year longer, the parent house remaining at Leavenworth, with branches at Denver, Central City, and Salt Lake City. On March 10, 1864, E. H. Gruber withdrew, and Austin M. and Milton E. Clark continued the business under the firm name of Clark & Company until May 9, 1865. On that date Clark & Company transferred their Denver business to the First National Bank in the organization of which the two members of the firm had participated.

Austin M. Clark. Photographed 1865.

At the same time, Clark & Company sold their branch bank at Central City to George T. Clark, First Cashier of the First National of Denver, and Eben Smith, who, under the firm name of George T. Clark & Co., continued the business and later established a branch at Georgetown. After George T. Clark resigned as Cashier of the First National in the autumn of 1866 he removed to Central City and took charge of his firm's business which existed several years thereafter.

In the earlier times George T. Clark had been associated with Clark, Gruber & Co., in the management of their Denver house, and had previously acted as their agent for the purchase of gold-dust here before those pioneer coiners had begun business in Denver, but was not related to the members of that firm, of the same name. He was a native of Massachusetts, and came to Denver from Wisconsin early in 1860, to act as agent for the Western Stage Company and of Hinckley & Co.'s Express. During his connection with Clark, Gruber & Co., he was appointed by Governor Gilpin Treasurer of Colorado Territory. In 1863 he became Treasurer of Arapahoe county and of Denver. He was a member of the Constitutional Conventions in 1864 and 1865, and Mayor of Denver in 1865-66. In 1870 he was again appointed Territorial Treasurer, by Governor McCook, and was reappointed in 1872. In November, 1876, he was elected Secretary of the first Colorado State Senate. In February, 1883, he was chosen Secretary of the Board of Capital Managers, a position he held until his death on November 6, 1888. He was a man of great energy, ability, generosity and personal popularity.

Milton E. Clark and wife.
Photographed 1865.

Soon after disposing of their banks in Colorado, Austin M. and Milton E. Clark concentrated their interests at Leavenworth. Austin died there in 1878, but Milton is, as he long has been, still a citizen of that city.

E. H. Gruber remained in Denver until 1864, when he returned to Leavenworth and again engaged in banking there. In 1878 he came back to Colorado, located in Leadville, became interested in mining, and in real estate. Later he again located in Denver, but after the Cripple Creek district developed he removed thither and is now a citizen there.

The firm's old minting machinery remained stored in the cellar of the old Mint building until 1898 when, by direction of the United States Treasury authorities, the several pieces were delivered to our State Historical Society, subject to the order of the government, and are now in the Society's collection of historic relics.

Clark, Gruber & Co., were not the only men who engaged in private coinage in those times. Dr. John Parsons, who came from Quincy, Illinois, in 1859, and went into the South Park country, made a large number of gold coins there—perhaps one-third to one-half as many $2.50 and $5.00 pieces as Clark, Gruber & Co. In 1860 he brought out dies and presses, and set up his mint at Tarryall near the mouth of the canon northwest of Como where the railway now passes up to cross the range to Breckenridge. He coined only the two denominations mentioned, and they circulated freely in Denver in 1860 and 1861. The obverse side was much like that of the United States gold coins; on the reverse was shown a little battery of stamps such as were used in the quartz mills of that time. We were unable to find any of the coins from which to make engravings, and probably few, if any, are now in existence.

Another of what may properly be termed the pioneer banking enterprises in Denver, was that of Warren Hussey, who came here from Des Moines, Iowa, in the spring of 1861, and on April 14th began business as a buyer of gold dust under the firm name of Warren Hussey & Co. He established himself in one corner of William Graham's drug store, on the northwest corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets, where he was soon doing a thriving business. He engaged the services of Frank Palmer, who had for about a year been buying gold as opportunity afforded, as manager of the Denver office, and then established a branch at Central City of which he took personal charge. In January, 1863, the Denver office was moved to the building of Ford Brothers at the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, and in the summer of that year Joseph A. Thatcher, now President of the Denver National Bank, was made Cashier and manager of the Central City branch. Prior to this, Hussey's operations in both towns had developed into general banking, and a regular deposit and discount business was transacted. Having both of his establishments in the hands of capable young managers, Hussey now gave much of his time to outside ventures. In 1865 Palmer was admitted as a partner, and Hussey went to Salt Lake City where he opened another branch. In 1867 Palmer sold his interests to Hussey but continued as manager of the Denver house. In 1870 Mr. Thatcher bought the Central City branch, and in connection with Joseph Standley, organized the firm of Thatcher, Standley & Co., with $50,000 capital. On January 1, 1874, this firm was succeeded by the First National Bank of Central City, with Mr. Thatcher as President. The Salt Lake City branch failed dur-

George T. Clark. Photographed 1865.

ing the panic of 1873 and was not revived. Under Palmer's management the parent house in Denver had flourished and prospered, and in 1872 was succeeded by the City National Bank, of which some account will presently be given. After these changes Warren Hussey went to Washington Territory where he later engaged in National banking at Spokane Falls. He is now living in New York city.

In September, 1859, C. A. Cook and Jasper P. Sears who constituted the firm of C. A. Cook & Co., arrived in Denver from Leavenworth with an important stock of general merchandise. They established themselves on the north side of Blake street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets and were soon doing a thriving business, principally of a wholesale character. A large part of their receipts were in the form of gold dust, and they gradually drifted into the purchase of gold, as a subordinate part of their general business, devoting one corner of their store-room to their gold-buying department. This feature of their business developed into a bank in 1860-61, and became of considerable importance in the community. The bother of weighing out small quantities of dust and the difficulties in making change created a public demand for some kind of currency of small denominations. To supply this want C. A. Cook & Co. began issuing scrip—"shinplasters," as the little notes were commonly called—engraved on steel, of the denominations of 10, 25, and 50 cents and of $1.00, all redeemable on demand in gold or other lawful money, at their store-bank. This firm issued a large amount of these notes which proved a great and popular convenience to the entire community. They circulated freely in the mining camps, also, and their value was not questioned. All of them were redeemed in 1863, and their issue stopped, under circumstances that will presently be related. C. A. Cook & Co. did a large business in merchandising and banking, and later added overland freight transportation to their transactions. In 1864 they discontinued merchandising and engaged exclusively in banking. Early in 1865 they wound up their business, and when the First National Bank of Denver was organized Mr. Cook became one of its stockholders and a member of its first Board of Directors, both members of the firm remaining citizens of Denver. Mr. Cook died at Hot Springs, Arkansas, in March, 1878, and Mr. Sears in Denver on February 17, 1899.

Interior of C. A. Cook & Co.'s Bank.

In November, 1860, Dr. O. D. Cass, a native of New Hampshire, who had been in California in the golden era in that State, and who came to Denver from Leavenworth, Kansas, in May, 1860, engaged in banking and gold brokerage; chiefly the latter. He practiced medicine here from May to November, but his California experience taught him that handling Rocky Mountain gold-dust would be more profitable. He first located in part of the room occupied by Hinckley & Company's "mountain express" office, on Blake street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. In the spring of 1861 he was joined by G. H. Wilcox, and by his brother, Joseph B. Cass who, also, came from Leavenworth; and the three named their institution "The Exchange Bank." Joseph Cass had been Cashier for Carney & Stevens, Leavenworth bankers, and had arranged for a close business relation between them and the new bank at Denver. The Exchange Bank did a large and profitable business which had soon included deposits, loans and discounts. Later the bank was established in a building erected in the bed of Cherry creek, on the north side of Blake street. The flood of 1864 carried away the building, but the firm managed to save most of the valuables. When Henry C. Brown built his three-story brick building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets in 1868, these bankers took the main business room for their bank, and added plains transportation of freight to their operations. As the civil war progressed and gold went to higher and higher premiums their profits on gold purchases added to those derived from interest rates of twenty or twenty-five per cent. a month, became very great—running as high as a thousand dollars a day during some periods when they were handling from $15,000 to $20,000 worth of dust a day. Frequently the advance in the price of gold was so rapid that dust increased in value ten or fifteen per cent., while in transit across the plains to the eastern money markets. The firm opened a branch office in Central City and became the agents there for Holladay's Overland Mail

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Two and One-half Dollar gold coin, 1861.

Stage Company. In 1865 the business was sold to Holladay, who did not long continue it. Dr. Cass remained a prominent citizen of Denver until his death on December 14, 1894. Joseph B. Cass died in Chicago July 15, 1877.

The first Legislature of the Territory of Colorado by a special law enacted in 1861 provided for the organization by P. P. Wilcox, E. W. Cobb, and E. C. Jacobs, of the "Bank of Colorado." The act fixed its capital stock at $150,000, and required the proposed institution to transact its business in the city of Denver. Shareholders were to pay par for their stock in gold or silver coin, and the bank was authorized to begin business and issue circulating notes whenever one half of the stock subscribed had been paid for in such coin, and payment of the other half guaranteed by good sureties. Before the bank could begin business the Governor of the Territory was to satisfy himself that these requirements of law had been complied with, and was to give public notice to that effect. The bank was also to submit to periodical examinations of its condition. But the "Bank of Colorado" was never organized, notwithstanding the somewhat liberal provisions of the law authorizing it.

However, Wilcox and an associate very soon after the passage of this act, formed a partnership under the names of P. P. Wilcox & Co., and set up in the banking business in Denver, in a small way. The concern had some of the symptoms of "wild-cat" banking on a diminutive scale. It issued a lot of cheap scrip made at Thomas Gibson's printing office, and in denominations of fifty, twenty-five and ten cents. About 3,000 dollars' worth, nominal value, of this trashy "currency" was gradually floated into circulation, but the poor material used in its manufacture kept a large part of it from getting back to its sponsors. About two-thirds of it survived to appear for redemption, and was redeemed; the rest disappearing in the wear and tear of usage and in the fire of 1863.

E. H. Gruber. Photographed 1860.

That fire was the indirect cause of terminating the issue of C. A. Cook & Co.'s scrip to which we have heretofore referred. As stated in a preceding chapter, that disaster swept away all the possessions of many citizens, and seriously embarrassed nearly everybody who had been located in the burnt district. This firm had outstanding a far larger amount of scrip than Wilcox & Co., and were also heavy losers by the fire. But the misfortune caused scrip holders to almost immediately present it for redemption; and redeemed it was as fast as it came in, and thereupon destroyed. Cook & Co. construed this general demand, under the circumstances, as a reflection on their integrity and a lack of confidence in their financial ability to meet their obligations; and so, in their indignation growing out of that view of the matter they discontinued what was, in most respects, a public convenience.

But these scrip issues, as well as the larger and more presentable demand gold-notes of Clark, Gruber & Co., were afloat in disregard of a law of the Territory. In November, 1861, the Territorial Legislature forbade by law all individuals, firms or corporations issuing any form of obligation calculated for or intended to be used as a circulating currency or a substitute for coin or other lawful money, "without special leave from the Legislature." A strict construction of things would probably have placed under the ban the drafts of the Central Overland, California, & Pike's Peak Express company, issued to the order of individuals and by them indorsed payable to bearer, and passed along. Wilcox was indicted for this violation of the law, but that was as far as the case against him ever succeeded in going.

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Five Dollar gold coin, 1861.

In the old days in Denver the private bank of Kountze Brothers became, within a short time after its modest beginning here, a strong, useful and influential financial institution. In the spring of 1862 Luther Kountze came to Denver from Omaha, and soon after his arrival opened a banking and gold-buying office in one corner of Walter S. Cheesman's drug store, then located on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets. Luther Kountze was one of four brothers, all young men, and natives of eastern Ohio, who were conspicuously identified with pioneer banking in the west. At the time of Luther's coming here, two of them, Augustus and Herman, were, as they had been for several years, engaged in banking at Omaha; the fourth brother, Charles B., not then having left his Ohio home. Luther had served an apprenticeship in the Omaha bank, and with his brothers there had united in a partnership under which all of their operations were to be carried on in the name of Kountze Brothers. So, the modest house in Denver was known by that name, and was soon doing a brisk business in buying gold-dust, receiving deposits, making loans and discounts, drawing drafts on the parent house in Omaha, and in the various minor branches of frontier banking in those times. The Cheesman building was destroyed by the serious fire in the spring of 1863, and immediately after that the bank was established in one side of the general store of Tootle & Leach, on the south side of Blake street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, where it remained with fast-increasing business until the spring of 1864, when Kountze Brothers built the brick building now standing on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, and established their bank there in a home of its own. In that spring — 1864 — Charles B. Kountze came from Ohio and joined Luther in the management of the Denver House, though at that time but nineteen years old. In 1866 he became a partner in the firm, and in that year the establishment was reorganized as the Colorado National Bank of Denver, to which we will again refer. The Omaha house had become the First National Bank of that city, with Herman as its President; and the Kountze Brothers also organized the Rocky Mountain National Bank of Central City, but from which they subsequently withdrew their interests. They had, beside, a branch of the Omaha house at Cheyenne, Wyoming, which, also, was later disposed of. After the Colorado National Bank was organized, Luther Kountze went to Europe leaving Charles B. Kountze in full charge of affairs here. In 1868, after Luther's return, the four brothers established the great banking house of Kountze Brothers, of Wall street, New York, with Luther at the head of its management. Thus, within one decade this fraternal organization became principal owner and the controlling influence of a chain of strong banks stretching two-thirds of the way across the country, and every link of it noted for its conservative, prudent and thoroughly sound management. To each of the brothers, from their large financial operations, came princely fortunes. Three of them survive and are still actively engaged in directing the affairs of the great and uniformly successful institutions they founded; Luther in New York, Herman in Omaha, and Charles B. in Denver. Augustus Kountze died in New York in 1893.

Kountze Brothers' Bank at Fifteenth and Market streets.

Between 1865 and 1870 no new banks were added to the rather liberal supply possessed by Denver in those times, considering the amount of business there was for them to do. But in 1871 there appeared in the city a gentlemanly, unobtrusive financial genius from Poland who opened an establishment at (old) number 383 Larimer street, where at first he did a sort of pawnbrokerage business rather than one of banking. He gave his name as Benjamin Erlanger, and succeeded in making a very favorable impression among the many acquaintances he studiously sought. He ambitiously styled his establishment the "Denver Savings Bank," and a "branch" of which he soon afterward opened at "Black Hawk." By advertising freely in the newspapers, and by playing well his part and maintaining an appearance of prosperity, Erlanger, whose true name was Abel Endelman, actually succeeded in accumulating a considerable line of small deposits in his "banks." On Saturday night, November 3, 1873, Abel disappeared, and with him went every dollar that had been placed in his keeping by his dupes, and every readily portable thing of value belonging to himself. The amount of money beguiled from his "depositors" and that he took with him was estimated to have been between $20,000 and $40,000; but the lesser sum was probably nearer the true value. In 1878, Dr. W. H. Williams, of Denver, saw and recognized him in San Francisco. But by that time many of his victims had left here, and those remaining were not willing to provide money to pay the expense of hunting the rascal down and bringing him here for trial and punishment. Since then nothing further was known of him.

In the office of the Secretary of State there is record of the dissolution on March 26, 1872, of the "Denver Dime Savings Bank;" but we found no record of its incorporation. If it ever transacted any business it must soon have found the field unfruitful, for a bank of that kind, and withdrawn, as it appears to have made no history for itself, nor did any one of several old-timers of whom information concerning it was sought recall the establishment.

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Ten Dollar gold coin, 1861.

The City National Bank was, as we have already mentioned, the outgrowth of and successor to the banking business of Warren Hussey & Co., and it was brought into existence chiefly by the efforts of Frank Palmer, who was at the time the manager of the predecessor establishment. Arrangements for the change were completed in the spring of 1872, and on June 10th, of that year, the City National began business at Hussey's old location on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, with a paid-up capital of $200,000. A new building was later built for it on that corner which the bank occupied until January, 1883, when it removed to the building on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, where it remained until the close of its career. Its first Board of Directors consisted of William Barth, J. Sidney Brown, Henry Crow, John R. Hanna, and Frank Palmer. The executive officers elected were Henry Crow, President; Frank Palmer, Vice President; John R. Hanna, Cashier; and Hyatt Hussey, Assistant Cashier. On January 12, 1876, J. Sidney Brown became Vice President in place of Palmer, whose health had broken down and who died at Herkimer, New York, in 1877. In January, 1877, Henry Crow was succeeded as President by J. Sidney Brown, and William Barth became Vice President. In January, 1883, Barth became President, and J. F. Brown, Vice President; no further changes occurring during the next eleven years. In January, 1892, John R. Hanna, who had so long been Cashier, was elected President; J. F. Brown, Vice President; and B. N. Freeman, Cashier. In January, 1894, Vice President Brown retired, and was succeeded by William Barth as First Vice President, and W. S. Iliff as Second Vice President; and thereafter there were no changes in the organization while the bank continued in business. The City National had a prosperous career, and was one of the Denver banks that withstood the storm of 1893. On June 21, 1894, its business was bought outright by the American National, and its existence then terminated.

Clark, Gruber & Co.'s Twenty Dollar gold coin, 1861.

On July 20, 1872, a bank for savings, styled "The Colorado Savings Bank" was opened and began business in a room in the American House building, by John W. Smith as "Principal and Manager." This bank appears not to have been incorporated, its responsibility, according to its public announcement, resting upon "the individual liability" of its principal proprietor. W. U. Johnston was Cashier and Secretary; and Charles H. Smith, son of the proprietor, Assistant Cashier; this management remaining unchanged until 1878 when G. R. Hudson became Cashier. In January, 1880, after nearly eight years of varying results the bank paid off its depositors in full and discontinued business.

Late in 1872 Henry C. Brown and C. D. Gurley formed a banking co-partnership and on January 1, 1873, opened the Bank of Denver, an unincorporated institution, in the corner room of Mr. Brown's building, then the "Tribune Building," on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets; Mr. Brown being President of the bank, and Gurley its Cashier. At the close of 1873 Brown sold his interest to William H., J. H., and F. D. Hager, who, with C. D. Gurley, continued the business as the "Bank of Denver, Hager, Sons & Co., Bankers," until about midsummer of 1876. The bank's affairs were then honorably wound up, and the Hagers soon afterward left Denver.

In 1873 Samuel G. Collins, Frederick J. Ebert, J. H. Jones, Jacob F. L. Schirmer, Jacob Snider, and Hiram Witter formed a co-partnership, with a cash capital of $90,000, to engage in the banking business in Denver, under the firm name of Collins, Snider & Co. The concern began business in June, 1873, on the north side of Larimer street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. Toward the close of that year it removed to (old) number 370 Market street, in the Fink Building on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets. Samuel G. Collins was its manager, and it took standing as a very substantial private bank. In May, 1875, Jacob Snider, the heaviest owner in the bank, was assassinated near Georgetown by Jack Bishop, a mining camp desperado who was a partisan of certain mine claimants there with whom Snider, also a silver mine owner in that district, had long been in litigation. Bishop escaped and was seen no more in this part of the country. Late in 1875 the bank was removed to the room at the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets then recently vacated by the First National Bank, and in January, 1876, was sold to the organizers of the Exchange Bank, in which all of the surviving partners, except Witter, were interested, and which began business in January, 1876.

Another new banking concern established in 1873 was the People's Savings Bank. It appears not to have been incorporated; there being no record of it in the office of the Secretary of State, and its announcements having named "John W. Blackburn, Dr. R. G. Buckingham, Dr. H. K. Steele and H. C. Donnell, proprietors." It began business in the Evans Building on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets, to "transact a general Banking and Exchange business;" Judge Blackburn being President, and Donnell, Cashier—the amount of its capital not having been made public. In 1877 R. M. Purcells became its Vice President, and in January, 1878, it suspended payments, with its affairs in rather bad shape. A large part of its deposits had come from people in very moderate circumstances, and all depositors suffered practically a total loss of their money; the assets having yielded but little more than enough to pay the expense of winding up the bank's affairs.

In 1874 General John Pierce, who was then prominent and active in railway and financial affairs in Denver, organized the Denver Safe-Deposit & Savings Bank which was incorporated under the laws of Colorado Territory, March 23rd, with an authorized capital of $60,000, one-half of which was paid in. General Pierce was elected President; Daniel Witter, Treasurer; and William D. Todd, Secretary and Cashier. It fitted up deposit vaults and a business room in the McClelland Building on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets, and was the first concern of the kind in the city. It began business in July, 1874, and remained in that location eight years. At the close of 1878 Daniel Witter retired as Treasurer and was succeeded by David H. Moffat. There were no further changes in management until January, 1881, when Moffat was succeeded by Samuel D. Landon. Soon thereafter the owners of the bank decided to enlarge its facilities, remove it to a new location, and to change its name. They bought the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets and erected the bank building now standing there, into which the establishment was removed, and where in August, 1882, it began business as the Union Bank of Denver of which some further account appears on a succeeding page.

Early in the spring of 1874, another party of citizens of Denver had decided to organize a banking corporation under the laws of Colorado. They had quickly made the necessary arrangements and on March 3rd incorporated "The German Bank," of Denver, with authority for $500,000 capital and a paid-in capital of $100,000, to do a general banking business of deposits, loans and discounts. The first Board of Directors chosen by the stockholders was as follows: Joseph L. Bailey, L. F. Bartels, M. D. Clifford, J. M. Eckhart, John Good, John J. Riethmann, Walter A. Stuart, George Tritch and Conrad Walbrach. This board organized by electing John J. Riethmann, President; George Tritch, Vice President; and C. F. A. Fisher, Cashier—the latter having been succeeded within a year by Henry Suhr as Cashier. The bank opened for business on May 4, 1874, in a room on the Fifteenth side of the Fink building on the southeast corner

Northeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets in autumn of 1865. First National bank occupied corner room.

William Barth was born at Dietz, Nassau, Germany, December 8, 1829. He obtained the rudimentary education then within reach of poor boys in the ill-governed German Principalities of that time, and in 1849, when he was twenty years old, emigrated to America, landing at New Orleans where he soon found employment. Leaving New Orleans in 1850, he located in Belleville, Illinois, remaining there one year, and then removing to Glasgow, Missouri, where his elder brother Charles who had preceded him to the United States, had settled. In 1860 William and his younger brother, Moritz, located in Parkville, Platte county, Missouri, and engaged in business. The fierce political antagonisms immediately preceding the war of the rebellion rendered the position of the Barth brothers at Parkville uncomfortable. They were outspoken Union men and stood almost alone in asserting their sentiments. After hostilities began they found their situation dangerous, and set out for the Rocky Mountains, making their way to California Gulch where they arrived July 5, 1861. They remained there but a short time when they went back east and located in St. Louis where they began the manufacture of miners' boots for the Colorado trade.

Having once been in Colorado they were no longer content away from it. In the summer of 1862 they returned, William locating in the town of Fairplay, and Moritz in Montgomery, then a mining camp at the farther end of the South Park. In May, 1863, the brothers came to Denver and have since continuously resided here. They engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes, and opened a retail store on the west side of Fifteenth street, between Blake and Market streets, which soon became a large establishment. Their business prospered and they invested their surplus means in real estate which later became of enormous value.

When the City National Bank was organized in 1872 Mr. Barth became one of its principal stockholders, was elected a member of its first Board of Directors, and was long its President. He also became interested in banks at Del Norte, Alamosa, and Durango which added greatly to the business facilities of those towns. When the South Park railway was projected, he immediately joined the movement and aided with his means and influence in the construction of that important member of Denver's railway system. In 1887 he built the fine stone business building, the Barth Block, that is a conspicuous structure on Sixteenth street. He has large property interests elsewhere in the city and is identified with many of Denver's business enterprises.

Mr. Barth is now retired from active business life, and hopes with his good health to attain a ripe old age. In 1867 he married Miss Charlotte Kaemper, of a well-known Chicago family. They have one son, Charles J. Barth, a resident of Denver.—J. C. S.

William Barth.

of Fifteenth and Market streets, and was soon doing well. Early in 1876 Riethmann resigned the Presidency to make an extended visit to Europe, and was succeeded by George Tritch; Job A. Cooper then becoming Vice President, and late in that year Cashier. In the spring of 1877 the institution was converted into a National Bank, as we shall presently relate; its history in the meantime presenting little of noteworthy importance, excepting the personal career of Walter A. Stuart, one of its Directors, to which we will refer later in this narrative.

In the spring of 1874 George Bucklin, as "Proprietor," opened at (old) number 885 Lawrence street, a concern he called "the Mechanics' Bank," with Tallmadge Norwood as Cashier. It was really more of a loan and real estate agency than a bank, and passed out before the close of its birth-year.

View on Fifteenth street northward from Larimer, about 1874.

The Exchange Bank, an incorporated institution, was chartered and organized in January, 1876, as a bank of deposit and discount, to succeed the private bank of Collins, Snider & Company, of which we have made some account. The capital of the new organization was $200,000, of which $125,000 was paid in. Its first Board of Directors consisted of C. A. Brooks, Samuel G. Collins, F. J. Ebert, J. H. Jones, J. F. L. Schirmer, Rufus H. Snider, and A. J. Williams of the pioneer business firm of Blake & Williams. F. J. Ebert was elected President, and Samuel G. Collins, Cashier; and the bank continued to occupy Collins, Snider & Co.'s quarters at the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets previously used by the First National. In 1877 A. J. Williams became Vice President, and in 1878 President; F. J. Ebert then taking the Vice Presidency. In January, 1879, J. M. Strickler succeeded Collins as Cashier, and about that time the bank was removed to the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Larimer streets. It continued in business there and without further changes in management until, in 1888, adverse circumstances that included more or less bad banking caused it to suspend payments. Its failure entailed total loss of stockholders' interests and a heavy one to its depositors.

In 1877 the stockholders of the German Bank, organized in 1874, decided that they would make a National Bank of their establishment, and in March of that year the new organization was perfected. The new Board of Directors consisted of Joseph L. Bailey, M. D. Clifford, Job A. Cooper, J. M. Eckhart, John Good, P. Gottesleben, John J. Riethmann, G. G. Symes, George Tritch, and Conrad Walbrach, a majority of whom were Directors in the predecessor institution. They elected George Tritch, President; John Good, Vice President; Job A. Cooper, Cashier; and W. L. Jenkins, Assistant Cashier. The bank had a paid-up capital of $100,000, which in later years was increased to $200,000. The former German Bank had been removed to the Good Building on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, and in April, 1877, the German National began business at the same place, where it remained, except during the interval in which the second Good Building was being erected there in 1888, until it ceased business. After several years, Cooper retired as Cashier and was succeeded by Assistant Cashier Jenkins who served but a short time, when Cooper resumed his former position. In January 1885, James M. Wilson became Vice President, and in 1886 was succeeded by John J. Riethmann. Immediately after Cooper was elected Governor in 1888, he resigned the Cashiership and was succeeded by Charles M. Clinton who had worked his way up from a subordinate position in the bank. Tritch had continued as President, but in January, 1890, was succeeded by John J. Riethmann. Colonel D. C. Dodge was then elected Vice President, and Charles Kunsemiller, Jr., became Assistant Cashier; the bank at that time having about $3,000,000 of deposits. Colonel Dodge retired in 1892 and was succeeded by John J. Riethmann, Jr.; and at that time the bank had, according to its statement, surplus and undivided profits aggregating more than $380,000. The foregoing constitutes the bank's history and that of its management until after the storm of 1893 swept in.

The German National was one of the several banks that suspended on July 19th of that year. On August 29th, following, it re-opened under an arrangement providing for its depositors accepting time certificates. The Riethmanns, father and son, remained respectively as President and Vice President, but Cashier Clinton withdrew and was succeeded by former Assistant Cashier Kunsemiller. The bank continued in business in a more or less crippled condition until June 6, 1894, when it again closed, and passed to a Receiver who is still dealing with the remnants of its dilapidated resources. Owing to its general weak condition at the time of final collapse, and to the insolvency of some of its larger stockholders, the bank's depositors had received up to the close of 1900 only twenty per cent. of their claims, with prospects of possibly getting five or ten per cent. more from the final round-up of what was left. Stockholders lost their investments, and the 100 per cent. additional liability was paid by those who could. So, the German National wreck was almost beyond salvage.

The Walter A. Stuart who figured as a stockholder and as one of the Directors of the German Bank when it was organized in 1874, proved to be a forger and bank thief of international fame and of extensive operations, whose true name was Walter C. Sheridan. He appeared in Denver in 1873, with an alleged wife, bought property on Grant Avenue, near Sixteenth, on which he built a comfortable dwelling, and began the life of a worthy citizen of considerable means. He was about thirty-eight years of age, of fine appearance and good address, and soon made many friendly acquaintances. His "wife" was equally well qualified in appearance, manners and culture to make most favorable impressions; and with a little boy they had with them, the Stuarts organized what seemed to be a most respectable and worthy domestic establishment. They played well their part and were soon prominent in church and social circles, as the man had brought with him letters of introduction to several well-known Denver people, and other documentary credentials—all the products of his own genius and skill—which served good purpose in a social way. Beyond these, he was supplied with a comparatively large amount of ready money.

When the German bank was organized he subscribed for and paid for a few thousand dollars worth of the stock, and his agreeable and ingratiating ways were instrumental in making him one of the Directors of the new bank. His career and that of his household continued quietly and above reproach until the fall of 1875. Among the depositors at the German bank was T. W. Herr, principal owner of the then enormously profitable Pocahontas silver mine at Rosita, in Custer county. Stuart, in his capacity as a Director of the bank, had become intimately acquainted with Herr who suggested the need for a bank at Rosita. Stuart quietly disposed of what interests he had in Denver, and when Herr next came to the city accompanied the mine-owner back to Rosita to see about establishing a bank at that place. At Rosita they met, as by chance, a man named James R. Boyd, a confederate of Stuart's, who professed to be looking for investments and who also gave ocular proof that he had money to invest. So, Stuart and Boyd fitted up a banking room in most attractive fashion at Rosita and began business, Herr's introductions and influence serving them well in getting deposits from the mining population of the district. Their next step was to secure control and possession, by fraud on the unsuspecting Herr, of the Pocahontas mine; and before he realized what had happened and could get the legal machinery for its recovery, in motion, the two "bankers" tore out the ore day and night and sold it as fast as mined. However, Herr finally closed in on them, and their final mining proceedings involved a riot in which one man was killed and a half-dozen others badly hurt, and wound up by Stuart and Boyd leaving one night without paying their miners, or any part of Herr's claims against them, and with every dollar of money deposited in the Bank of Rosita. A short time afterward Stuart was heard of in Kansas City, in consequence of his unsuccessful attempt to get cash from a bank there for a certificate of deposit for $10,000 on the Bank of Rosita, which he had made payable to himself.

It soon transpired that Stuart was one of the most skillful and dangerous forgers, swindlers and robbers of banks in the world, and that in his operations he had caused to be produced counterfeit railway bonds and other securities on which he and his confederates had realized hundreds of thousands of dollars in New York; that he had successfully robbed a half-dozen banks in the eastern States of large sums of currency; and that he had at one time planned in London a huge raid on the Bank of England through the medium of counterfeit American securities. He had served a couple of terms in penitentiaries before coming to Denver.

After the Rosita affair, Stuart made his way back to New York where he was recognized and arrested, charged with his bond forgeries. Notwithstanding his claims that a mistake had been made, that he was a well-known and wealthy citizen of Colorado, President of the Bank of Rosita, and an owner of large interests in Denver, they tried and convicted him and sent him to the Sing Sing prison for ten years. After his sentence expired he came back to Denver, and on December 13, 1888, in company with another noted bank thief, named Hovan, attempted a sneak robbery of the People's Savings Bank then located on Arapahoe street. Stuart did the "outside work" while Hovan, who was a small fellow, slipped into the bank vault where he was captured by the bank people before he could put his hands on any money. Stuart, seeing the fate of his comrade, decamped and was seen no more in Denver. Hovan was kept in jail until the 20th and then released on a worthless bond, and likewise disappeared. Stuart was later heard of as the master hand in several other forgeries and robberies in the eastern States, and finally as having been implicated in an attempted bank robbery at Montreal, Canada, where he was arrested and thrown into jail where he died in January, 1890.

It was the general belief, especially in police circles, that Stuart's Colorado operations were a disappointment to him and his confederates. His long, painstaking and, to him, irksome preparations, indicated that some huge swindle or bank robbery was meditated, but could not be accomplished when the probationary period had gone far enough. For a man of his kind, the quiet, orderly life of a respectable citizen, cultivating his garden and sometimes selling his vegetables in market, rearing chickens, calling on his neighbors, and attending church, were things to be done for a year or two only as part of the preliminaries to some great scheme of plunder; and for one whose robberies and swindles had involved hundreds of thousands of dollars, the results of the Rosita operations must have appeared comparatively meager and unprofitable after so much careful and trying preparation.

In the spring of 1881 a rather bold yet somewhat comical attempt was made to set up in Denver what was evidently intended to be a fraudulent bank. On February 21st of that year, there was filed in the office of the Secretary of State a certificate incorporating the Commercial Bank of Denver by James L. Vanwoert, Pliny S. Rice, Horace W. Cotton, P. T. Smith, and Ellen Vanwoert, with $100,000 capital, in shares of $100 each. Of these, the document said Ellen Vanwoert had taken 600, James L. Vanwoert 250, and the other three fifty shares each; and it also set forth that James was to be President, and Ellen, Cashier, of the new institution. In the initial stage of the proceedings nothing connected with the enterprise aroused so much interest in the city as the fact that the new bank was to have a woman for Cashier; and masculine Cashiers trembled when they thought of the innovation. In March the Vanwoerts and their associates certified to the Secretary of State that the whole amount of capital had been paid in, but did not say the payments had been cash; the document being significantly silent on that point. The next step was to secure quarters for the bank, and from several offered locations the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets was chosen, and leased for five years with an option on its purchase at $80,000. Notice was then given that the new bank would open April 1st, and would do business on a very liberal basis, especially in loaning money on mining shares and on the "securities" of other development enterprises. The bank did not open April 1st, the failure having been explained as due to delay in arrival of the safe and other fixtures; though some furniture had been placed in the room. In the meantime the suspicions of the city newspapers had been aroused and they had investigated Vanwoert's career and that of his alleged wife, Ellen; and on April 12th published this result: the Vanwoerts had come to Denver from Massachusetts about the first of the year, and had claimed to have a large amount of capital; James had served seven years in the Massachusetts penitentiary for forgery, and another term for counterfeiting; he had opened a fraudulent bank at Winsted, Connecticut, of which he was "President" and his alleged wife "Cashier," and after getting possession of a considerable sum of money had suddenly disappeared; and several indictments for swindling stood against James at Springfield, Massachusetts. Of course, publication of these interesting reminiscences caused the immediate collapse of the Commercial Bank of Denver. Meanwhile Vanwoert had actually succeeded in having himself entrusted with $500,000 of the Longmont, Middle Park & Pacific Railroad Company's stock which he had engaged to "negotiate in the east" for the company, and had intended starting for New York on the day the newspapers published his record and cut short all his proceedings. Cotton, Smith and Rice were Denver men, and two of them, at least, were evidently mere dupes. Cotton was "a real estate man" of small capital and good reputation; Smith, a dentist who had been in the city less than a year, with little or no capital, and with nothing against his character; Rice was stated to have been "a speculator," with a reputation not altogether free from blemish. The Vanwoerts quickly left Denver and were heard of here no more.

In the summer of 1881 the Denver Bank was organized, with a capital of $50,000, chiefly through the instrumentality of A. E. Pierce, who was its largest stockholder. He had been a Denver pioneer of 1858, but some years later had returned to Lafayette, Indiana, where he became and remained for about ten years the Assistant Cashier of the National State Bank of that city. Coming back to Denver in 1881, the Denver Bank was organized with G. W. Gildersleeve, President; D. C. Wyatt, Vice President; and Mr. Pierce, Cashier. The bank was established at the northeast corner of Larimer and Twelfth streets, where it began business August 1, 1881. In 1883 John L. Dailey succeeded Gildersleeve as President, and late in 1884 the bank's owners decided to discontinue its business. It had been organized to meet seeming demands in the west side, but soon afterward the general drift of improvements and affairs set in strongly toward the east side, to the serious detriment of the other, and made profitable banking in that locality unpromising. Therefore the bank notified its depositors to withdraw their accounts, and in the winter of 1884-85 honorably wound up its affairs, paying all its obligations in full.

The State National Bank was organized in the spring of 1882 with a paid-up capital of $120,000, and with Elias R. Barton, C. E. Billings, J. A. Chain, Charles Hallack, Charles F. Hendrie, Julius C. Lewis, George N. Wheeler, and E. P. Wright as its Board of Directors. George N. Wheeler was elected President; Charles F. Hendrie, Vice President; and E. P. Wright, Cashier; and the bank opened for business May 1, 1882, in the McClintock Building at the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, in a room fronting on Sixteenth; the corner room in the same building being then occupied by the First National bank. In January, 1884, Julius C. Lewis succeeded Hendrie as Vice President; and when the First National in 1885 moved across the street into the Tabor Building, the State National occupied the quarters it had vacated. The organizers of the State National were almost wholly active and well-to-do business men, but the concern for several years did not have satisfactory prosperity. In May, 1888, Cashier Wright resigned on account of failing health, and the management was reorganized by Frederick C. Kilham, John L. McNeil, and Edward L. Raymond. The bank's paid-up capital was increased to $300,000, to which was added a surplus fund of $45,000; a majority of the old stockholders continuing their interests in the concern. Under the new arrangements John L. McNeil became President; Edward L. Raymond, Vice President; and Frederick C. Kilham, Cashier. The only subsequent change in management occurred in January, 1892, when Edward E. Quentin succeeded Kilham. With the increase of its capital and surplus, and with its new administration, the bank had made better headway, and its business had a most encouraging expansion. The State National suspended payments on July 19, 1893, but resumed on August 31st. It managed to continue in business until June 25, 1894, when it transferred its affairs to the Union National and passed out of existence.

The Merchants' National Bank was also organized in the spring of 1882, through the instrumentality of Samuel N. Wood, with a capital of $100,000. Its first Board of Directors consisted of William M. Bliss, D. C. Dodge, A. W. Waters, Henry R. Wolcott, and Samuel N. Wood. The Board organized by electing Henry R. Wolcott, President; D. C. Dodge, Vice President; and Samuel N. Wood, Cashier. The bank opened for business on May 1, 1882, in a room on the Sixteenth side of the McClintock Building at Sixteenth and Larimer streets; and, though its career proved a brief one, it made a good beginning. On December 31, 1882, for economic reasons, its business was transferred to the First National Bank, and as a separate financial identity the Merchants' National ceased to exist.

The Union Bank of Denver came into existence on August 26, 1882, as the successor of the Denver Safe Deposit and Savings Bank; or rather as that bank under a new name and with amplified facilities. On a preceding page we have related the history of the parent concern up to the time of the change. With that change, the capital was increased to $100,000, the savings department discontinued, larger and better safe-deposit vaults provided, and, as the Union Bank, the establishment entered upon a general banking business. Under this new arrangement General Pierce was President; Cyrus W. Fisher, Vice President; S. D. Landon, Treasurer; W. D. Todd, Cashier; and Charles R. Pierce, Assistant Cashier. A few months later, M. Spangler became Treasurer, and so continued about two years when he succeeded Fisher as Vice President. There were no other changes in the original organization until 1887. Late in 1886 General Roger W. Woodbury had purchased a controlling interest in the bank, and on January 1, 1887, was elected President and became its general manager. With Mr. Woodbury, M. Spangler remained Vice President; W. D. Todd, Cashier; and Robert C. Lockwood became Assistant Cashier. Under the new management the business increased very rapidly. At the time Mr. Woodbury bought control, the building and the deposit vaults were sold to J. V. Dexter who organized the Union Safe-Deposit & Trust Company with $50,000 capital, and transferred the building and vaults to it. Thereafter the two branches of business were conducted independently, the Deposit and Trust Company still continuing its part of it. In 1888 the stockholders of the Union Bank added enough to the surplus fund to make it $100,000, thus giving the bank a working capital of $200,000. Mr. Todd retired from the Cashiership in January, 1890, and until the bank became a National one about six months later Assistant Cashier Lockwood served. The Union had prospered well under President Woodbury's general management; and in the summer of 1890 the institution became the Union National Bank of Denver, of which some account is hereinafter given.

In the spring of 1887 arrangements were made for the organization under State law of another savings bank, notwithstanding the adverses and reverses that had theretofore attended some such enterprises in Denver. Accordingly, "The Colorado Savings Bank,"—the second of that name—with an authorized capital of $250,000, and a paid-up capital of $50,000, was incorporated under the laws of Colorado, June 8, 1887. The stockholders selected F. K. Atkins, E. M. Battis, J. G. Benkelman, John A. Clough, William G. Evans, C. S. Howard, B. Lombard, Jr., James L. Lombard, W. B. Mills, Jacob Scherrer, and Walter J. Wildman as Directors, who elected John A. Clough, President; F. K. Atkins, Vice President; and Walter J. Wildman, Cashier; (the latter being succeeded about a year later by C. O. Atkins.) The bank found quarters in the old and historic brick building on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, in the second story of which Governor Gilpin established the first Territorial Executive offices. The concern opened July 2, 1887, and was soon doing a flourishing business. In May, 1889, it removed across Larimer street to the Railroad Building, and at that time had $425,000 of deposits, and $25,000 of a surplus fund. James L. Lombard, who was a leader in its organization, was President of the First National Bank of Kansas City, and of the Lombard Investment Company of Boston; the later failure of the last-named concern having been a disastrous one. Early in 1892 Charles West succeeded Clough as President, and Alfred Butters became Vice President; C. O. Atkins continuing as Cashier. In January, 1893, F. K. Atkins was elected President, which was the last change in the concern's management. The Colorado Savings Bank had apparently prospered, but on July 17, 1893, in company with the People's Savings, and the Rocky Mountain Savings, it closed its doors and made an assignment; these banks, with liabilities aggregating about $3,500,000, having been the first three of Denver's financial institutions that suspended in that summer of trouble. Prior to that time, management of the Colorado's business had been largely in the hands of F. K. Atkins, long its Vice President (and its President in 1893); and C. O. Atkins, its Cashier. The bank did not resume, as its failure proved a bad one; and its affairs have not yet been closed by the Assignee.

The histories of the People's Savings and Deposit, the People's National, and the People's Savings banks constitute one story, as one group of men and one series of intermingled transactions were identified with all of them. In the spring of 1888 Mortimer J. Lawrence, who had previously come hither from Cleveland, Ohio, bringing with him some business prestige and a fair amount of capital, was instrumental in organising the "People's Savings and Deposit Bank." Its certificate of incorporation filed June 4, 1888, named M. J. Lawrence, W. W. Porter, Scott J. Anthony, J. Jay Joslin and F. A. Knight as incorporators, and listed a total of forty-four stockholders; the capital stock having been $150,000, all of which was paid in, and one-fifth of which was taken by Lawrence. Edward F. Bishop, James H. Clemes, J. R. Hicks, J. Jay Joslin, Frank A. Knight, M. J. Lawrence, Thomas M. Patterson, William W. Porter, Charles A. Raymond, F. L. Rohlfing, E. L. Scholtz, George W. Skinner, and Charles S. Thomas were chosen Directors, and they elected M. J. Lawrence, President; Charles A. Raymond, Vice President; and Charles Y. McClure, Cashier. The bank was established at 1644 Arapa-

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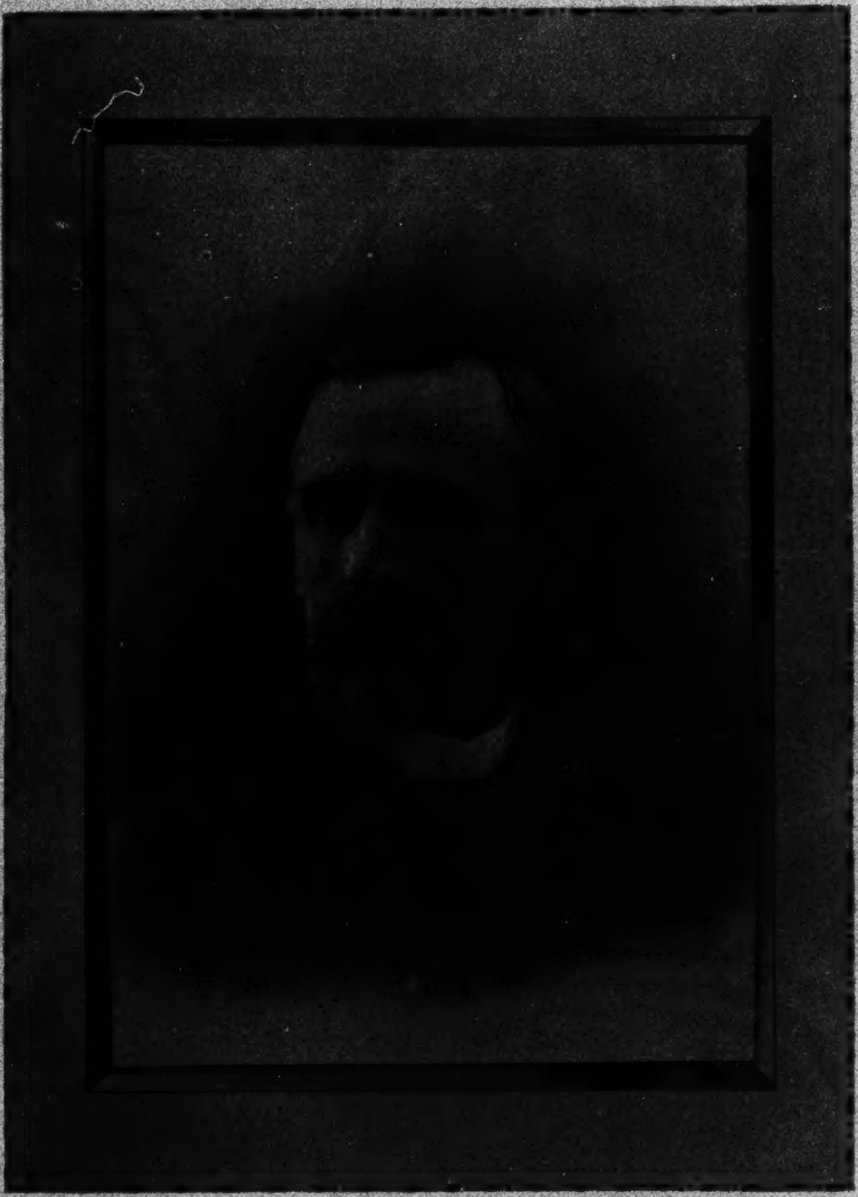
The late George W. Kassler was for thirty years actively and honorably identified with the business life of the city of Denver. He was a native of New York State, having been born in Canajoharie, September 12, 1836; an old town in the east-central part of that State. During his early boyhood he attended the public schools in his native town, but at the age of eleven as a clerk in a general store he began his business career in which he acquired his broad, practical education, and knowledge of the affairs of life. When he was fifteen he obtained a situation in a store at Cooperstown, New York, and soon afterward was appointed clerk in the post-office of that city, a position he retained until 1857, when he decided to locate in the west. Going to Omaha in that year he entered the banking house of L. R. Tuttle and A. U. Wyman, each of whom in later years became Treasurer of the United States.

Mr. Kassler remained in Omaha until the spring of 1860, when he crossed the plains to Denver, reaching here in April of that year. Soon after his arrival he entered the old-time banking house of Turner & Hobbs as its cashier, where he remained until the firm discontinued business in 1861. He then became assistant to Major John S. Fillmore who was paymaster in the United States army in this department. Mr. Kassler was associated with Major Fillmore until 1862, when he received the appointment as assistant cashier at the Denver Mint, in which position he continued until 1864 when he resigned to engage in business on his own account. He established a book and stationery store on the southwest corner of Blake and Fifteenth streets, a business to which he subsequently added that of fire and life insurance and in which he continued for ten years. He also served as President of the Denver Board of Fire underwriters, a position he resigned when he entered the First National Bank.

In 1873 Mr. Kassler was elected City Treasurer and served the term of two years. He was always an ardent friend of the public schools and for six years ending in 1883 most capably served as a member of the Board of Education from District No. 1. The Hyde Park, Emerson and Whittier school buildings were erected during his term.

In 1874 Mr. Kassler entered the First National Bank as Assistant Cashier, his friend David H. Moffat then being its Cashier. In 1880 when Jerome B. Chaffee retired from the Presidency of the bank, Mr. Moffat was chosen to succeed him, and Mr. Kassler was elected Cashier. In 1882 the Merchant's National Bank was absorbed by the First National, and Mr. Kassler availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the consolidation to resign and retire for rest and recuperation, having accumulated a comfortable fortune.

In 1883 Mr. Kassler was appointed one of the State Board of Capitol Managers and continued to serve until 1889 when he resigned on account of ill health. After his retirement from active business Mr. Kassler did not fully regain his health. Later it broke down and a protracted illness ensued which ended in his death on July 30, 1890. Few men have been more sincerely beloved by their associates and more profoundly respected and esteemed by their fellow-citizens than he.—J. C. S.



George W. Kassler.

hoe street, in the Londoner Block, and opened its doors on July 9, 1888. It rapidly picked up business, and within a year had become a flourishing institution.

Encouraged by the success of the savings bank, the same group of men in the summer of 1889, organized the "People's National Bank," with a capital of $300,000, all of which was paid in. Its Board of Directors consisted of M. J. Lawrence, C. Y. McClure, T. M. Patterson, F. A. Knight, C. A. Raymond, J. H. Clemes, C. S. Thomas, F. L. Rohlfing, J. R. Hicks, W. W. Porter, J. J. Joslin, George W. Skinner, and E. F. Bishop. M. J. Lawrence was elected President; D. D. Muir, Vice President; and Charles Y. McClure, Cashier. The bank began business on August 20, 1889, at 1644 Arapahoe street, and like all the others in those days of inflated and seemingly limitless prosperity, the new concern flourished apace.

In preparation for this expansion the name of the original savings bank had been on July 31, 1889, changed to the "People's Savings Bank," and its capital reduced to $50,000, with authority to subsequently increase it to $250,000; Lawrence, Raymond, Skinner, Porter, Joslin, Clemes, Knight, Rohlfing, and Patterson then constituting its Board of Directors. The President, Vice President, and Cashier of the People's National had been elected to the same offices in the People's Savings, with F. C. Schroeder as Assistant Cashier of the latter.

The People's Savings Bank was thus made merely an adjunct of the People's National Bank, and the two set out together on prosperity's highway. The capital of the National was soon increased to $600,000, and the fine office building at the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets was built by this bank, and completed in 1890; and in it the two institutions were installed in attractive and commodious quarters. At that time the National had surplus and undivided profits figured at nearly $100,000. Cashier McClure had retired on February 1, 1890, and had been succeeded by John C. Mitchell. When the latter resigned to become Cashier of the Denver National Bank in 1891, F. C. Schroeder became Cashier of both banks, with M. L. Lawrence as Assistant Cashier of the National Bank, and C. W. Keith as Assistant Cashier of the People's Savings Bank; which positions they occupied when the banks closed in 1893.

These allied institutions were among the financial concerns that were early prostrated by the blast of that year. The Savings closed its doors on July 17th, and the National followed on the 19th; the two having liabilities aggregating upward of $2,000,000. The Savings Bank at once made an assignment and went into a state of suspended animation. An adjustment of its affairs enabled it to resume business June 1, 1894, which was continued in a half-hearted way, under Vice President Muir, and with S. E. Darby as Cashier, until June 29, 1895, when it gave up and passed to a Receiver appointed by our District Court. At first its condition and assets seemed unpromising, but upon the later claim, which was a subject of much litigation, that a large amount of its resources had been diverted to the use of the National prior to the panic of 1893, a judgment for $475,000, the largest ever rendered in a Colorado Court in general litigation, was given the Receiver against the stockholders of the National. This, joined to proceeds of other assets and after the judgment had gone the round of the Courts and had been finally confirmed, enabled the Receiver, in 1900, to pay the Savings Bank's de-

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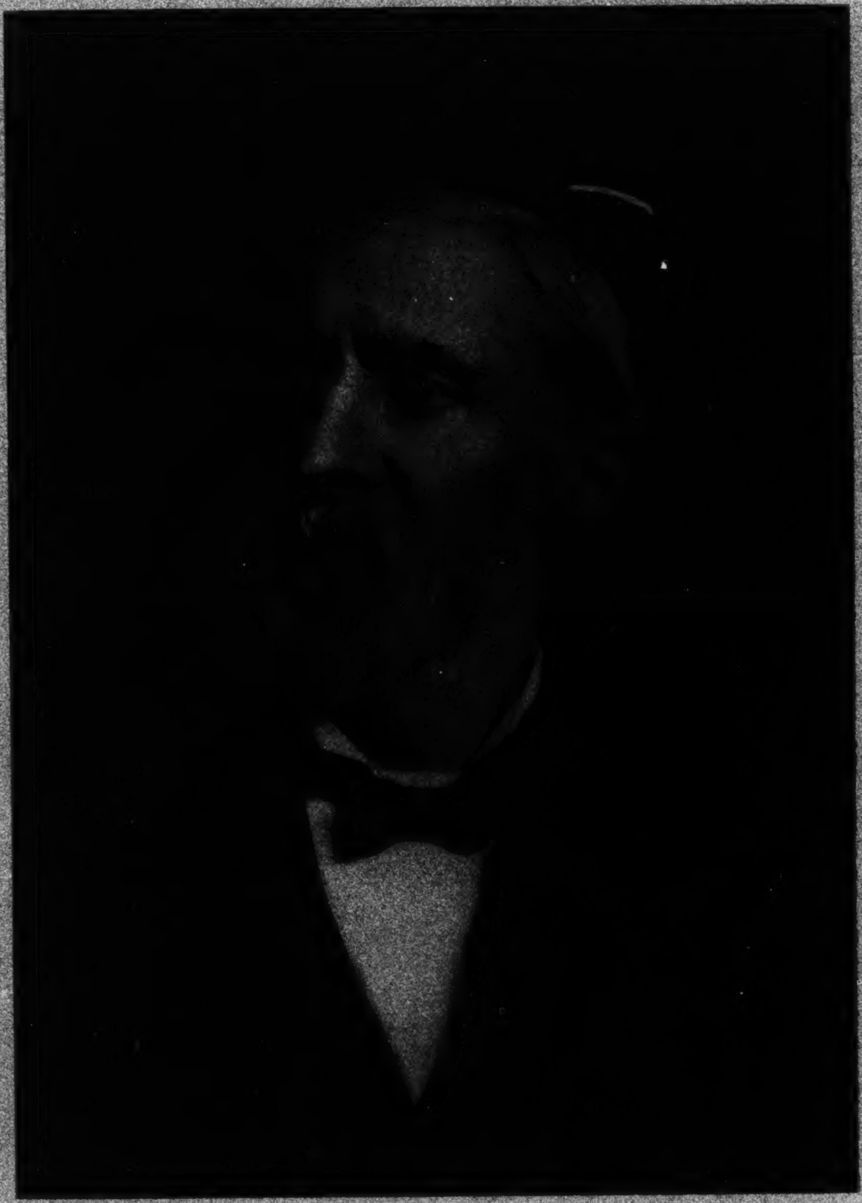
General Roger Williams Woodbury, descendant of an old English family the history of which covers several centuries, was born in Francestown, New Hampshire, March 3, 1841; his father having been a farmer. In 1846 his parents removed to Manchester, New Hampshire, where, during his boyhood, Gen. Woodbury attended the public schools and at intervals was employed in a cotton mill. At the age of seventeen he entered a printing office where he learned the trade of a compositor, and was so employed at the outbreak of the civil war.

In the summer of 1861, in response to the call for men for three years' service, Gen. Woodbury, at the age of twenty, enlisted as a private in the Third Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteers. His regiment did much hard service. It was part of the land forces operating during the earlier years of the war around Port Royal and Charleston, South Carolina, and later in Florida. By successive promotions Gen. Woodbury became Second Lieutenant, First Lieutenant, and at the age of twenty-three, a Captain in his regiment. In 1864 his regiment formed an original part of General Butler's Army of the James, and was engaged in many of the battles around Richmond and Petersburgh. He was wounded by a case-shot in the right thigh, in the fearful struggle in front of Petersburgh, known as "the battle of the Mine," but remained on duty. He participated in both of the expeditions to capture Fort Fisher at the mouth of the Cape Fear River in North Carolina; and in the second was the chief ordnance officer of the expedition, on the staff of General Terry. He continued in that position on the re-establishment of the Tenth Army Corps, until the end of the war, and was mustered out with his regiment on the second of August, 1865, a little over four years from the day of his enlistment. Almost immediately on being mustered out, he resumed his trade, as a compositor, but soon became the local reporter of the paper, as which he remained until he emigrated to Colorado in the early spring of 1866. That summer he worked in the placer mines of Summit County, and then worked as a compositor on the initial number of the Golden Transcript. Later, in February, 1867, he worked on the initial number of the paper which became the Denver Tribune, of which he became local



Roger W. Woodbury.

positors in full, and also to have within sight at the close of our record enough to raise the value of the bank's stock to par or above par. Results with the National were quite different. About a month after its suspension in 1893 it reopened its doors, and for two or three years thereafter did some business; Lawrence, Muir and Schroeder continuing, respectively, as President, Vice President, and Cashier. Finally its managers decided to go into liquidation and to terminate its crippled existence; and at one stroke half its capital was charged off. Operations in liquidation on its own account continued until the autumn of 1896 when the suit against it and its stockholders was instituted on behalf of the Savings Bank. Under this new trouble it collapsed, and a Receiver for it was appointed by our District Court. Later it was placed in the hands of a United States Receiver who is still dealing with what is left of its affairs. Its depositors have been paid in full, but the stockholders lost their entire investments and the solvent ones have had to pay 100 per cent. upon their additional liability. Settlement of the affairs of these two banks involved adjusting new difficulties, defined responsibilities on lines broader than were formerly measured and revealed much of interest to bankers and to lawyers. M. J. Lawrence, projector of the two institutions, returned to Cleveland after the final collapse and is now a resident there.

The "North Denver Bank" was incorporated to do general banking business in that section of the city, on August 15, 1889, with a capital of $50,000 invested by sixteen stockholders. Its certificate named as Directors, Caleb F. Ray, of Pueblo; Albert E. Gipson, of Greeley; Hiram G. Wolff, Silas S. Kennedy, Edwin W. Ray, Adolph J. Zang, and Amos H. Root, of Denver. C. F. Ray became President; Gipson, Vice President; and E. W. Ray, Cashier. The bank was established at the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Central streets. In January, 1891, S. S. Kennedy became its President; W. H. Yankee, Vice President; and A. H. Root, Cashier; and so remained until July 18, 1893, on which day the bank made an assignment to Cashier Root, having been one of six city banks that closed on that day. It did not resume, but its depositors were paid in full; all the losses falling on the stockholders.

Preparations for organizing the Commercial National Bank were completed late in the summer of 1889. Its capital stock of $250,000 was all paid in at the start, and on September 12, 1889, it opened for business at 906-08 Sixteenth street. Its first Board of Directors consisted of E. F. Bishop, C. L. Burpee, W. F. Callaway, C. D. Cobb, C. H. Dow, S. H. Hastings, H. W. Hobson, C. M. Kittredge, Frank Latcham, E. W. Merritt, Jacob Scherrer, G. W. Sheldon, A. B. Sullivan, T. D. Wayne, and Alfred Wolff. The executive organization was C. H. Dow, President; C. D. Cobb, Vice President; and F. H. Dunleavy, Assistant Cashier. The position of Cashier was left vacant until January, 1891, when Mr. Dunleavy was advanced to it. In January, 1892, J. B. Sibley became Assistant Cashier, and in January, 1893, E. F. Bishop succeeded Mr. Cobb as Vice President. The organization as indicated in the foregoing continued until the bank went down in the storm of 1893. It could not resume. Its failure was a bad one for the stockholders, who lost their total investments and had the additional liability to pay in full. Preferred depositors have been paid in full and the others about seventy per cent. of their

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editor in a couple of weeks, and later manager and part owner.

Of General Woodbury's subsequent career as one of the conspicuously useful and honorable citizens of Denver, as one always ready and influential and forceful in undertakings for the city's advancement and welfare, we need not in this note enter into details. They appear in many of these chapters having to do with that part of our Story of Denver covering the period since he became identified with the city thirty-five years ago. Proprietor and editor of the old Denver Tribune, and subsequently proprietor and editor of the present Denver Times; a leader in the organization of the Chamber of Commerce, and long its President; one of the founders of the library of which our present Public Library is the outgrowth, and a member of the latter's present Board of Directors; President of the old Union Bank and of its successor, the Union National Bank; and a participant in many other business and civic undertakings associated with the development of Denver. As we have said, the prominent part he has borne in various activities is set forth in the course of the story told in this volume.

In 1881 Governor Frederick W. Pitkin appointed Gen Woodbury a Brigadier General in the Colorado National Guard, with duty on the executive staff; a service which continued until the expiration in 1883 of the Governor's second term. Averse to the conditions attaching to political life, General Woodbury has never sought public office. However, in 1884 he was elected Regent of the State University a position in which his qualifications and inclinations enabled him to render the State a great service. A member of the Masonic fraternity since his early manhood, he has earnestly and faithfully served that brotherhood through many years. In this service he rose to Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, Grand High Priest of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, and Grand Commander of the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar; and was long Chairman of the Committees on Jurisprudence of all those bodies. As organizer and President of the Masonic Temple Association, he was a leader in the movement resulting in the erection of that fine edifice, the financial foundations of which he laid. He long ago became a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and of the Grand Army of soldiers who fought in the cause of an united country.—J. C. S.

claims; the remnants of the bank's assets still being in the hands of a Receiver. This bank was badly managed by its President, one of whose performances was the loan to a hernia-truss company in which he was by some people believed to have been interested, of $130,000—more than half the bank's capital—on collateral "security" that proved to be worthless and left the loan to become a total loss.

Late in the autumn of 1889 another member was added to the Denver family of National Banks by the organization of the American National. Its capital stock of $250,000 was quickly subscribed and fully paid. The stockholders selected as Directors F. J. Bancroft, Frank Church, J. J. Hagus, S. P. Haines, L. F. Liebhardt, N. B. McCrary, J. W. Nesmith, T. J. O'Donnell, C. S. Owens, I. B. Porter, W. C. Walker, A. D. Wilson, and Phillip Zang. These Directors organized by electing I. B. Porter, who was the leader in the enterprise, President; J. M. Armstrong, Vice President, and Howard Evans, Cashier. The bank opened for business on December 2, 1889, in the Granite Building on the southwest corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets. It flourished from the start, and within a few months its capital was increased to $1,000,000; the management remaining the same. In January, 1891, Frank Church was elected First Vice President; W. C. Walker, Second Vice President; and M. G. Hawley, Assistant Cashier. In September, 1891, I. B. Porter retired from the Presidency and was succeeded by F. P. Ernest; the bank having been earlier in that year removed to the Ernest & Cranmer Building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets.

The American National successfully withstood the trying times of 1893, and in January, 1894, Charles M. Clinton, formerly of the German National Bank, became its Vice President; the second Vice Presidency having been dropped. On June 21, 1894, the American National absorbed the old City National Bank. There were no further important changes of management in the American until January, 1896, when John R. Hanna became President. On April 22, 1896, the bank was compelled by stress of adverse circumstances to close its doors, and beyond subsequent transactions in liquidation it did no more business. At the time of its suspension its liabilities to depositors aggregated $865,000. The bank did not pass to a Receiver, but under an agreement of its depositors, approved by the Comptroller of the Currency, it began, in January, 1897, the liquidation of its affairs. This it did successfully, and early in January, 1900, the last installment due depositors was paid. The bank had maintained its organization, and its liquidation was conducted under Julius A. Myers, President; Thomas E. Poole, Vice President; and John R. Hanna, Cashier. Its affairs are not yet closed, and it is anticipated that remaining assets will yield enough to return to stockholders a large proportion of their investment.

Much of the history of the Union National Bank is involved in that of the Union Bank, which has already been outlined. The older institution had prospered so well in its later years under General R. W. Woodbury's management that, early in 1890, it was decided to incorporate it under the National banking laws with a largely increased capital. It was chartered June 19, 1890, with a capital of $1,000,000, three times the entire amount having been subscribed within one week. But few changes were made in the directory from that of the Union Bank. Mr. Woodbury was made President of the new organization; M. Spangler, First Vice President; William N. Byers, Second Vice President; W. H. Trask, Cashier; and Robert G. Lockwood, Assistant Cashier. The new bank remained at the old stand at Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets, and within two years accumulated a surplus and undivided profits amounting to nearly $100,000. Those were the days of unbounded prosperity, and no contingency seemed more remote and improbable than that misfortune would come to this fine, well-equipped, well managed and most prosperous financial institution. The Union was one of the banks that was compelled to temporarily suspend on July 18, 1893. It resumed business on August 21, 1893, and soon afterward reduced its capital to $500,000; Spangler then retiring as First Vice President, and leaving Mr. Byers as Vice President. For two years thereafter its career was one of much promise. On June 21, 1894, it had taken over the business, assets and liabilities of the State National Bank and removed to the quarters of that retiring institution in the McClintock Building at Sixteenth and Larimer streets. In consequence of that transaction, John L. McNeil, President of the State National, became Vice President of the Union National; General Woodbury continuing as President, and Trask as Cashier. All went well until the summer of 1895. At that time a stockholder who alleged dissatisfaction with the management certain affairs of the State National had received at the hands of its former President, instituted proceedings to have a Receiver appointed to independently close the remaining business of the State National. This dissatisfaction had no bearing upon the Union National's connection with the State National's affairs, and the Receivership proceedings were in no sense directed toward the Union National. But the general public did not understand the situation. The result was that the Union was compelled to close on July 29, 1895, and did not again re-open. Since that time its Receiver has paid all depositors in full, and has remaining assets sufficient to realize for the stockholders a considerable part of their original investments; the affairs of the Union not yet having been closed. Thus it was that a perfectly solvent bank doing an increasing business was forced out of business by the reflex action of peculiar circumstances with which it had nothing to do and over which it had no control.

The Rocky Mountain Dime and Dollar Savings Bank was incorporated under Colorado law May 7, 1891, with a capital of $50,000 and with authority to increase it to $250,000. Its certificate named as Directors, Frank S. Woodbury, R. W. Wooubury, K. G. Cooper, S. P. Rose, R. W. Steele, R. W. Worcester, W. H. Montgomery, F. O. Vickers, and George W. Brooks. F. W. Woodbury became President; K. G. Cooper, Vice President; and E. S. Thompson, Cashier. The bank was located at 1515 Arapahoe street, and had acquired a good line of business when the strain came in 1893. It was one of the three savings banks that closed on July 17th, of that year. It re-opened about six weeks later and continued business until April 20, 1894, when it was re-organized and reincorporated as the Rocky Mountain Savings Bank, capital $50,000, with F. W. Woodbury, President; K. G. Cooper, Vice President; G. F. Clark, Cashier; and practically the same Directors and stockholders. The bank's career was terminated August 6, 1895, when unavoidable circumstances caused it to make an assignment. Its depositors suffered some loss, but its affairs are not yet closed.

In the summer of 1891 Joseph N. Stephens, Frederick H. Hanchet and others established the "Capital Bank" of deposit and discount, which appears not to have been incorporated, as we found no record of it in the office of the Secretary of State. The bank was located at 1634 Curtis street, with Stephens as President, R. D. Hobart, Vice President, and W. J. Robinson, Cashier—the latter having been succeeded within a year by Frederick H. Hanchet. The bank did not acquire very large proportions, but continued with a growing business until July 18, 1893, when it made an assignment to its Cashier. Its affairs have been closed, and it is now but a memory; though perhaps not a satisfactory one to everybody who was concerned in its misfortunes.

The East Denver Savings Bank was incorporated November 16, 1891, with a capital of $25,000; its certificate naming as its Directors George W. Williams, H. E. Pack, Frank P. Miller, F. Hornung, Andrew Halligan, Charles G. Youngstrom, G. T. Spriggs, M. M. Phelps, and M. Spangler. With Williams as President, and Pack as Cashier it began business at 4026 Market street—out near the Union Pacific shops. Its officers remained the same until in 1893 the little bank fell a victim to the panic. A few months later it was re-opened at 1017 Fifteenth street with W. W. Brasie, President; and William N. Byers, Vice President; Pack continuing as Cashier. But the shock had been too great, and it ended its career in 1894; though without much, if any, loss to its depositors.

The "Mercantile Bank" was incorporated February 14, 1893, with $100,000 paid-up capital. Its certificate named as its stockholders, William N. Byers, Christopher C. Gird, William F. McClelland, John A. Hall, James H. Nichols, George W. Currier, Robert C. Lockwood, J. W. Jones, Jr., Samuel H. Elbert, W. G. Evans, C. E. Herrington, and F. Herrington. Gird became President, Byers Vice President, and Lockwood, previously Assist-

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David H. Moffat, whose name and personality are so conspicuously identified with the upgrowth of this city and the development of this State, is a native of the State of New York. Born in Orange county, July 22, 1839, he lived the life of a country boy with the meager educational advantages afforded at that time in country places, until he was twelve years old. He then went to New York city, and though but little more than a child in years, found employment as messenger in the New York Exchange Bank. With that employment, he entered upon a practical education for the career for which he would seem to have been predestined. He remained with the New York bank about four years, having in the meantime risen by successive promotions to the position of Assistant Teller, the duties of which in banks of that period were much like those of present-day assistant cashiers.

In 1855, in response to a request and the advice of a brother who had located in Des Moines, Iowa, Mr. Moffat left New York and went to that then far-western town and immediately entered the banking house of A. J. Stevens & Co., as Teller. While filling that position, in 1856, Benjamin F. Allen then and for many years afterward a prominent capitalist of Des Moines, asked young Moffat to become Cashier of a new bank about to be established by him in the then very new town of Omaha. Accepting the proposition, Mr. Moffat took another long step farther westward, and in the autumn of 1856 was in charge of Allen's Omaha bank as Cashier, when he was but a few months past seventeen years of age. He remained as Cashier of that bank until, in 1859, it went out of business.

In that year, as we have elsewhere related, an enormous tide of emigration set out for the Pike's Peak country, and after the Omaha bank's business had been closed, Mr. Moffat determined to do as so many others were doing—cross the plains to Denver. Forming late in that year a partnership with C. C. Woolworth, of St. Joseph, Mo., as dealers in books, stationery and the various other belongings of that business, under the firm name of Woolworth & Moffat, a stock was loaded in a prairie schooner in charge of which Mr. Moffat set out across the plains early in 1860, and arrived here on the 17th of March; his partner remaining in St. Joseph and subsequently forwarding new supplies as the demands of the business required them.

Mr. Moffat began business in a two-story building on Eleventh street, below Larimer, on the Auraria side of Cherry creek. Subsequently the store was removed to the Denver City side, and occupied a building, shown in one of our illustrations, on the northward side of Larimer street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. Some

David H. Moffat.

ant Cashier of the Union National, Cashier. The bank was established in the corner business room in the Mining Exchange Building, but its career was brief. It closed on July 18, 1893, and made an assignment to W. F. Robinson. A month later, under an arrangement by which its depositors were given time certificates, it re-opened for business. But under the existing conditions there appeared to be no satisfactory future for it, and therefore in January, 1894, the stockholders provided means for liquidating its obligations, and the bank discontinued business. The losses, which were serious, fell wholly upon the stockholders.

With two or three exceptions that figure in the history of still existing banks, the foregoing accounts in this chapter include something of the history of all of Denver's pioneer banking establishments, and of those that constituted the rather long list of her later ones that were but now are not. Of the latter, only the foregoing outline sketches are now worth while. The downfall of those that went out in adversity in consequence of 1893, entailed a world of trouble upon many men; and something further of the conditions and circumstances that laid them low, and of the results thereof, may be left to appear in a subsequent chapter, while we pass to consideration of financial institutions associated with the present and more fortuitous times.

The First National Bank is the pioneer among Denver's present financial institutions, having had an uninterrupted career without change of name since the spring of 1865. As its name indicates, it was the first bank organized in Denver under the National banking law; and was, furthermore, the first, of the National banks in Colorado. It was the successor of the private banking house of Clark & Company (Austin M. and Milton E. Clark) that had succeeded the older and locally famous firm of Clark, Gruber & Co.; the available assets and general business of Clark & Company having been merged in the new institution. Arrangements for organizing the First National were completed early in the spring of 1865, and its certificate of authority from the Treasury Department at Washington to begin business was dated April 17, 1865.

The original stockholders of the First National were Bela S. Buell and Jerome B. Chaffee; Austin M. and Milton E. Clark, of the firm of Clark & Company; Charles A. Cook, of the old firm of C. A. Cook & Company; Henry J. Rogers, George T. Clark, and Eben Smith; the original amount of capital stock having been $50,000. These stockholders also constituted the bank's first Board of Directors; and they organized by electing Jerome B. Chaffee, President; Henry J. Rogers, Vice President; and George T. Clark, Cashier.

On May 9, 1865, Clark & Company transferred their business to the new organization, and on May 10, 1865, the First National opened for business in Clark & Company's small room in the "O. K." building still standing on Fifteenth street and now bearing numbers 1405 and 1407. Later in 1865, upon completion of the building still standing on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Blake streets, the bank moved into what were for those days very handsome quarters in the new structure; that locality then having been in the center of the business district of the city.

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pioneer incidents associated with this business enterprise have appeared in an earlier chapter that includes part of the reminiscences Colonel S. S. Curtis, now of Omaha, prepared for incorporation in this work. Colonel Curtis was appointed Postmaster at Denver in March, 1861, and for a while his Post Office and Moffat's book store shared the same room, and Mr. Moffat served as Assistant Postmaster. The book and stationery business proved very profitable, and developed into one of the prominent mercantile establishments of the pioneer times in Denver. Mr. Moffat's interest in it continued after he became Cashier of the First National Bank in 1867, and in 1868 Clarence J. Clark entered it as a partner, Mr. Moffat's connection with it terminating in 1870.

It would be a needless repetition of much that appears elsewhere in this volume to enter in this note upon a further review in detail of Mr. Moffat's career as a citizen and business man of Denver and Colorado. Of his appointment and services as Adjutant General of Colorado militia during the Indian troubles in 1864, something is told in our accounts of the Indian wars; of his long connection with the First National Bank, of which he is now and has been for many years President, the facts are stated in the history of that institution; of his great usefulness as one of the builders of our pioneer railways, and his identification with later railway construction and management, the particulars are given in our historical accounts of our railway system from its beginning; of the part he has borne in the creation of our great system of water-supply, in mining, and in various other enterprises in city and State, the outlines also appear elsewhere.

Politically a Republican and with many opportunities for winning political positions, he has steadfastly held aloof from candidacy for them; preferring to serve as a private in the ranks. In 1874 at the request of Governor Elbert and by his appointment, Mr. Moffat became Treasurer of Colorado Territory. This is, we believe, aside from serving as a delegate in conventions, the only position with which politics have had to do, that he has ever consented to occupy.

Until his father's death, Mr. Moffat appended "Jr." to his name and which appears in connection therewith in various chapters of this work. He was not quite "of age" when he began his long, useful and successful career as a conspicuous one of those who rank as builders of this city and State. The great extent to which he has made his career a notable part of the history of the rise and advance of Denver and the development of Colorado will have become clearly defined in the mind of the reader who shall have followed our narrative through to its close.—J. C. S.

The bank started under favorable auspices and with considerable prestige but, after a year had elapsed, its affairs through causes chiefly attributed to its management, appeared to be falling into a rut. This somewhat unsatisfactory condition of its business continued until the following autumn when its Directors decided on a change. On September 4, 1866, George T. Clark resigned as Cashier and was succeeded by David H. Moffat, Jr., who then began his long and remarkably successful career as a banker and financier; and from that time, it may be said, also, that the equally successful and equally remarkable part of the First National Bank's career began, and which has continued without interruption or misfortune until the institution has become the impregnable financial fortress that it is to-day.

The currency of the First National was the first of the National banking currency issued in Denver or in Colorado. It was put into circulation on August 22, 1865, and its first note, one of the denomination of $5.00, was presented, as a souvenir, to Mr. W. N. Byers, at that time the editor and one of the proprietors of the Rocky Mountain News.

The First National remained at Fifteenth and Blake streets until late in 1875, when it removed to the McClintock Building on the northeast corner of Larimer and Sixteenth streets, then considered as being rather on the outer edge of the business district. In 1885 it removed across the street into the large corner-room of the Tabor building on the southeast corner of Larimer and Sixteenth, where it remained until early in the spring of 1896, when it was domiciled in its present fine quarters in the great Equitable Building at the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Stout streets.

During its long career the First National has had but two Presidents. Jerome B. Chaffee served nearly fifteen years, when he retired and was succeeded by David H. Moffat, present incumbent, on January 13, 1880.

Henry J. Rogers, the first Vice President, resigned December 31, 1868, and was succeeded by George W. Clayton who continued until January 13, 1874. Then, successively, came George W. Kassler who temporarily served from January 13, 1874, to April 17, 1874; Walter S. Cheesman, April 17, 1874, to January, 1880; H. A. W. Tabor, January, 1880, to January 8, 1884; Henry R. Wolcott, January 8, 1884, to September 26, 1891; Walter S. Cheesman, present incumbent, since September 26, 1891. In January, 1900, the position of an additional Vice President was created and on the 9th of that month George E. Ross-Lewin, present incumbent, was elected to fill it.

The names and terms of the First National's Cashiers have been as follows: George T. Clark, May 10, 1865, to September 4, 1866; David H. Moffat (elected President in January, 1880,) September 4, 1866, to January 13, 1880; George W. Kassler, (promoted from Assistant Cashier) from January 13, 1880, to January 10, 1882; Samuel N. Wood, January 10, 1882, until his resignation September 26, 1891; George E. Ross-Lewin (elected Vice President in January, 1900) September 26, 1891, to January 9, 1900; Thomas Keely, present incumbent, (promoted from Assistant Cashier) since January 9, 1900.

The position of Assistant Cashier was created soon after David H. Moffat became Cashier in 1866, and George W. Wells, who served until his death in April, 1874, was appointed to the position. He was succeeded by George W. Kassler, (then temporary Vice President, and later Cashier,) who had been Cashier for the old-time banking firm of Turner & Hobbs, and who served until January 13, 1880. Then, after a year's vacancy, in succession came T. G. Lyster, January 11, 1881, until resignation April 29, 1886; George E. Ross-Lewin (later Cashier, and present Vice President,) April 29, 1866, to September 26, 1891; Thomas Keely, September 26, 1891, to January 9, 1900, when he was promoted Cashier. In January, 1901, provision was made for two Assistant Cashiers, and on the 8th of that month W. C. Thomas and Frederick G. Moffat, present incumbents, were appointed to these positions.

The position of Second Assistant Cashier was created in 1889, and since then the incumbents have been as follows: H. N. Otis, March 26, 1889, to resignation October 1, 1890; C. H. Rose, October 1, 1890, until his death on December 27, 1890; Jerome A. Vickers, January 28, 1891, until his death on March 27, 1897; W. C. Thomas, March 27, 1897, until his promotion to Assistant Cashier on January 8, 1901, when the position was abolished.

On December 31, 1882, the First National absorbed the Merchants' National Bank that had been organized and had begun business in the spring of that year. The capital of the First National, originally $50,000, was by additions at various times since 1865 increased to $500,000, at which it now stands; and to this a surplus fund of $100,000 and undivided profits of $400,000 have been added; making capital, surplus, and undivided profits, $1,000,000. The statement of its condition, December 13, 1900, gave as the aggregate of its deposits the enormous sum of $19,382,955.67; and at the close of our record that sum had been increased to one exceeding $21,000,000. It hardly need be said in conclusion, that the times of 1893 caused no interruption to the business of this great banking institution.

The Colorado National Bank was the second of the financial organizations in Denver under the national law. It was the direct outgrowth of and successor to the private banking house of Kountze

Brothers, of which pioneer establishment we have outlined the history on a preceding page. Arrangements for organizing the Colorado National, with a capital of $100,000, were made in the spring of 1866, and on August 1st, of that year, the bank began business in Kountze Brothers' building on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets. Luther Kountze, Charles B. Kountze, Joseph H. Goodspeed, Joshua S. Raynolds, and Edward Creighton constituted its first Board of Directors. This Board organized by electing Luther Kountze, President; Joseph H. Goodspeed, Vice President; and Charles B. Kountze, Cashier. In 1869 Luther Kountze, then as now at the head of the banking house of Kountze Brothers in New York, retired from the Presidency of the Colorado National, a change which was followed by the election of Augustus Kountze to the Presidency. In 1874 upon the resignation of Augustus, Charles B. Kountze became President—a position he has since filled without interruption; Augustus Kountze was elected Vice President; William B. Berger, Cashier; S. N. Wood having previously been elected Assistant Cashier. In 1879 Augustus Kountze retired from the Vice Presidency and was succeeded by A. B. Daniels, who died April 9, 1881; after which time the position remained vacant several years. On January 12, 1886, Dennis Sheedy was elected Vice President, and the organization then remained unchanged until the death of Mr. Berger in April, 1890, after which Thomas H. Woodleton, who had been Assistant Cashier, was advanced to the vacant place. At that time Charles B. Berger and George B. Berger, sons of the deceased Cashier, were made First Assistant Cashier, and Second Assistant Cashier, respectively. In consequence of ill health Mr. Woodleton retired in the autumn of 1890, and was succeeded by Charles B. Berger, who died in January, 1891. George B. Berger, the present Cashier, was then elected to succeed his deceased brother, and J. C. Heinz became First Assistant Cashier. Later, William B. Berger, the third son of the late William B. Berger, was elected Second Assistant Cashier. In July, 1899, Mr. Heins resigned, and William B. Berger was advanced to the position of First Assistant; that of Second being then abolished.

The Colorado National remained at the old stand at Fifteenth and Market streets until 1881, and has made but one change of location in its career of a third of a century. The growth of the city, and the advance of the business section eastward made the change desirable. The bank acquired the premises on the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Larimer streets, which were occupied by an old wagon-shop, and in 1881 erected the handsome, four-story, cut stone building now standing there, for its permanent home. On October 1st, of that year, the establishment was installed in its present fine counting-room upon its own soil and under its own roof-tree.

In 1885 the Colorado National's original capital stock of $100,000 was increased to $200,000; in 1889 to $300,000; and in 1890 to $500,000, the present amount. It is one of the Denver banks that did not close its doors in consequence of the events of 1893. By its last official statement of condition available for this work—that of December 13, 1900, its capital was $500,000; its surplus, $200,000; and its deposits, $8,912,938.41. It is a United States Depository, but its government deposits are but a small fraction of the total. These figures tell their own substantial story with sufficient eloquence. The bank's management is now vested in Charles B. Kountze, Herman Kountze, Dennis Sheedy, George B. Berger, F. F. Struby, and William B. Berger as Directors; and in Charles B. Kountze, President; Dennis Sheedy, Vice President; George B. Berger, Cashier; and William B. Berger, Assistant Cashier.

The Denver National Bank is not the successor nor the outgrowth of any preceding banking enterprise. It came into being full-fledged and generously equipped with both capital and experienced management for its substantial and successful career. Its organization was decided on and provided for in the autumn of 1884, and on December 8th, of that year, it began business in the Barclay Building on the northwest corner of Larimer and Eighteenth streets, with an authorized capital of $500,000, one-half of which had been paid in; the other half being added soon afterward. Its first Board of Directors consisted of James Duff, Edward Eddy, James B. Grant, W. S. Jackson, Otto Sauer, Joseph Standley, Dennis Sullivan, Joseph A. Thatcher, and George W. Trimble. Joseph A. Thatcher was elected President; James B. Grant, Vice President; and A. A. Denman, who had been Assistant Cashier of the City National Bank,

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George E. Ross-Lewin, Vice President of the First National Bank, is a native of New York State, having been born in the city of Rochester March 28, 1857. Educated in the Rochester schools, he began an apprenticeship in banking in 1875 and continued it until 1881. In June of that year he came to Denver, and soon thereafter began his service with the First National and which has been continuous to this time.

On April 29, 1886, Mr. Ross-Lewin was elected Assistant Cashier of the Bank and so remained until September 26, 1891, when he succeeded Samuel N. Wood as Cashier. Filling that position until January 9, 1900, he was then elected one of the bank's two Vice Presidents; his daily duties being those of the more active of those two officers. In duration of identification with the executive management of the First National, Mr. Ross-Lewin now stands next to President Moffat and Vice President Cheesman. He is also a Director and the Treasurer of the Tramway Company, and is similarly associated with various other corporate organizations in the city and the State.—J. C. S.

George E. Ross-Lewin.

Cashier. No changes have since been made in the Presidency and the Vice Presidency of this steady-going institution; and its President, who had previously been engaged in banking at Central City for more than twenty years, is now the oldest banker in continued active service in the city of Denver.

In March, 1891, Cashier Denman resigned and was succeeded by John C. Mitchell who had been Cashier of the Carbonate National Bank of Leadville. With Mr. Mitchell as Cashier, Edward S. Irish became Assistant Cashier; and in 1893 J. W. Hudston was elected Second Assistant Cashier; which officers still fill these respective positions. The bank remained in the Barclay Building until October, 1893, when it was established in its present spacious and finely appointed quarters in the Cooper Building on the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets. These are the only changes of place and of executive officers that have occurred in the sedate career of this well-built institution through the sixteen years of its existence.

This bank has been a successful one from the day it first opened its doors. At the close of the first year's business its deposits amounted to $1,100,000; the end of the second year found them more than doubled; and they kept on increasing with each succeeding year until that memorable period of 1893-94 changed a rising tide into a falling one; but it caused no interruption of the daily business of the Denver National. Then came a reaction, and as the people have recovered from the disasters of that time its deposits have grown and grown until, on December 13, 1900, they aggregated $6,416,242.99. In the meantime the bank had reinforced its capital of a half-million by a surplus of $150,000. It is and long has been a United States Depository. Its present Board of Trustees consists of James B. Grant, Henry Gebhard, Thomas S. Hayden, William S. Jackson, William H. James, John C. Mitchell, Henry M. Porter, Otto Sauer, Joseph Standley, Dennis Sullivan, and Joseph A. Thatcher.

The National Bank of Commerce is the younger of the four existent financial institutions in Denver organized under the National banking law, and is the successor to a private banking establishment. On July 1, 1887, Charles L. McIntosh and William R. Mygatt, as the firm of McIntosh & Mygatt, opened a bank of deposit and discount at No. 1615 Curtis street, with a cash capital of $100,000. Soon afterward, they occupied the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets. Their business had quietly but rapidly expanded, and after three years of successful operation on a private basis, it was decided to incorporate the bank under the National law.

Therefore, in the summer of 1890, the National Bank of Commerce was organized as successor to the business of McIntosh & Mygatt, with a capital of $500,000. The first Board of Directors con-

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Joseph A. Thatcher, President of the Denver National Bank, was born in Shelby county, Kentucky, July 31, 1838. His father was John Pemberton Thatcher, a veteran of the war of 1812 between the United States and England. Joseph A. Thatcher was a country boy and was educated in the country schools of Shelby county. In 1849 his parents removed to Missouri and located in the historic frontier town of Independence. There Mr. Thatcher entered the general store of his uncle where he remained until the autumn of 1858, when he went to Jefferson City and was elected Assistant Secretary of the Missouri State Senate and served through two terms.

In the spring of 1860 Mr. Thatcher came to Colorado with a stock of miners' supplies and general merchandise which he freighted across the plains. He went into the mountains and successfully engaged in business in Central City, in which he continued until January, 1863, when he became Manager of the Central City branch of Warren Hussey & Company's Denver banking house, of which the history is given in these pages. In the responsible position of manager Mr. Thatcher continued until 1870 when he purchased the business and good will of the Central City branch, and in association with Joseph Standley, a prosperous mining operator, organized the banking firm of Thatcher, Standley & Company, as successor to Hussey & Company. The house of Thatcher, Standley & Company had a most prosperous career, and on January 1, 1874, became the First National Bank of Central City, with Mr. Thatcher as President, and F. C. Young, Cashier. This bank is still in successful existence.

In 1882 Mr. Thatcher resigned as President of the Central City bank and took a brief respite from financial work, devoting the ensuing two years principally to travel through the United States and Europe. Upon his return he organized the Denver National Bank, the details of which are elsewhere given, and of which he at once became President, a position he has filled from that date to this.

Mr. Thatcher is now the oldest banker in service in Denver, and the span of his long active business career may be said to cover the whole period of the wonderful development of this State. While his attention has been more directly given to financial affairs, his means and services have been useful in many other undertakings that have greatly contributed to the upbuilding of Denver. He participated in organizing and establishing the Denver Union Stock Yards, the Denver Electric Company, and the Colorado Packing Company; and was connected with the water and gas companies, served as a Director in the Omaha & Grant Smelting Company during its existence, and has been identified with several local commercial enterprises. But it has been in the management of the great banking institution of which he is the head, that he has found the broader opportunities for the exercise of his well-trained financial genius and thorough business abilities.—J. C. S.

Joseph A. Thatcher.

sisted of L. Anfenger, P. L. Bockfinger, Charles Boettcher, Benn Brewer, Job A. Cooper, Phillip Feldhouser, F. C. Goudy, J. W. Graham, W. L. Graham, L. L. Higgins, Frank B. Hill, J. F. Hopkins, Charles L. McIntosh, William R. Mygatt and D. D. Streeter. The Directors elected Job A. Cooper, who was then Governor of Colorado and who had formerly been identified with the German National, President of the new bank; William R. Mygatt, Vice President; Charles L. McIntosh, Cashier; and W. B. Morrison, Assistant Cashier. The new bank was quartered in the Ernest & Cranmer Building, southwest corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets, and there opened for business on July 16, 1890. In January, 1892, Vice President Mygatt was succeeded by Henry R. Wolcott, the other officers remaining the same; and no further changes occurred for several years. Early in 1893, upon completion of the fine Bank Building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Arapahoe streets, the bank occupied its present handsome home in that structure. The troubles of 1893 caused a brief interruption to its business (from July 18th to August 17th), after which its capital was reduced to $200,000, at which it now stands. In January, 1897, there was a rather general change of management. Charles Boettcher was then elected President; Colonel D. C. Dodge, Vice President; and Dr. D. H. Dougan, Cashier; W. B. Morrison continuing as Assistant Cashier; and since then no changes have occurred. The bank's deposits on December 13, 1900, were $2,224,091.65.

The Denver Savings Bank was incorporated and organized January 2, 1890, a large number of the officers of other banks in the city becoming stockholders. Thirteen members constituted its first elected Board of Directors, as follows: Dr. F. J. Bancroft, Isaac E. Blake, A. W. Chamberlin, H. B. Chamberlin, D. H. Ferguson, J. A. Ferguson, Joseph W. Gilluly, S. H. Hastings, C. Y. McClure, John L. McNeil, I. B. Porter, Charles H. Smith, and S. N. Wood. The Directors elected H. B. Chamberlin, President; D. H. Ferguson, Vice President and manager; I. E. Blake, Second Vice President, and C. Y. McClure, Cashier. The bank's authorized capital was $1,000,000, of which $250,000 was subscribed and paid in. It began business at 1227 Sixteenth street, on February 9, 1890. In January, 1891, D. H. Ferguson became President; H. B. Chamberlin, First Vice President; and C. H. Smith, Second Vice President; McClure continuing as Cashier. In 1892 S. N. Wood succeeded Chamberlin as First Vice President, and there were no further changes until 1894. All through the summer of 1893, and unlike some of the other savings institutions, this bank withstood a "run" upon it, but was forced to suspend on September 1st; though no loss to depositors ensued. It was then re-organised with a capital of $250,000, and resumed business in March, 1894, with Charles H. Smith, President; George R. Swallow, First Vice President; D. H. Ferguson, Second Vice President; and C. Y. McClure, Cashier. Later in that year, after the Union National Bank had removed to Sixteenth and Larimer streets, this bank occupied the Union's former and its own present quarters on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets. In January, 1896, George R. Swallow became President, and Carlos Wood, Cashier; and in 1897 F. O. Vaille was elected Vice President—the Second Vice Presidency having been abolished. These officers are still in charge of the bank's business, which has reached large proportions; its deposits on December 31, 1900, having been $1,253,695.

The Western Bank (and Safe Deposit Company)

William H. James is one of the forceful men who have long been identified with Colorado. Born in Monmouthshire, England, February 5, 1838, of Welsh parents, he came, when ten years of age, to America, with his parents, who located in Brooklyn, N. Y. After a course in the public schools of that city, he learned the business of a watchmaker. In 1855, while still a mere boy, he went to Iowa City, Iowa, where he worked at his trade about five years.

Coming to Colorado in June, 1860, with his young wife, he pitched his tent in Nevada Gulch, Gilpin County, where he set up a stamp-mill that proved fully as unsuccessful as most of its neighbors. In 1861, he moved the mill to Empire, in Clear Creek County, where it did no better. Impoverished by these reverses, he returned to Nevada Gulch and there opened a watchmaker's shop, which a fire soon wiped out of existence. He then turned his attention to mining, and afterward became Superintendent of several large mining properties in the Clear Creek region. In 1873, he went to Park County as Superintendent of a placer property at Fairplay, and in 1875 to Lake County as Superintendent of the Printer Boy mine.

In that year Mr. James was elected the representative of Lake and Park counties in the convention that framed, in the winter of 1875-1876, the Constitution of the State of Colorado and of which body he was an able member. In that period the mining interests of Colorado required special consideration, and the clause in the Constitution exempting mines from taxation for a period of ten years, was his proposition, and its adoption the direct result of his personal work and influence against much opposition.

He continued mine supervision in Lake County until February 1878, when, in partnership with the late Edward Eddy, he engaged in buying and handling ores, and the erection of sampling works at Leadville, under the firm name of Eddy & James. On January 1st, 1880, Messrs. Eddy & James formed a copartnership (in the consolidation of their sampling works) in the smelting business with James B. Grant, and the firm name was changed to the Grant Smelting Company.

In February, 1879, Leadville became a city of the first-class, and on April 1st Mr. James was elected its first Mayor, a position requiring unusual strength of character in the man called to fill

William H. James.

was incorporated November 13, 1891, by Frederick C. Kilham, John L. McNeil, Robert D. Thompson, Charles Hallack, Edward L. Raymond, E. S. Kassler, William R. Thompson, and W. A. Hover, with a capital of $100,000, and began business a short time thereafter, at 1640 Arapahoe street, with Kilham as President, and George W. Collins, Cashier. About a year later W. G. Brown became Vice President, and early in 1895 George A. Stahl was chosen Cashier. The bank was removed to its present location, northwest corner of Seventeenth and Arapahoe streets, in 1896, and early in 1897 Brown became President, and W. A. Hover, Vice President; Stahl continuing as Cashier. Since then no change in officers has occurred. On December 31, 1900, the bank reported $321,677 of deposits.

The Central Savings Bank now located in the Mining Exchange Building, is the old "North Side Savings Bank" under a new name and in a new place of business. The North Side bank was incorporated April 11, 1892, with $25,000 capital, and a Board of Directors consisting of John A. Clough, William Light, David Brothers, Henri R. Foster, Samuel E. Marshall, Henry H. Mills, William E. Wilson, Adelia E. Clough, Roland D. Smith, Willis M. Marshall, and S. E. Howard. The bank was established at the intersection of Dunkeld and Gallup Avenues, near the old cable-railway "loop" in "North Denver," with John A. Clough as President, and Willis M. Marshall, Cashier. The bank weathered the storm of 1893, and in 1894 was removed to 1032 Fifteenth street. John A. Clough, its President, died in July, 1895, and was succeeded by George Richardson, with Dr. W. E. Wilson as Vice President; and at that time there were also some changes in its directory. On January 15, 1896, it became by change of name the present Central Savings Bank with a capital of $25,000. Its present officers are George Richardson, President; Dr. W. E. Wilson, Vice President; Willis M. Marshall, Cashier. According to its statement in December, 1900, the Central then had $547,986 of deposits.

The present Citizens' Trust and Savings Bank at 721 Sixteenth street, is the descendant of the Citizens' Savings Bank organized under the laws of Colorado in May, 1892, and began business at 937 Seventeenth street with G. C. Reed, President; F. W. Graves, Vice President; and J. E. Yerkes, Cashier. In the second year of its existence it had to face the turmoil of 1893 which it did well, and paid all demands of its depositors without exacting the legal notice. At that time it was located at 1011 Seventeenth street, and Carlton Ellis had become its Vice President. In 1895 it removed to its present location and was re-named the Citizens' Savings and Commercial Bank; and in 1896 J. R. Thurston succeeded Ellis as Vice President. In 1897, Elbert Besley, who came to Denver from Chicago in 1885 and who owns a controlling interest in the bank, was elected President, and Lou Gipson, Vice President; Yerkes continuing as Cashier. The bank was then given its present name, and in 1899 Yerkes was succeeded by J. R. Kershaw who, early in 1900 was succeeded by C. A. Root the present Cashier. At the close of 1900 the bank, which is conservative in its methods and exacts real estate security for its loans, carried the accounts of about 500 depositors with deposits aggregating $141,876.

The Union Stockyards Bank, the younger of the Denver banks, was incorporated October 27, 1898, by Samuel G. Gill, William J. Fine and Frank C. Goudy, with a capital of $30,000, and immediately began business. The certificate named as officers and Directors David H. Moffat, President; S. G. Gill, Vice President; William J. Fine, Cashier; Goudy and C. F. Morse, among whom there have since been no changes. As its name indicates, its place of business is at the Denver Union Stock-

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it. Leaving his business to the care of his partner, he gave the mining-camp city an administration that has been a standard for those that have followed. During the great strike in that camp in 1880, when State troops were sent there to protect life and property under the rule of martial law, he was appointed Brigadier General of militia and rendered most efficient service in restoring order and obedience to law.

Gen. James remained a citizen of Leadville until 1882, having continued his connection with the mining industry.

In 1882, after the Grant Smelter at Leadville had been wrecked by fire, Gen. James removed to Denver and directed the construction of the new Grant establishment here, and in which he was an owner. In 1883, there was a consolidation of the Grant Smelter of Denver with the Omaha Smelting & Refining Company of Omaha, Neb., and thereafter it became known as the great Omaha & Grant Smelting and Refining Company. From the time it started its fires until the union of smelter interests in the spring of 1900, he was continuously identified with its management. He then retired from his long period of active work. He was one of the organizers and is a director of the Denver National Bank, and is largely interested in several other business enterprises among which are the Colorado Portland Cement Co., of which he is President, and the Yak Tunnel Co., of Leadville, of which he is Vice President, and which has in hand one of the great mining-tunnel undertakings in this country. He was also one of the organizers of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in which he became a Director; a position he still fills.

While not one of the first army of "Pike's Peakers" that trooped across the plains in 1859, Gen. James was in the ranks of the second one that made the year 1860 almost equally memorable; and is an excellent representative of the Colorado pioneers who possessed the "staying qualities," and who were steadfast in what they believed the future held in store for the Colorado country.—J. C. S.

yards, and by its statement December 31, 1900, it had $134,925 deposits.

There are now in Denver a large number of Building Associations which constitute rather important factors as economic and financial institutions, but the limitations of this chapter forbid including accounts of them in it. There are, however, two that embrace some banking features in their business. The Columbia Savings and Loan Association at the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Welton streets is developing banking features in connection with its larger business of making loans to shareholders on the building association plan. It was organized as the Columbia Building and Loan Association in January, 1890, and in January, 1899, its name was changed to the one it now bears, and its methods broadened to include those of savings banking; and in this department at the close of 1900 about $100,000 of deposits were carried. Its management is vested in T. J. Zollars, President; Jabez Norman, Vice President; and Orrin McNutt, Secretary and Actuary; with the First National Bank as Treasurer. The other of these institutions above referred to is the Fidelity Savings Association at 825 Sixteenth street, and of which E. M. Johnson is now President and manager. It is the successor by change of name in March, 1896, of the Fidelity Building and Loan Association organized in 1889, and of which James S. Wolfe was President when the change was made. The general business of the Fidelity partakes of building association methods. At the close of 1900 the statistics of its banking department were about the same as those of the Columbia.

The International Trust Company, an important member of Denver's present family of financial institutions, and that is handsomely quartered in the Equitable Building, is in one sense the successor to two preceding organizations of similar general character. On June 24, 1885, David H. Moffat, Henry R. Wolcott, and S. N. Wood incorporated the Security Safety Deposit and Trust Company with a capital of $50,000, and which became an auxiliary of the First National Bank. Its vaults and place of business were located in that bank, the Cashier of which acted as its Treasurer, and its existence was continued until the close of 1897. On October 22, 1891, the National Trust Company was incorporated by David H. Moffat, Henry W. Hobson, Moses Hallett, Walter S. Cheesman, and thirty-four others, most of them well known citizens of Denver. Its capital was $500,000, and the certificate named as the company's first officers, D. H. Moffat, President; C. H. Dow, First Vice President; Henry W. Hobson, Second Vice President; and John F. Bell, Secretary; the first Directors having been D. H. Moffat, Edward L. Raymond, Walter S. Cheesman, W. S. Jackson, Moses Hallett, M. D. Thatcher, C. H. Dow, C. S. Morey, Anthony Sweeney, M. E. Smith, H. W. Hobson, and O. H. P. Baxter. On January 29, 1892, the name of the company was changed to that of the "International Trust Company," under the same directory and management; and at the close of 1897 the old Security company was merged into it. In addition to its general trust business, the International company has a banking department, a savings department, and a safe deposit department. According to its last statement, it had in its banking and savings departments deposits aggregating $2,197,799. Its original capital was reduced when the name was changed, to the present amount, $250,000; to which a surplus fund of $150,000 has been added. The panic of 1893 caused no interruption to its business. Its present Board of Directors consists of Alva Adams, Walter S. Cheesman, Joseph Davis, Frank B. Gibson, J. A. Hayes, E. T. Jeffery, D. H. Moffat, W. B. Page, and M. D. Thatcher; with Moffat as President; Gibson, Vice President; and C. E. Dickinson, Secretary.

New Mint of the United States, at Denver. From architect's drawing.

There are at present in Denver several partnerships the business of which includes some banking. The more prominent of these are E. H. Rollins & Sons, R. H. McMann & Company, and Joralomon & Company. The first-named dates its origin back to the autumn of 1876, and has, under several unimportant changes, been in continuous existence since that time. The second was founded in January, 1886, under the name of McMann & Kittredge, and has had an uninterrupted career. The third is of more recent origin, having been established in March, 1894.

In preparing these historical accounts of banks and banking in Denver, it was not thought worth while to give consideration to various persons and partnerships that, in frequent instances by self-assertion, figured more or less transiently as "bankers" in the past since pioneer times; nor to sundry vanished and relatively unimportant establishments that really had some little color of title to stand as financial institutions. Of the former there were many, especially during the ten or twelve years preceding 1893, but in no instance did the business of any of them extend much beyond that of the agent or broker, though a few were entrusted with deposits; and mingled in the throng were numerous masquerading exploiters. Among the others, those that had some claim to be considered as financial establishments, there were several small trust companies and, as at present, some rather substantial "investment companies;" but in none of these did there appear to be anything of sufficient historical interest to warrant making record of them on these pages.

View from dome of Capitol, overlooking part of the city's business section. From a recent photograph by James H. Brown, Jr.

The four existent National Banks now form the Denver Clearing House Association—the Colorado National, Denver National, First National, and National Bank of Commerce. The Association was organized in the autumn of 1885, the initiative toward it having then been taken by General R. W. Woodbury who was at that time President of the Denver Chamber of Commerce. Appreciating the importance of such an institution, he requested each of the National banks in the city to have representatives meet him in the room of the Directors of the Chamber on the afternoon of October 25th. In response to this came John R. Hanna, of the City National; William B. Berger, of the Colorado National; J. A. Thatcher and A. A. Denman, of the Denver National; David H. Moffat and S. N. Wood, of the First National; George Tritch, of the German National; E. P. Wright, of the State National; and Willliam D. Todd, of the Union Bank. Mr. Woodbury, who had theretofore unavailingly urged the organization of a Clearing House, again presented the advantages and importance of such an association with much earnestness. The bank representatives thereupon organised their meeting by calling J. A. Thatcher to the chair and placing the duties of Secretary upon A. A. Denman. The decision of the meeting was to proceed with the organization, and to that end a committee consisting of S. N. Wood, William B. Berger, and William D. Todd was appointed to prepare rules and regulations and a plan of organization for the association. As soon as this committee completed their work a meeting was held which approved and adopted it as the basis for the organization. The Clearing House began operations on November 16, 1885, the report of the first day's work having been delivered to the Chamber of Commerce and posted there on that day.

While Denver for so many years has had "the Mint," and the United States has so long owned a building here over the entrance door of which has been kept the legend, "The Mint of the United States," no coining has been done in the city since Clark, Gruber & Co., went out of the business. It was the intention of the laws of 1862 and 1863, as already stated, as it was of those who recommended and procured their enactment, that the Denver establishment should be a mint in fact as well as in name. The act of 1862 provided that it should be a branch under the control and direction of the Director of the Mint at Philadelphia. But effect was not immediately given to the provisions of the law, and in the meantime circumstances and influences growing out of the astounding silver production from the Comstock Lode in Nevada brought about legislation by Congress establishing a mint at Carson City and depriving the Denver institution of authority to coin money. It became the depository for public funds, and the accounts of the United States disbursing officers in this part of the country were kept there until after the First National Bank was organized and became a United States depository. Since that time "the Mint" has been nothing more than an assay office, though the volume of its business in that capacity is recorded in terms of millions. Of the inception, authorization by Congress, and progress in construction, of the new Mint, which is to be one of coinage, and which, it is anticipated, will be in operation in 1903, some further account has been given in connection with mining and smelting affairs.

Though Denver was one of the great financial centers of the country before panic times, it has become a much greater one since, as the reader will learn from the comparative statement of bank conditions presented on a succeeding page. In April, 1900, the city's importance as a financial metropolis was recognized by the United States Treasury in making Denver a "reserve" city. Under the provisions of the National banking law the National Banks of a city so designated become authorized depositories for the reserve funds of "country" National Banks, and the Denver National Banks are now the reserve agents for other Colorado National Banks, and for those of Wyoming and New Mexico. A movement was made in 1899 to this end, but for some reason was not pressed. Until the change was made in the spring of 1900, reserve funds from this part of the country went to eastern banks, and the Denver National Banks ranked as "country" institutions.

Banking is a very pleasant and comfortable kind of business so long as things run smooth and even; but no human occupation is better calculated to make men sweat blood, than it in times of adverse financial excitement and panicky demands of apprehensive depositors. At the beginning of 1893 there were, as we have stated, eleven National banks in Denver—the American, City, Colorado, Commercial, Denver, First, German, Bank of Commerce, People's, State, and Union; beside several others existing under State law or as private establishments. Each was doing a prosperous business, judging from the statements made in their reports of their condition in that period, and from the general condition of affairs in the city and State.

The group of National Banks had, as we have seen, received several additions within a few years. The aggregate capital of the eleven was $5,550,000, to which had been added surplus funds aggregating $1,860,000. Their combined deposits were above $20,000,000, and the annual transactions of the clearing house during the year just closed had footed up nearly $266,000,000. The growth of National bank business, and increase of National bank capital and surplus, during several years prior to and ending with 1892, are indicated in the following figures.

View from dome of Capitol, overlooking part of the city's business section. From a recent photograph by James E. Brown, Jr.

Year.	Capital and Surplus.	Deposits.
1884	$2,070,076.00	$ 7,290,470.00
1885	2,139,649.00	9,089,324.00
1886	2,296,575.00	10,889,715.00
1887	2,357,250.00	12,542,693.00
1888	2,735,966.00	14,307,196.00
1889	3,537,805.00	18,408,078.00
1890	6,474,765.00	17,150,534.00
1891	6,395,000.00	17,818,208.00
1892	7,410,000.00	20,585,766.00

The disasters of 1893 came with but little warning. A few banking men in Denver saw the cloud rising above the horizon before the close of 1892, but most of them did not; and to the mass of the sanguine people it was invisible. In the spring of 1893 the mutterings became audible to many, and their effect was seen in May and June in the depletion of deposits in the savings banks; yet, the majority of the people hoped, and believed, too, that the threatened storm would "blow over." Of the circumstances attending its outburst in July, and of the conditions and consequences that followed, some account appears in a subsequent chapter.

The recovery since that time has been a remarkable one that strikingly demonstrates the recuperative powers of our people. The failure and disappearance of several of the former eleven National Banks, and the consolidation of two others, left but four in Denver. These four, however, though having combined less than one-third the capital and surplus, now have larger combined resources and are doing a business greater than the eleven that were flourishing in 1892. This may be more clearly shown by a few comparative figures. As the reader has seen, the combined capital and surplus of the eleven at the close of 1892 was $7,410,000; their combined deposits $20,585,766; and their combined resources $29,217,536. At the close of business on December 13, 1900, the combined capital and surplus of the four existent National Banks was $2,150,000; their combined deposits $36,936,169; or about eighty-one per cent. more than those of 1892; and their combined resources $41,421,791; fractions being omitted. These figures rather eloquently tell the story of recovery.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

DENVER'S FIRST TELEGRAPH LINE—HISTORY OF ITS CONSTRUCTION—EARLY DIFFICULTIES IN OPERATION—OTHER LOCAL TELEGRAPHS—COMING OF THE TELEPHONE—EXTRAORDINARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM—STREET RAILWAYS—PIONEER DENVER HORSE RAILWAY COMPANY—DENVER ELECTRIC AND CABLE RAILWAY COMPANY AND ITS SUCCESSORS—DENVER CITY CABLE RAILWAY COMPANY—HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABLE AND ELECTRIC SYSTEMS—ACQUISITION OF ALL LINES BY DENVER CITY TRAMWAY COMPANY—PRESENT EXTENT OF THE SYSTEM—INFLUENCE IN UPBUILDING THE CITY.

In no city in the United States has the application of electricity to the needs and conveniences of the people reached a more advanced stage than here in Denver where, in addition to its primary service by wires across the plains which have become a net-work over all the country, and its use for lighting and power elsewhere mentioned, its development has resulted in two other great public utilities of unusual extent and excellence—the telephone and the street railway systems.

The coming of the telegraph to Denver in the autumn of 1863 was an event of the utmost importance to the young city. We have hitherto briefly referred to it, but its historic interest suggests that some details of overland telegraph construction be presented. The first movement toward erecting a telegraph line to Denver was made in the spring of 1860. Prior to that time a corporation had been organized at St. Joseph under the name of the Missouri & Western Telegraph Company, of which Charles M. Stebbins was President. This company had built some short local lines in the vicinity of and west from St. Joseph, and contemplated pushing across the plains to Denver; an enterprise that was soon afterward abandoned. However, in the summer of 1860, President Stebbins came to Denver and obtained for his company a conditional subsidy of town lots from the Denver Town Company's Directors, who met on August 18th and adopted the following:

> "Resolved, that the Missouri & Western Telegraph Company be donated fifty lots in Denver City with the Express Condition and understanding that they locate their office in East Denver City, their principal office, and that the Secretary select said lots and to Issue one half of them When the poles are all up, the balance to Issue When the line is completed to Denver City."

Although the two towns had previously been united as one city, the Directors of the Denver Town Company were as eager as ever to have all the "principal" things located on their side of Cherry creek, and about that time they and the Stage Company had influenced the location of the Post Office on the east side.

In 1860 Congress by law provided some aid for the construction of an overland telegraph line to the Pacific coast to be completed within two years from July 31, 1860, with priority of use by the government at an expense of such use not to exceed $40,000 per annum. The Pacific Overland Telegraph Company had been organized, with Edward Creighton as President. Creighton had already built a local line between Nebraska City and Omaha, and late in 1860 this line and the few short ones built by Stebbins' company were bought by the new overland company, the Missouri & Western passing out of existence. Construction of the overland line was begun in the winter of 1860-61. Its route was from Omaha to Fort Kearney, thence to Julesburg and Fort Laramie, thence over the Wind River Mountains to Fort Bridger and on to Salt Lake City. Construction on the Pacific coast end was begun simultaneously at Sacramento, a line from San Francisco to that point having previously been built; and the Pacific coast work was continued to Salt Lake where the junction was made with the eastern builders.

Construction proceeded with great energy, the division between Omaha and Fort Kearney, which was built by Henry M. Porter, now and for many years a citizen of Denver, being completed and opened for business early in April, 1861. The Pony Express which had been established a year before then made Fort Kearney its eastern terminus and, as we have elsewhere stated, continued its operations over the successively diminished gaps until the union of the wires at Salt Lake, ended its career.

In the spring of 1861, the President of the Pacific Telegraph Company came to Denver to interest the citizens in the construction of a branch line from Julesburg. He asked for cash subscriptions to an amount which, as later developed, was about equal to the cost of the projected line; but proposed that the subscriptions should be repaid in telegraph service. This proposition being declined, the negotiations terminated and Mr. Creighton went his way.

The wire reached Julesburg in May, 1861, bringing the line within about two hundred miles of stage route from Denver. Previous to that time messages to and from the advancing line had been transmitted by Pony Express or stage; but now the company opened an office in Denver for handling this business by an agent of its own, still using the Express or stages to cover the gap to Julesburg. David H. Moffat was appointed the first agent, and daily sent out and received a comparatively large number of messages.

The overland line was completed far within the limits assigned for its construction by Congress, and was ready for business on October 22, 1861, affording the Pacific coast its first telegraphic communication with the east. The line remained in use until 1869 when those along the Central and Union Pacific railroads supplanted it. The first message from San Francisco to New York was—

> "The Pacific to the Atlantic sends greeting; and may both oceans be dry before a foot of all the land that lies between them shall belong to any other than one united country."

The telegraph business to and from Denver, handicapped as it was by the gap of about two hundred miles to Julesburg, grew to relatively large proportions, and in the spring of 1863 President Creighton came back here to see about making the connection a direct one. The inconvenience of the old way, the increasing business need for a wire to the city, and the great anxiety of everybody to hear quickly of the progress of the war, combined to effect an arrangement. Citizens here subscribed liberally, and in this were joined by those in the Clear creek mining towns on condition that the wire be extended to Central City; the total subscriptions amounting to about $35,000 which the company later cancelled by telegraph service. The line was built from Julesburg to Denver in that summer and early autumn by B. F. Woodward, who is still a citizen of Denver, but instead of following the old stage route around by the great bend of the South Platte, it cut across the country from the point where Fort Morgan is now located, by way of Living Springs, to Denver, along the route of the old "cut-off road."

The wire was strung into Denver on October 1st to the office over Warren Hussey & Company's bank on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets, and messages were expected to be immediately transmitted. Judge Amos Steck was then Mayor, and Mr. Woodward decided that he should send the first message, which was to be one to Mrs. Steck then in the east. But, in consequence of defective construction, and damage by storm, the line would not work. Repairs were made, and on October 10th Mayor Steck exchanged congratulatory messages with the Mayor of Omaha.

The line was extended to Central City in November, and its business became large. B. F. Woodward was its manager, at Denver, and continued so for several years. The net receipts during the first twelve months were $36,000—about the total cost of construction. Rates, as we have already stated, were high, but they were for a long-distance service. Maintenance was, comparatively, unusually expensive over the plains on account of the distances to be travelled to make repairs; fur-

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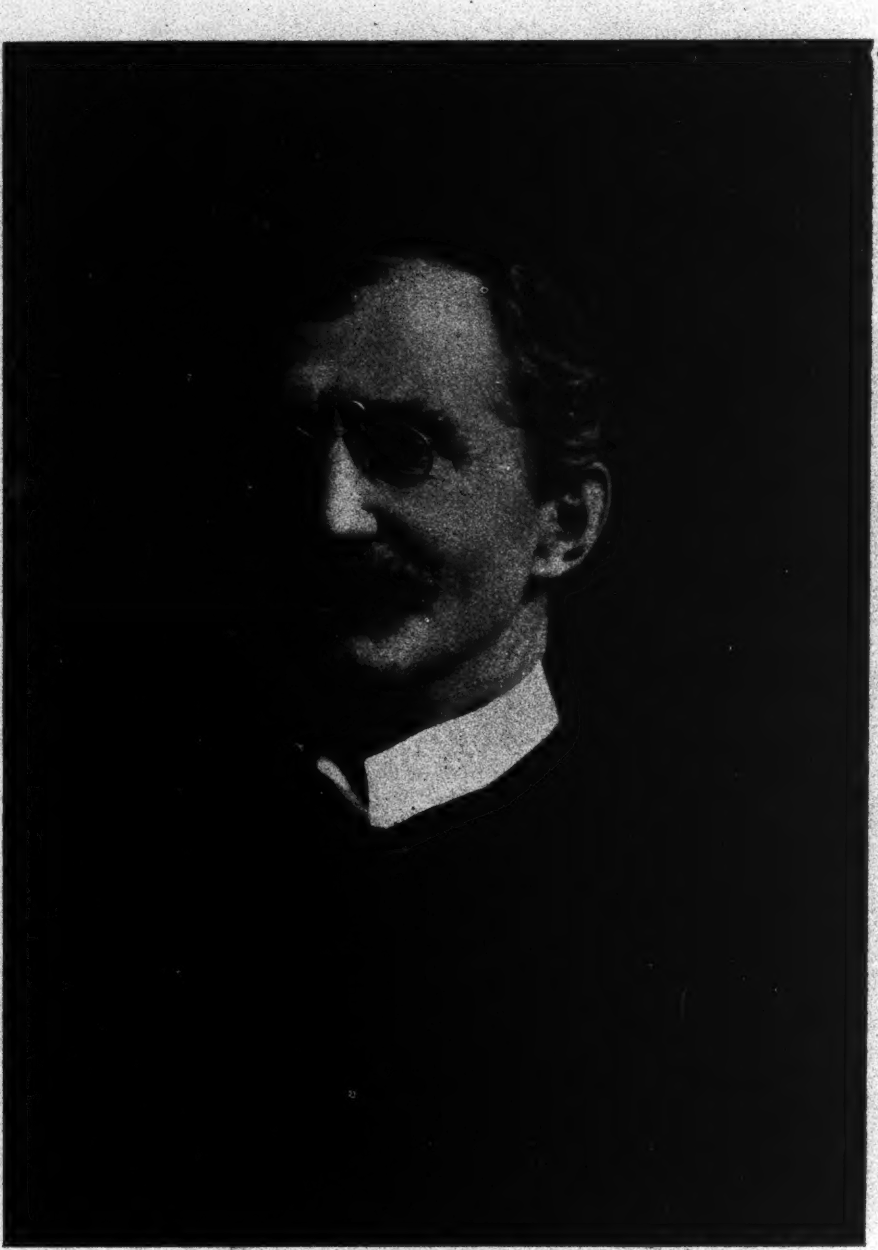
Benjamin F. Woodward was born in Newark, Ohio, June 25, 1834, his father having been of an old and prominent New England family. Early in his childhood his parents removed to Rochester, N. Y., where he was later educated in the schools of that city. In 1852 he went to Pittsburgh and soon became manager of the office of the Atlantic & Ohio Telegraph Company, one of the pioneer telegraph organizations in the United States. In 1856 he removed to Fulton, Ills., and in partnership with William McCutcheon, engaged in a general merchandise business in which he continued until 1862, when he joined the Telegraph Corps of the Union army, and was assigned to service as a cipher-operator with the army in Virginia. In this service his health broke down, and in 1863 he was compelled to resign his position and seek a friendlier climate.

Mr. Woodward had intended going to California, but was advised to first try Colorado; and it was in consequence of following that advice, that he took charge of the construction of the Pacific Overland Telegraph Company's extension to Denver, and of its business here after it was completed; thus beginning his long citizenship in this city. Of the building of that pioneer telegraph line to Denver and of Mr. Woodward's other operations in telegraph construction out of Denver, the particulars have been given. In 1875, after the Western Union Company had absorbed all the local telegraph lines, Mr. Woodward resigned as manager at Denver, and became Superintendent of the telegraph system of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad, a position he filled until the spring of 1884, when he terminated his connection with telegraph lines. Having acquired considerable real estate in the city, he engaged in developing and improving it and in dealing in city property; and also became identified with various other business enterprises in Denver.

Mr. Woodward was one of the organizers and a Director of the first Young Men's Christian Association in this city; one of the founders of Riverside Cemetery and the first President of its corporate organization; long a Director in the City National Bank; has for many years been a Trustee of the Central Presbyterian church; and with various other undertakings that have contributed to the development of Denver the name and services of this builder and manager of Colorado's pioneer telegraph lines are intimately associated.—J. C. S.



B. F. Woodward.

thermore the permanency of the line as located was menaced by the prospective building of others along the route of the projected trans-continental railroad.

Contrary to what might have been expected, the Indians did not often meddle with the overland telegraph. The white man's "talking string," as they called it, was a thing so mysterious that it aroused their superstitions and made them wary of having much to do with it. But after they went on the warpath during the civil war they occasionally interrupted communications by breaking down the lines and carrying off great lengths of wire; for they were in their way, good strategists. However, they were at no time responsible for the worst of the bother. The buffalo were most exasperating offenders, and their depredations were far greater in the aggregate than those of the Indians. They made scratching posts of the poles, and a few surges against one of them by a big bull as he gratefully rubbed his side against it, would bring it to the ground. When a herd in its movements came to the line its individuals accepted the poles as conveniences placed there for their benefit and use, and in a short time several miles of telegraph line would be down. This kind of work made a great deal of trouble for the telegraph people.

Interior old Telephone Exchange in Tabor building.

The wind and the lightning also caused much and frequent damage to the pioneer lines in Colorado. Construction was light and inefficient if compared with present practices. A stroke of lightning would occasionally shatter the poles and melt the wires along a distance of a half-mile or more. President Creighton attributed this to the fact that the poles were set in sand that, in the dry seasons, insulated them about as well as if it had been ground glass; and refused the electric fluid ready access to the earth. He attributed many of the other troubles that perplexed him, to natural causes peculiar to the region and that would permanently prevent satisfactorily successful telegraphing in this part of the country.

In 1865 the pioneer overland line was absorbed by the Western Union Telegraph Company to become part of a great line to Asia and Europe by way of British North America, Alaska, and Bering's Strait. This line was located and partly constructed through British America, when its progress was terminated by the successful laying of the Atlantic cable. After it purchased the overland line the Western Union Company constructed a new line westward from Denver by way of Virginia Dale to Fort Bridger, and that part of the old line from Julesburg to Bridger by way of Fort Laramie was then abandoned.

In 1866, B. F. Woodward resigned his position with the Western Union Company and became instrumental in organizing a company of Denver men to construct a telegraph line to the southward. Its title was the United States and Mexico Telegraph Company, of which the Directors were William N. Byers, S. H. Elbert, General George P. Ihrie, George W. Kassler, D. H. Moffat, H. M. Porter, F. Z. Salomon, and B. F. Woodward, of Denver; John Dold, of Las Vegas; and Emanuel Spiegelburg, of Santa Fe. Mr. Porter was President, Mr. Byers Vice President, Mr. Kassler Treasurer, and Mr. Woodward Secretary and Superintendent. The object, was to build a telegraph line by way of Pueblo, Las Vegas, and Santa Fe to the City of Mexico by way of El Paso and Chihuahua. On January 21, 1868, these projectors were re-incorporated as the Denver & Santa Fe Railway & Telegraph company, and began constructing their telegraph line at Denver on March 8, 1868; completing it to Santa Fe on July 8, 1868. The construction work was done under the supervision of Mr. Woodward, Mr. Porter and Mr. Byers.

Later in 1868 practically the same party of men organized the United States & Mexico Railway Company for the ambitious undertaking of building a railroad from Denver to the City of Mexico along the same route as that projected for their international telegraph line, the two to constitute a joint enterprise. Of this corporation Mr. Porter became President, Mr. Byers Vice President, Mr. Moffat Treasurer; and Mr. Woodward Superintendent. Some negotiations with the then President of Mexico, Juarez, were set on foot in the interest of the undertaking, but Mexico was not then in condition to engage in building railroads and telegraph lines; and that international railway and telegraph undertaking was not consummated. However, the railroad company maintained its organization, and its intentions, also, by a little nominal work occasionally on its proposed right of way in the outskirts of Denver; laying a few ties and shoveling a little dirt, for several years, and until the Denver & Rio Grande Company was organized and really began building a railroad on part of the projected route of the United States and Mexico Railway. In 1870, the telegraph line between Denver and Santa Fe passed to the Western Union Company.

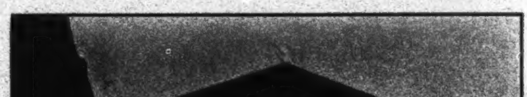
Old Telephone Apparatus in Tabor building.

In the spring of 1868 the Rocky Mountain Railway and Telegraph Company was organized, principally by Denver men, in anticipation of building a railway from Denver to Boulder by way of the Marshall coal fields; and a telegraph line along the same route and which was to be extended from Boulder by way of Ralston creek canon, to Black Hawk, and thence to both Central City and Georgetown; but neither the railroad nor the telegraph line was built.

In the autumn of 1868 the United States & Mexico company by agreement with the Denver Pacific Railway Company, built a telegraph line from Denver to Cheyenne, along the located route of the later completed road, and opened it for business on January 1, 1869. In 1870 this line also passed to the Western Union Company.

The Western Union thereafter enjoyed a monopoly of telegraph business in Colorado until midsummer of 1890. In that year the Postal Telegraph-Cable Company extended its lines westward to Denver, and on July 1 opened in this city the first competitive telegraph office west of the Missouri river; and since which time, due to this company, Denver has had much cheaper rates, and a telegraph service equal to that of any city in the world. The Postal was the first telegraph company to use dynamo-motors, in place of gravity battery; and copper wires instead of iron wires, making long distance telegraphy possible. The arrival of the Postal in Denver resulted in the immediate reduction of about twenty per cent. in message and newspaper rates, and the reduction of fifty cents per word in cable rates to all parts of the world. From Denver the Postal's lines, like those of the other company, extend to every important point in the United States. This company has done much for the commercial interests of Denver and Colorado, and to its presence here the existing comparatively low telegraph rates are due.

It is but a step from the telegraph to the telephone, the second of the great public electrical utilities in Denver, and one that extends its operations over the larger portion of the State of Colorado, and the Territory of New Mexico. The telephone service of The Colorado Telephone Company now represents a development of twenty-one years. The Bell telephone was the pioneer and was introduced here by F. O. Vaille, who arrived in Denver in the autumn of 1878, and at once began preparations for the opening of the first exchange. His exhibition of the instruments working over a few short lines was followed by the usual epidemic of amateur telephones contrived with toy drums or tin cans, and strings. Henry R. Wolcott became interested in the enterprise with Vaille in 1879. Notwithstanding the incredulity of some citizens as to the practical utility of Vaille's queer apparatus he soon secured about two hundred subscribers. He established his exchange in the second story of the building No. 380 Larimer street, and over Conrad Frick's boot and shoe store, where he instituted the service on February 20, 1879. About six months later the Western Union Telegraph Company introduced the Edison telephone


Main station of Colorado Telephone Company, 1447 Lawrence street, Denver.

system, and for a short period there was a rival service offered the people of Denver. This exchange was located in the old Broadwell Hotel building, then standing on the south-east corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, with a fair but smaller clientage than that of the other. It turned out, as it always must from the nature of the telephone business, that instead of several rival exchanges in a community being an advantage, they are a positive disadvantage and an additional expense to the telephone user. Instead of two or more telephone systems being for the better, they are quite plainly for the worse. The telephone business, like that of the Post Office, must be conducted as a unity to produce the most satisfactory results for the people. The two rival systems in Denver in 1879, and their customers, too, soon discovered this. In 1880 there was a union of interests by which the Edison system was absorbed by the older one, and the Western Union's enterprise passed out of existence.

Interior of operating room, showing local switch-board—Denver main station, Colorado Telephone Company.

Until the close of 1880 the telephone service in Denver and of its extended lines was controlled by the American Bell Telephone Company; but on January 1, 1881, the Colorado Telephone Company came into existence, with Henry R. Wolcott, as President; and Vaille as General Manager. The property and business of the old system passed to its ownership, and in that year, upon the completion of the Tabor Building at Sixteenth and Larimer streets, the Telephone headquarters were moved into it from the old location, and were then thought to be permanently settled.

Mr. Vaille continued as General Manager until March 1, 1884, when he was succeeded by E. B. Field. Field came to Denver from Boston in November, 1879, and in January, 1880, became assistant to Vaille; a year later he was made the company's Superintendent. In 1884, in addition to his duties as General Manager, Field was elected Vice President of the company, and continued as the executive head of its affairs. Wolcott's connection as President of the company has been uninterrupted from the beginning. The American District Telegraph Company is a subordinate, but separate, organization, owned and controlled by the telephone interests.

The exchange remained in the Tabor Building about nine years. But its business had outgrown the available room there and a site for a building for the exclusive use of the company was purchased on the north side of Lawrence street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, and the present handsome building there was erected and occupied in 1890. In 1898 another building was erected and occupied at 1463 York street. From this station the large residence district on Capitol Hill is served directly and by way of the Lawrence street main station. In 1900 another subordinate exchange was established at Broadway and First Avenue to better serve the general "South Denver" district.

Out-of-town extensions of the service were undertaken soon after the pioneer exchange was fairly in working order. The first of these was the line to Golden, Idaho Springs, Black Hawk, Central City, and other Clear creek points, constructed in 1879. Next was a connection with Boulder, made in 1881. In 1884 the third extension brought Colorado Springs, Manitou, and Pueblo within speaking distance of Denver. By 1884 the company had about 2,000 miles of wire in use. In 1889 a line was run to Leadville and connected with the Leadville exchange established and owned by the late H. A. W. Tabor. Since then the business has had an enormous expansion. Beside the earlier outside lines mentioned above, the wires now extend from Denver to Greeley, to Fort Collins, and to various intermediate and adjacent places on the plains and in the mountains, and on to Cheyenne and Laramie, Wyoming, whence connections are made to Salt Lake City and other points in Utah; to Livermore, to Georgetown, and across the range to Breckenridge and other places in that district; to Leadville and adjacent places; to Aspen and its district; and to Glenwood Springs. From Glenwood Springs, by way of Montrose to Ouray, Silverton and many other towns and camps in the far southwestern districts of the State. South from Denver along the foothills to the whole of the Colorado Springs district; to the entire Cripple Creek district; on south to Pueblo, Canon City, Trinidad and intermediate places, and on into New Mexico. Southeast to Sugar City, La Junta, Las Animas and other places in that section of the State. Eastward from Greeley, by way of Fort Morgan and Brush, to Sterling, Akron, and other points in that corner of the State. Within the vast area of territory reached from Denver by the company's lines at the close of 1900 were about 150 points.

The total pole mileage operated by the company is now about 2,000 miles; the total wire mileage is approximately 18,000, of which about 3,000 miles are underground; principally in Denver, the remainder in Colorado Springs. About fifty per cent. of the wire in use, including that in the cables, is of copper. The foregoing data indicate not only the extraordinary expansion of the service but the vast expenditures of money involved in construction and maintenance.

Interior of operating room showing "long-distance switch-board," Denver main station—Colorado Telephone Company.

From the 200 subscribers who began using the telephone in Denver in 1879, the number has increased to upward of 4,500 instruments now in use. The company calculates that its present average of about 45,000 daily calls represents a daily saving of more than 25,000 miles of travel that would be necessary if the parties to the conversations footed it to colloquial meeting. On all the lines of the company, in and out of Denver, there are about 10,000 telephones employed, and the company now carries regularly upon its pay-rolls the names of more than 200 young women and of about the same number of men. The executive officers of the great organization are Henry R. Wolcott, President; E. B. Field, Vice President and General Manager; Robert D. Hall, Secretary and Auditor; Edward B. Field, Jr., Treasurer; and Edward M. Burgess, Superintendent.

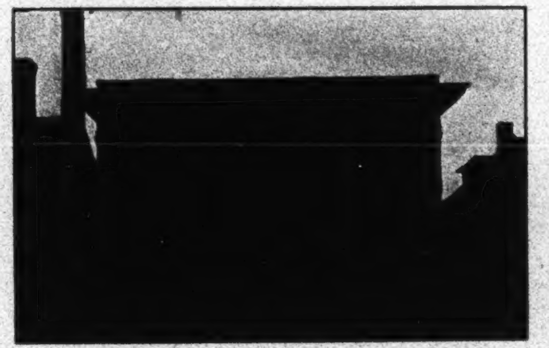
The telephone service has entered so far and so intimately into the daily business and social life of the community that it is difficult to understand how the preceding generation got along without it. It has made its advances so quietly, so unostentatiously, that we do not realize the vast development it has attained unless we make it the subject of special inquiry. When we do that we find that present high efficiency has been reached along ways that are strewn with methods discarded for better ones, with appliances thrown out to be replaced by new devices, and with many other evidences of the costly evolution of the most remarkable utility ever conceived by the mind of man.

While the wires of the Colorado Telephone Company now cover so large a portion of the State, the limit of its service has by no means been reached. Further new construction waits only upon opportunity and occasion, and the development of the system will proceed with the development of the State, just as the lines of the Denver street railway system are pushed out farther and farther as the prosperity and expansion of the city call upon them to lead the way. Recently before the close of our record the capital stock of the company was increased from $1,500,000 to $3,000,000, principally for the purpose of creating treasury stock to be applicable from time to time to such extensions of the company's network of lines; plans for several of which had been perfected when the increase was authorized.

The nominal beginning of Denver's present great system of street railways was away back in 1867, when the town was small and still rather unpromising. Yet, it was ambitious and hopeful, and so were many of its citizens; and on January 10th in that year a company of the latter received a charter from the Territorial Legislature for the "Denver Horse Railroad Company." The incorporators of this pioneer street railway enterprise were Robert M. Clark, Freeman B. Crocker, M. M. DeLano, Moses Hallett, Luther Kountze, D. J. Martin, C. H. McLaughlin, A. H. Miles, Amos Steck, William Stinson, E. C. Strode, Lewis N. Tappan, and J. L. Waters.

The Legislature granted a liberal charter, as it could well afford to do, that was to continue thirty-five years. It gave the company "the sole and exclusive right and privilege of building, constructing and operating a horse railroad in the said city of Denver and in all later additions thereto;" the capital stock was required to be $100,000, with privilege of increasing it; car fares were not to exceed ten cents; and the company was required to commence work on the road within one year, and to build and put in operation two miles of it within five years, from the passage of the act, on penalty of forfeiting the exclusive privileges of the charter. There was no legislation by the city, as the Territorial Legislature possessed power to authorize the company to enter upon the city streets and lay its tracks thereon, and to clothe it with full authority to transact the business for which it was formed.

The company at once organized by electing Amos Steck, President; and D. A. Chever, Secretary. In 1868 Moses Hallett succeeded Steck as President, and served until 1870. The company under this organization, however, did not build the first street railway in Denver. It did a little merely nominal work to comply with its charter, but otherwise held its affairs in abeyance awaiting the certain result of steam-railroad building into the city. So, in the meantime nothing practical was done further than to maintain the organization.



York street station, Denver—Colorado Telephone Company.

In 1871, after the steam-railroad era had been inaugurated in Denver, Lewis C. Ellsworth came here from Chicago, and on his own account and in behalf of several Chicago associates, the party having considerable capital, bought the franchise for a street railway from the Denver men, and in that year began the construction of the pioneer line. It started at the corner of Seventh and Larimer streets in "West Denver," and extended thence on Larimer to Sixteenth, thence on Sixteenth to Champa, and thence on Champa to Twenty-seventh street, a distance of about two miles and terminating in the vicinity of "Shaffenburg Park." The first car started on December 17, 1871, the return trip being made over the same route, the few cars in use passing each other by means of "turn-outs."

By an act of the Territorial Legislature, approved January 19, 1872, this "Denver Horse Railroad Company" was authorized to change its corporate name to that of "The Denver City Railway Company." The primitive line as completed in December, 1871, constituted the entire system until 1873, when a line was built from the corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets, down Fifteenth across the Platte, and out through "North Denver" to the old "Grand View House," a distance of about two and one-half miles, over a very bad road most of the way. It was expected that the construction of this line would greatly stimulate the development and peopling of "North Denver;" but in that the company was grievously disappointed; so much so that after a few years the last mile of road out that way was not regularly operated.

In 1874 the original line on Sixteenth street was extended from the corner of Champa out to Broadway, and thence south on that street to Cherry creek, a distance of about one and one-quarter miles. In the autumn of that year another extension was made; leaving the Champa street line at Twenty-third street and extending out that street to Park Avenue, a distance of one mile. In 1876 the Larimer street line was extended from Sixteenth street, eastward a distance of a mile and one-quarter, to the vicinity of the old fair-grounds. With this addition the system embraced eight miles of road, all of the cars on which, except those of the "North Denver" line "passed the Post Office." They were two-horse cars, and very good ones for their time.

During this period Lewis C. Ellsworth, still a well-known Denver citizen, was President and Manager of the road; and W. D. Todd its Secretary and Treasurer. Construction and disappointing business brought the company into financial deep-water after it built the Larimer street extension, but it managed to pull through and get squarely on its feet. It built a combined shop, car-house and stable on the east side of Sixteenth street opposite the entrance to the present Tabor Opera House. The building was an L-shaped two-story brick structure fronting twenty-five feet on Sixteenth, running back one hundred and seventy-five feet, and then extending to Curtis street on which it fronted seventy-five feet. The walls of the old building are incorporated in the business structures now standing there.

Interior of operating room at York street station, Denver—Colorado Telephone Company.

The Denver City Railway Company made no more extensions in that decade, but in the meantime appears to have been on pretty good terms with the public, as a writer of that period thus testifies:

> "The street railway is a potent factor in the prosperity of the city. It has given value to outside property, and has enabled men of small means to locate themselves in homes of their own on the outskirts of the town. Nor should its moral influence be overlooked. Strangers coming here with very vague impressions of Denver's status as a metropolitan city, are always favorably impressed by the sight of a well-loaded street car rattling along past them, and are ready to admit that the Queen City of the Plains has some genuine and undisputed claims to a place among cities of the first class, East or West. Thanks to the enterprise and liberality of the management, the cars are always neat and clean and comfortable, and only the best 'motive power' and the most gentlemanly drivers are employed. As a consequence, no complaints are heard from the patrons of the line, and it is a pleasure instead of a discomfort to ride in the cars of the Denver City Railway Company."

The present managers of Denver's great street-railway system, unsurpassed in its relative extent by that of any city in the world, must occasionally look back with feelings of sadness and longing to the good old times when slow-gaited, rattling horse-cars brought forth "thanks to the enterprise and liberality of the management," and with the aid of the "gentlemanly drivers" inspired only expressions of pleasure from the passengers they carried; to say nothing of the "moral influence" of the proceedings.

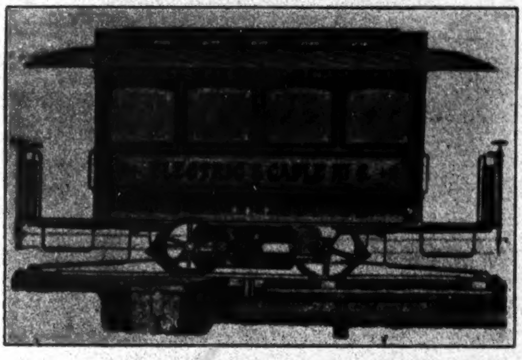
The great "boom" at Leadville had, as we have had occasion elsewhere to remark, a tremendous effect on Denver, and the Denver City Railway Company got a full share of the local benefits thereof. In 1880 and within two years thereafter it made several extensions of its lines until, by 1883, it was operating about ten miles of road. In that year the entire outfit, including its rights and franchises, was sold to a "syndicate" most of the parties to which were citizens of Providence, Rhode Island. The new owners put the lines under the general management of George E. Randolph, who immediately made many changes and improvements. Much of the old track was re-laid with heavy steel rails, the original lines extended, new ones constructed, and by the close of 1883 the system embraced fifteen and one-half miles of track, using forty-five cars and upward of two hundred horses, and employing about one hundred men. One of the new lines was built on Seventeenth street to the then new Union Passenger Station, and at the foot of that street Manager Randolph erected a large building for a car-house and stables, abandoning the old headquarters on Sixteenth and Curtis streets, and concentrating the company's operations at the new location. The company prospered and its system was farther extended during the next four years, which also brought in an era of extraordinary activity in street railway development and construction in other directions, and the beginning of rapid street-railway transit in the city. Leaving futher consideration of the development of this first street railway system in Denver to be later resumed, we will turn to the history of the second.

By the close of 1884 the lines of the old company, though they had been considerably extended, were still serving only the older sections of the city; and not doing that very well. At that time Rodney Curtis, John Evans, Frederick A. Keener, John J. Riethmann and other owners of property on Fifteenth street, believing that their property was suffering from lack of sufficient street railway service, and being unable to induce the Denver City Railway Company to build and operate a line on that street, determined to incorporate a company to build thereon and elsewhere lines of either electric or cable railways; though there was not at that time anything beyond a few experimental electric railways anywhere in the world. Another consideration in reaching this determination was that there was then an active interest manifesting itself in outlying real estate—the preliminary rumblings of the great, unparalleled "boom" that came soon afterward.

Therefore, on February 5, 1885, "The Denver Electric and Cable Railway Company" was incorporated by Scott J. Anthony, B. P. Brasher, J. F. Brown, W. N. Byers, Rodney Curtis, John Evans, C. W. Fisher, F. A. Keener, Dr. W. F. McClelland, M. J. McNamara, J. J. Riethmann, W. B. Rundle, and R. W. Woodbury, to exist fifty years, and with a capital of $500,000; the thirteen incorporators, all of whom were resident business men, to constitute the first Board of Directors. The Executive officers elected were Rodney Curtis, President; John J. Riethmann, Vice President; William G. Evans, Secretary; and Frederick A. Keener, Treasurer.

By an ordinance approved February 6, 1885, and later amended, the city granted the company the right to build and operate lines of electric or cable railways "in, along and across the streets of the city of Denver," without any time limit being mentioned, the fare not to exceed five cents. We may remark in passing that under the terms of that ordinance the company has always since then and apparently with correctness claimed the right to build railways upon any street in the city and in its additions, provided another street railway is not occupying such street; and even on such street if a majority interest of the property-owners on it shall consent. This ordinance so far as it applied to unoccupied streets, was repealed by an ordinance approved July 15, 1899. This was followed by litigation between the company and city over the city's right to repeal, which was undetermined at the close of our record.

It was because the Electric and Cable Company's incorporators believed they were debarred from using horses by the exclusive right to operate horse-cars granted by the Territorial Legislature to the old Denver Horse Railway Company, which right in 1885 was owned by the Denver City Railway Company, that they provided only for building and operating electric and cable roads by their company. Uncertain of the practical outcome of the then embryotic systems of electrical propulsion of street-cars, the company asked the city to grant the privilege of using horses in the event of electric failure. This the City Council did by an ordinance approved March 7, 1885, permitting the road to be operated "by use of electricity or by cable or by horse power."



Short's Electric Tram Car—showing motor and conduit.

As the Electric and Cable Company had provided by its incorporation for using only electricity and cables, a second corporation, "The Denver Railway Association," was incorporated January 21, 1886, by Rodney Curtis, William F. McClelland, John J. Riethmann, Frederick A. Keener, and John Evans, with $50,000 capital, to build, and to operate, street railways by any kind of motive power. It was intended that this corporation should act under the "horse-power" ordinance of March 7, 1885, which was assigned to it by its parent, the Electric and Cable Company. On May 4, 1886, this Denver Railway Association and the Denver Electric and Cable Railway Company were consolidated into a new corporation, "The Denver Tramway Company," with a capital of $500,000, and to exist fifty years from February 5, 1885; the birthday of the older of the two. The Board of Directors of the new corporation consisted of Rodney Curtis, John J. Riethmann, John Evans, Henry C. Brown, C. W. Fisher, Scott J. Anthony, M. J. McNamara, William N. Byers, James H. Nichols, G. C. Schleier, W. F. McClelland, F. A. Keener, and J. F. Brown. The executive officers of the Electric and Cable Company were continued under the consolidation.

Although having guarded against electric failure, and having, as they thought, acquired the right to use any kind of power in moving their cars, the projectors of the Denver Electric & Cable Railway had had from the start a preference for the use of electricity. Prior to the company's organization, Professor Sidney H. Short, then Professor of Physics in the University of Denver, and as events proved, a pioneer in electric propulsion of street railway cars, had devised an underground system to operate through a mid-track slot something like that used by cable lines; the general principles of which system have, in recent times, developed elsewhere into a very satisfactory method. As an experiment, in the spring of 1885, a short piece of track, between 300 and 400 feet in length, was laid in a circle on the premises of the University. A small car named "Joseph Henry" was built for the track and carried many hundreds of novelty-seeking people. The Denver Electric & Cable Company had favorably investigated Short's system, and the success of this little road encouraged the company to make more extended experiments with the invention. In perfecting its mechanical appliances Professor Short called to his aid Mr. John W. Nesmith then and since at the head of the Colorado Iron Works in this city: and in July, 1885, the car with its improved ap-

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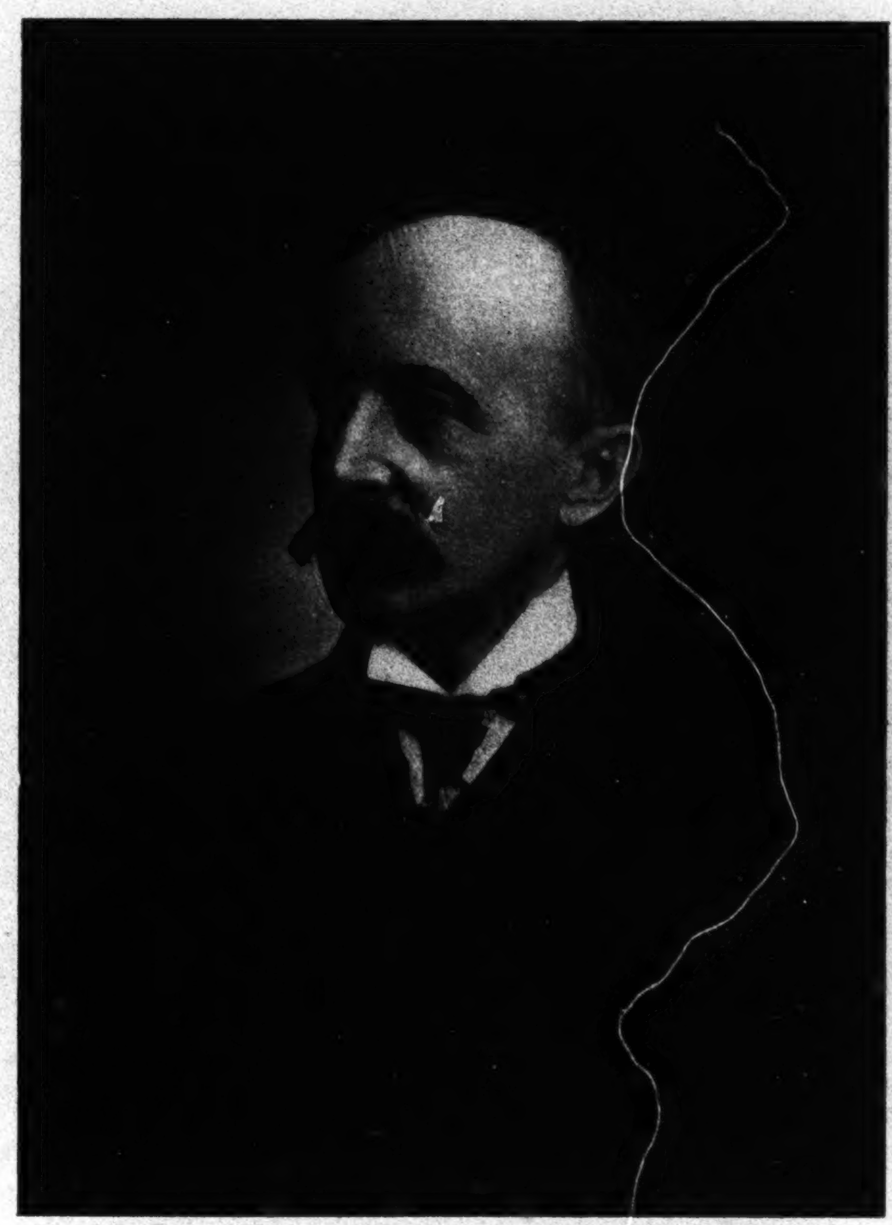
Edward B. Field, Vice President and General Manager of The Colorado Telephone Company, is a native of Massachusetts, having been born in Chelsea, September 4th, 1850. He received a common school education in his native town. At the age of sixteen he entered the employ of a wholesale woolen firm, receiving a thorough business education, and eventually becoming a traveling representative of the firm in the New England States. Prior to 1879 a pulmonary affection brought him failing health, and he decided to locate in Colorado. He came to Denver in November of that year, and from that period has been actively identified with the development in Denver and Colorado of the great public utility with which his name is so intimately associated. He entered into the employ of the Colorado Telephone Company in January, 1880, then under the management of Mr. F. O. Vaille. Previous to that time Mr. Field had not had experience with telephone or electrical apparatus, but he entered into his new calling with such zeal and earnestness that his advancement in both theoretical and practical telephone work was very rapid. Upon Mr. Vaille's retirement in January, 1884, Mr. Field succeeded him as General Manager. The business has been practically extended and worked up under his direction, and he is now Vice President and executive head of the great organization, the history of which appears on these pages. It has been under Mr. Field's administration that the business of The Colorado Telephone Company has expanded from the local domain it occupied in 1880 to one now extending over the entire State of Colorado, and into New Mexico and Wyoming.—J. C. S.



E. B. Field.

pliances was tried on about 300 feet of new track, and in its operation was highly successful in overcoming certain previous defects. In consequence of this, the Electric & Cable Company ordered one-half mile of track laid on Fifteenth street and electrically equipped for operation. In October of that year this track was completed and two new cars, especially built for it, began running. New difficulties were then encountered but were overcome by Mr. Nesmith's ingenuity, and through the winter of 1885-86 this short line was worked in all kinds of weather; in snow, rain and mud.

For the purpose of developing the system, the United States Electric Company had been organized in August, 1885, by Short, Nesmith, and members of the Electric & Cable Company, with William N. Byers, President; E. Grace, Secretary; Sidney H. Short, Electrician; and John W. Nesmith, Mechanician. Under contract with the street railway company, which had in the meantime become the Denver Tramway Company, the United States Electric Company put down in June and July, 1886, 3,100 feet of electric railway on Fifteenth street upon a further improved plan. These tracks were laid from the Court House to Larimer street, and on July 31st the first electric cars operated for business in Denver, began running on that road. The Denver Tramway Construction Company was then organized by the parties in interest, with which the Tramway Company contracted for the Short-Nesmith equipment of sufficient additional track to make in all three and one-half miles of electric road. Work was expeditious, and on November 30th the new mileage was completed and put in operation, with seven cars for its equipment. The cars, as will be seen in the accompanying illustrations, were of the "horse-car" size and type, and quite small in comparison with the fine and huge ones now in service. The main line of this pioneer electric road, part of which was of double track, extended from a little east of Grant Avenue on Capitol Hill on Colfax Avenue, to Fifteenth street, thence on Fifteenth across the Platte to Central street in "North Denver;" a branch extended from Fifteenth on Tremont and by way of Eighteenth Avenue to Grant Avenue. The power house, which was of rather temporary character was built at Fifteenth and Tremont streets.

View at Fifteenth and Lawrence streets in 1887, showing Short's Electric Cars in service.

The Tramway Company operated its electric cars more or less regularly for about a year when, after an expenditure of nearly $200,000 on the experiment, it abandoned the system and began using horses. It had no sooner introduced equine power than the Denver City Railway Company, under its inherited exclusive right to operate horse-cars, obtained an injunction restraining the Tramway Company from using such power. The latter thought it saw an easy way to get around that injunction, and substituted mules for horses. But the Court was of the opinion that while that shift was a very clever one, it would hardly fit the circumstances of the case, and therefore made the injunction include mules, also. This brought the

Tramway Company's operations to a standstill and they so remained for some time afterward.

The Tramway Company's experiment with electric cars is of especial interest, because its use of them antedates by two years, the Richmond, Virginia, street railway, which has long been reputed, and celebrated, too, as the first railway in the United States electrically operated for passenger traffic. But that distinction belongs to a road that was put in operation in Kansas City in 1884—an overhead trolley line; and it appears that the Denver system was the second one to be commercially used. The latter was in principle that of the present trolley system; but instead of the electrical connection being made from the roof of the car to an overhead wire, it was made from beneath the car through a mid-track slot to a sub-surface wire. A few years later in the litigation over the patents on the overhead trolley system, at Cleveland, Ohio, Short's little experimental car which was taken there as an "exhibit" in the case, was conclusive proof in the proceedings that invalidated the trolley patents. In 1885-86 electrical propulsion of street-cars was in the experimental stage everywhere, and while the Short-Nesmith system was in many respects in advance of others and was put in practical operation, it had defects; but probably none that further experience would not have found a way to overcome. One public objection to it was that simultaneous contact with the mid-track slot-way and one of the rails by pedestrians and animals resulted in electric shocks. The cars were easily operated on a schedule of six miles an hour, and for trial purposes were run over the line at night when the streets were clear at the rate of twenty-five miles an hour. Short and Nesmith received many patents on their methods and appliances, but these have, we believe, lost their identity in the later great development of electrical operation of street-cars.

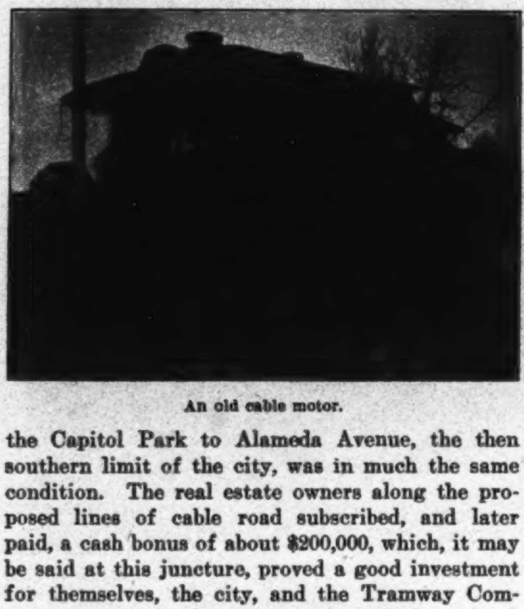
However, the defects of the Short-Nesmith system were not the only causes that led the Tramway Company to discard it. In 1887 Denver's great "boom" was booming, and preparing to boom on a still vaster scale. The city's expansion along Broadway, and Colfax Avenue, had begun, and the people and property-owners along and adjacent to those streets were anxious for better transportation facilities than horse-car lines could afford, and were urging the building of cable roads. Cable roads were then at the height of their fame and were supposed to be of imperishable utility; with never a suspicion that they would soon degenerate, in public esteem, into common nuisances.

In its construction operations also the Tramway Company had come into conflict with the older and rival corporation. The latter company had double-tracked its line on Fifteenth street northward from Larimer for several blocks, and to get its electric road on that street the Tramway Company had to crowd in on one side of the street, in some places having its tracks almost in the gutter. Later, when the Tramway Company began building a cable road on Broadway its rival's old horse-car line on that street from Sixteenth to Cherry creek had also been double-tracked. The latter at once extended its road south to Alameda Avenue, and at the same time the Tramway put in its two tracks, one on each side of its rival's pair, giving Broadway the appearance of a huge grid-iron. After a brief experience with these arrangements on Broadway and Fifteenth street, the older company by agreement removed its tracks from those streets and left the Tramway Company in full possession of them. The circumstance of the Tramway Company's tracks

Old cable "balloon loop" at Alameda Avenue and Broadway, and showing sparsely built condition of that district in 1889.

on parts of Broadway being on each side instead of in the middle of the way was due to that rival grid-ironing of that street.

About the time the Tramway Company abandoned its electric system, owners of real estate on, and in the vicinity of, Fifteenth street, on Colfax Avenue, and along Broadway south from Colfax, proposed that if it would substitute a cable, operating trains of cars, for the old system, and extend its lines east on Colfax to the vicinity of the City Park, and south on Broadway as far as Alameda Avenue, two miles south of Colfax Avenue, they would give a large cash bonus to the company. The company accepted the proposition and at once began preparations for the change. At that time there was not much of Colfax Avenue east of Logan, except the located Avenue and a great plenty of open country; and Broadway from the Capitol Park to Alameda Avenue, the then southern limit of the city, was in much the same condition. The real estate owners along the proposed lines of cable road subscribed, and later paid, a cash bonus of about $200,000, which, it may be said at this juncture, proved a good investment for themselves, the city, and the Tramway Company; for, with the construction of those lines of cable road came an unprecedented era of activity in real estate, and in building operations all over the districts they were to serve.



An old cable motor.

The company adopted the Cincinnati cable system instead of that of San Francisco, and pushed its construction work with extraordinary energy. By December, 1888, it had a double-track road on the full length of Fifteenth street, on Broadway to Alameda Avenue, and out Colfax to the City Park; the great power-house at Broadway and Colfax Avenue was built and the giant machinery installed there; and on the 22nd of that month started its cable cars over the new system that aggregated upward of twelve miles of road. In the spring and summer of 1889 the Tramway Company built a cable line on Tremont street from Fifteenth, and out on Eighteenth Avenue, more than five miles in length; making in all about seventeen and one-half miles of cable road built and operated by that company.

It was an expensive piece of work. Much of the heavy machinery was shipped here from Cincinnati at excessive freight charges, and most of the other material entailed the same expense. Added to these was the abnormally high price of both skilled and unskilled labor. It seems passing strange that, before the huge machinery had worn itself fairly smooth, circumstances became such that preparations were begun to discard it and abandon the costly system it operated. But, it was so.

During that period of great activity by the Denver Tramway Company, the old Denver City Railway Company was not idle. On March 10, 1883, there had been incorporated in its interest the "Denver Cable Railroad Company," but that organization appears to have awaited developments. On May 29, 1888, the interests of the old company were re-organized and incorporated as the "Denver City Cable Railway Company," with a capital of $100,000, but which was later largely increased. The new corporation took over the lines and other property of the older company, and retaining the exclusive horse-car privilege of the pioneer corporation. The officers of the new corporation were George H. Holt, President; H. M. Gilligan, Secretary; G. L. L'Huiler, Treasurer; and George E. Randolph, General Manager. It had little difficulty in getting a franchise from the city to change the old lines from horse motive-power to that of cable, and to build new ones, though it was a corporation composed chiefly of outsiders with its main office at Number 11 Wall street, New York. The ordinance was approved June 4, 1888, and granted road-building privileges "along and across all the streets, avenues, viaducts and bridges of the City of Denver, save and excepting Fifteenth street for its entire length, Colfax Avenue from and including its intersection with Fifteenth street eastward to the eastern corporate limits of the city, and Broadway from and including the intersection of Colfax Avenue to the southern city limits;" these excepted streets being occupied, or about to be, by the Tramway Company's cable lines. A liberal franchise was also obtained from the then independent town of Highlands; the fare under each grant being limited to five cents. The company went extensively into cable roads. Late in 1888 contracts for twelve miles of double-track road were let; and work began in February, 1889, on what eventually proved to be the most extensive cable system constructed in Denver.

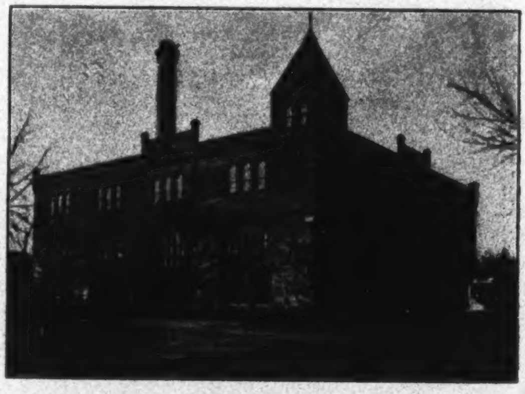
In that year this company built the Larimer street line and the West Larimer street line, extending from Maple street northwest of the Platte river, to Fortieth Avenue in the then northeastern limits of the city, requiring for the two tracks 65,600 feet of cable; the Sixteenth street line from Humphrey street far out in "North Denver," by way of North Sixteenth to Sixteenth, and across the Platte, through the business center to Court Place, thence by that street to Seventeenth Avenue, and by Seventeenth Avenue to York street near the City Park, requiring 51,800 feet of cable for the two tracks; and the Welton street double-track line, from Sixteenth on Welton to Downing Avenue at Twenty-eighth Avenue, and thence to Columbine street, with a branch on Gaylord street up to Thirty-eighth Avenue, requiring 38,000 feet of cable; a total for the three lines of 155,400 feet of cable. The Larimer street and the Sixteenth street lines were each in two sections so far as cable arrangements went; but the Welton was operated by one cable, the longest car-cable in the world at that time.

This company built the large, two-story brick power house, 125 by 150 feet at the northeast corner of Lawrence and Eighteenth streets, which housed the ponderous operating machinery. It was at that time the largest single street-car cable plant in the world, and was the central point from which all this company's lines were operated. The company also built an additional power house in "North Denver," at Sixteenth and Platte streets, but it was never used for much more than a storage building and car-house. The two great viaducts—the Sixteenth street and the Larimer street—were also the work of this corporation. The Larimer street viaduct, beginning at Seventh street and by a sharp grade rising to the level of the tops of three-story buildings, crossing streets, door-yards, railroad tracks and the Platte river, to Tracy street, is 3,600 feet long; constructed of steel by the Canton, Ohio, Wrought Iron Bridge Company, at a cost of about $125,000. It is for car purposes only, but could be adapted to vehicle traffic and for foot-travel. The Sixteenth street viaduct, from Wazee street, near by the Union Passenger Station, crosses railway tracks and the Platte river to Platte street, in "North Denver," is 3,600 feet long, was built by the same bridge company, and cost about $180,000. It has a wide roadway with foot-walks, and is a public thoroughfare between the two sections of the city which it connects.

The Sixteenth street viaduct was partly paid for by the city, and is the property of the city. The ordinance of June 4, 1888, authorized the company to cross steam-railway tracks upon elevated structures. By a supplemental ordinance approved October 1, 1888, the company was authorized to make the Sixteenth street structure a highway viaduct for public use, to cross not only the railway tracks, but the Platte river, also. The cost to the city was not to exceed fifteen per cent. of the total cost of the structure, and in no event to exceed $25,000; the cable company to have the exclusive right upon it for a double-track road, and the viaduct to become the city's property; this being its present status.

On November 1, 1889, such was the tremendous energy of construction, the three cable lines above mentioned were opened for business. In 1891 the line on Seventeenth street from the Union Passenger station to Broadway, was built and began operations on December 1st. Early in 1892 work on the Curtis street and "West Denver" line was begun, and the road was opened for business June 6th, of that year. It extended on Curtis from Seventeenth westward to Eleventh street, thence by that street and Colfax avenue to South Eleventh, and by South Eleventh out to West Fourth Avenue.

In the meantime, this cable railway company had also engaged in electrical street-railway construction. On March 26, 1890, a subordinate corporation, "The West End Street Railway Company," which was stocked and bonded for $500,000, was incorporated. Under an ordinance of the town of Highlands, adopted April 15, 1890, for an electric railway, and under grants from the County Commissioners about the same time for a railway operated by any power except steam, the West End Company was authorized to construct roads on various highways in what is now the general northwestern section of the city. It built an electric line from the westward terminus of the Larimer street cable, making a circuit around by Manhattan Beach and Elitch's Garden to Prospect street, and by that street eastward to Fairview Avenue where it connected with the Sixteenth street cable line; and which was opened for business September 29, 1890.


Disused cable-power building at Broadway and Colfax Avenue.

Another subordinate corporation, "The Denver City Electric Railway Company" was incorporated March 26, 1890. Under a Denver ordinance approved November 25, 1890, it was granted the right to construct and operate electric roads on several streets, but it never built any. In June, 1891, after various streets had been set apart as boulevards by the Board of Public Works, and upon which railroad tracks were not desired, this company joined the others in releasing to the city their rights of way on the boulevards; and this is about all the record left by the Denver City Electric Railway Company.

In 1887 the old Denver City Railway Company had built a horse-car line from its Larimer street route, by way of the Twenty-third street viaduct, to Argo. In 1890 the successor company abandoned that route to Argo and laid down a new one on the northward side of the river in to the intersection of Platte and Sixteenth streets, a distance of about two miles, where a transfer of passengers was made to the new cable line on Sixteenth. So, when this company finally rested from its construction labors in 1892, it had twenty-nine miles of cable road, ten of electric, and two of the Argo horse-car line.

View on Colfax Avenue, west from Lafayette street after completion of cable line. Emerson School, at Fourteenth Avenue and Ogden street, on left. Photographed in January, 1889. Fine homes now occupy all this area, and extend much farther to the east.

The total cost of the company's outfit was rather near $4,000,000; and unlike the other cable enterprise, the corporation received no subsidies from any one or from any source for its cable construction. The company did a good business but, after the fashion of the time, was heavily overloaded, financially, and figures as one of the victims of the panic of 1893.

We will now briefly give further consideration to the operations of the Denver Tramway Company. By the close of 1889, as we have stated, that company was operating several cable lines: a double-track the full length of Fifteenth street, a distance of about two miles; about two miles of double track on Colfax Avenue east of Broadway, including a short loop at the City Park; two miles of double track on Broadway south from Colfax; a double-track line, built in the autumn of 1889, on Tremont street from Fifteenth street to Eighteenth Avenue, thence on that Avenue to Humboldt street, thence on Humboldt to Twenty-sixth Avenue, thence on that Avenue to LaFayette street, and thence to Eighteenth Avenue, a distance exceeding five miles; a double-track line on Washington street from Eighteenth Avenue to Twenty-second Avenue, to Marion street, to Twenty-fourth Avenue, to Downing Avenue, to Washington street, to Eighteenth Avenue, a distance of about two miles; and a loop at the "North Denver" end of Fifteenth street, around three blocks, to the then limits of the city in that direction; making in all the equivalent of about thirty miles of single-track cable railway.

To attract travel to its roads the Denver Tramway Company established in 1889 the present "Base Ball Park" at the Broadway crossing of Cherry creek. On February 1st it leased for twenty-four years two blocks of land there, and later expended about $11,000 for grading and other improvements.

In 1889 the Tramway Company had again turned its attention to electrical operation of street cars, as the present trolley system had then become practically developed. On January 2, 1889, "The South Denver Cable Railway Company" was incorporated by members of the Tramway Company, with the intention of extending the Tramway Company's Broadway cable line south through the then independent town of South Denver. But this subordinate corporation was authorized by its charter, by an ordinance of the South Denver Board of Trustees approved June 20, 1889, and by a grant by the County Commissioners made in the same month, to build either a cable or an electric road on South Broadway. Making use of this subordinate company and its franchises, the Tramway Company built four miles of electric (trolley) road from the termination of its cable lines, south, and which was put in operation December 25, 1889; a small power house having been built for it in South Denver.

An additional cable line had been constructed on Lawrence street, from Fifteenth to Nineteenth street, in 1888, under unusual and rather interesting circumstances. Considerable rivalry had arisen between the two street railway companies, and a sharp difference of opinion arose as to which should occupy Lawrence street. This the Tramway Company effectively settled on the night of December 18, 1889. A force of 1,600 men, with teams hauling ties, rails, and mid-track cable fittings and appliances, went into that part of the street after nightfall, and before daybreak next morning the cable road the length of four blocks was completed. However, that line was never operated by cable. The Tramway Company, encouraged by the economical and regular operation elsewhere of electric lines, determined to construct in addition to its South Broadway line a similar one on South Water, Lawrence and other streets, across the city, under its franchise ordinance of 1885, authorizing the use of electricity. After work began in December, 1889, there was a violent clamor of opposition to the trolley from some of the newspapers and many of the people. The system was then new and its alleged dangers grossly exaggerated. The opposition finally induced the city officers to refuse to allow the work to proceed. An appeal by the company to the District Court of Arapahoe county resulted in a decision that the ordinance of 1885 was invalid. Pending an appeal to the State Supreme Court by the company, the City Council by an ordinance approved February 12, 1890, and by a subsequent one, the electrical operation of the Lawrence street and several other lines was explicitly authorized. The company hastened the work, and put the long Lawrence street line, the first trolley road within the then limits of the city, in operation June 3, 1890, with its power station on Grand Avenue in "West Denver." On December 18, 1894, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the District Court and decided that the ordinance of 1885 was valid.

While the construction of the Lawrence street line was in progress, members of the Tramway Company incorporated, on April 7, 1890, another subordinate organization, "The Denver Tramway Extension Company," with $500,000 capital, and owned entirely in the interest of the parent organization. Under an ordinance of the Board of Trustees of the town of Highlands, passed April 15, 1890, and amended July 29, 1890; and under a grant by the County Commissioners made April 15, 1890, the Extension Company built electric lines on Agate and Ashland Avenues in "North Denver;" opening the former for business on June 18th, and the latter on July 7th, in that year. A separate corporation was required for these lines because it was proposed to extend them into suburban towns, and into Jefferson county, authority for which the Denver Tramway Company did not have under its charter.

On July 28, 1890, the South Denver Cable Railway Company, the Denver Tramway Extension Company, and the Denver Tramway Company were consolidated under the name of "The Denver Tramway Company" (Junior), with a capital of $1,000,000, and which took over all the lines of the constituent companies, and was authorized to operate in the city of Denver, and in Arapahoe and Jefferson counties.

South Broadway Passenger Station—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

For more than a year prior to that time two independent companies had been operating steam ("dummy") railroad lines in part of what is now the "North Denver" division, but then outside the boundaries of the city. The Denver and Berkeley Park Rapid Transit Company was incorporated May 15, 1888, and the Highlands Street Railroad Company on July 18, 1888; both enterprises having been promoted principally by men directly interested in the development of real estate in that section. Under ordinances of the town of Highlands passed later in 1888, and under grants made by the County Commissioners, these companies built lines extending from the terminus in "North Denver" of the Tramway Company's cable line, to Elitch's Garden, and to Berkeley and Rocky Mountain Lakes, and that were operated by steam. Late in 1890 the Denver Tramway Company bought those two "dummy" lines for $100,000 in cash, and later converted them into electric roads; the Berkeley Lake route being first operated by electricity on June 10, and the Highlands on July 2, 1891.

There were three other outside, independent, roads in the suburbs of Denver in that general period. "The University Park Railway and Electric Company" was incorporated February 12, 1889. This company was principally composed of men interested in real estate in the University Park district, and under a South Denver town ordinance adopted March 5, 1889, built an electric road extending from and connecting with the Broadway cable line of the Tramway Company, to University Park, a distance by the route followed, of about four and one-half miles. Late in 1890 the Tramway Company by purchase acquired all the property of this company and began operating it on January 1, 1891; but its separate corporate existence continued until January 13, 1892, when it terminated under circumstances that will presently be stated. "The Denver and Park Hill Railway Company," incorporated August 20, 1888, and which was largely a real estate "booming" enterprise, later built and operated a steam ("dummy") road extending along what was then the south and east sides of the city limits, and easterly from the City Park, connecting with the Tramway Company's Colfax Avenue cable line. This road was built under privileges granted by the city, the independent suburban towns, and the County Commissioners. On April 29, 1893, the Tramway Company acquired all the property of the Park Hill Company and the latter passed out of existence; the greater part of the route having since been abandoned. That part of it beyond the Park—the present "Park Hill line" of the Tramway Company —was electrically equipped late in the spring of 1893. The third of these suburban companies, not eleswhere mentioned, was the Colfax Avenue Railway Company, incorporated September 20, 1889, the projectors of which had received a franchise from the city of Denver to build an electric line on Colfax Avenue from York street to the eastern limits of the city, by an ordinance approved February 19, 1889; and one from the town of Montclair about the same time to extend the line to that town. The road was built and opened in 1890, but on May 4, 1891, the company was re-organized and re-incorporated as "The Colfax Electric Railway Company." This new company under ordinances of the towns of Montclair and Fletcher, passed in June, 1898, and one of the city of Denver adopted July 31, 1898, built the extension to Fletcher and the connecting line to Fairmount Cemetery. The Denver ordinance required the company to pay $100 for the privileges granted, and this was the first instance in which the city exacted a price for a street railway franchise. On January 26, 1899, the Colfax Electric Railway Company conveyed all its franchises and roads to the Denver Consolidated Tramway Company, and ceased to exist.

Exterior of new type of 40-foot combination car, from open end —Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

On November 21, 1889, an independent street railway organization, "The Denver and Suburban Railway Company," of which Thomas J. O'Donnell became President, and Charles F. Musgrove, Secretary, was incorporated by citizens of Denver who had not theretofore figured in the local railway field. By an ordinance approved March 18, 1890, the City Council granted this company right of way for electric lines upon several streets in "East Denver" and "West Denver." The company bought material for about seventeen miles of road, and ground for a power house; and began work on Champa street, east of Cherry creek. The Tramway Company refused it permission to put in a crossing on Fifteenth street, on the ground that it was improperly chartered and could not exercise the right of eminent domain. The Courts sustained this view, and the defeated company attempted to reorganize and to have its franchises renewed, but was unsuccessful. After the contest had been carried on for several months, the Denver and Suburban Company, discouraged by its experience, offered to sell at cost all its property and material to the Tramway interests, and the offer was accepted.

The Tramway Company as a corporation not being in a position to accept the offer, its officers and Directors on July 6, 1891, incorporated "The Metropolitan Railway Company," in the interest of the Tramway Company, and with a capital of $1,000,000. This company took over the property of the Denver and Suburban, and with the material constructed the South Thirteenth street, the Eleventh Avenue, the South Tremont street, and several other lines in 1891-92. The Metropolitan Company did a large amount of other construction work in that general period under franchises granted by the city of Denver, the city of Highlands, and the towns of Harman, South Denver and Elyria. On the day the Metropolitan Company was incorporated, the Denver and Suburban Company re-conveyed to the city the rights of way it had received, and soon afterward wound up its affairs and ended its career.

The years 1888 to 1892, inclusive, were times of amazing activity in Denver in every direction, but there seemed to be no limit to the energy and money that were being applied to street railway construction in the city and far into the outlying districts in that period. With the making of railroads and the erection of buildings the streets presented apparently hopeless aspects of crowded confusion that are not often seen in a lifetime. We have already mentioned the dates of opening many of the electric roads of the Tramway Company and its subordinate corporations. Others of their lines were the Twenty-second Avenue opened October 11, 1890; the Eighth Avenue line, from Broadway to Arlington Park; and the Eleventh Avenue, were opened December 19, 1891. The Stout street and the South Tremont lines, January 1, 1892; the Harman extension of the Eighth Avenue, March 17th; the Platte street, November 24th; and the Riverside, December 12th. The Twenty-fifth Avenue, April 15th; and the Pearl street, June 1, 1893. By this time, including what the other company had done, the city and its suburbs were pretty well grid-ironed with street railroads.

Interior of closed part of new 40-foot combination car—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

During this new construction work various minor changes in the earlier-built routes were made by both companies, and from some streets tracks were removed; among the latter having been those of the old horse-car line on Champa street eastward from Sixteenth, and of another on Arapahoe street in the business section.

We have heretofore stated that the Denver Tramway Company's cable machinery had barely begun to run smoothly before its displacement was inaugurated. The Tremont street-Eighteenth Avenue cable line that had been started November 3, 1889, was operated about two years when, under an agreement with the Denver City Cable Railway Company, the Eighteenth Avenue part of it was abandoned on November 27, 1891, and its tracks were afterward removed. New tracks had been laid on Nineteenth Avenue, and the entire route thus changed had been put under electrical operation on November 28, 1891. Early in 1893 the company decided to convert its remaining cable lines into electric lines and the change was soon accomplished. The Broadway line was deprived of its cable in May, 1893, and two weeks later the trolley drove the cable cars off Fifteenth street and Colfax Avenue.

Conditions precipitated by the panic of 1893 ended further street railway construction by any of the then existent companies in Denver. They also made it expedient, for economic reasons, to consolidate the Denver Tramway Company and the Metropolitan Railway Company, notwithstanding that the two were of practically the same ownership and under one management. Therefore, on September 6, 1893, "The Denver Consolidated Tramway Company" was incorporated with a capital of $3,000,000, under a very broad charter. Its term of existence was fixed at fifty years from July 1, 1891; it could use any power then in use or thereafter applied or discovered; could build, buy, or lease, and operate railways in the city of Denver, in adjoining and adjacent towns, in Arapahoe and Jefferson counties, and could exercise the power of eminent domain. It took over all the property, rights and privileges of the two constituent companies, and the latter passed off the stage. This union involved no change of ownership or of management.

Interior of closed part of a Colfax Avenue car—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

The panic of 1893 entailed many vicissitudes upon the old overladen Denver City Cable Railway

Company and its subordinate corporations, and on November 10th of that year their affairs were placed in the hands of two Receivers; their indebtedness having then aggregated about $4,300,000. The Denver City Cable Railway Company was subsequently re-organized as the Denver City Railroad Company, and the West End Street Railway Company as the West End Street Railroad Company. But these changes did not ward off the inevitable. On December 16, 1898, the properties of these two re-organized companies were sold under foreclosure and purchased on behalf of their bondholders pursuant to a plan for another reorganization. The properties were then transferred to the Denver City Traction Company that had been organized at that time for the purpose of acquiring them. Arrangements for the union of practically all street railroads in the city in one corporation having been made, The Denver City Tramway Company, the present organization, was incorporated on March 3, 1899, with a capital of $5,000,000. This was a consolidation of what had formerly been the Denver Consolidated Tramway Company, the old Denver City Cable Railway Company, and the West End Street Railway Company; or rather an absorption by the old Tramway Company of all the lines that had been directly or indirectly owned or controlled by its one-time rival. Thus the new corporation, composed almost wholly of the old Tramway Company stockholders, and with the latter's old executive officers, became as it is at the close of our record, owner of all the street railways in the city except the line of the Denver, Lakewood & Golden Railroad Company. Some further account of this Golden road appears in our historical sketches of the steam railroads. Within the city limits it is operated by electricity, and beyond to Golden, by steam. A part of its electric line is built under franchises granted by city ordinances passed by the City Council in 1891, and a part is operated over the tracks of the Denver City Tramway Company under an agreement made May 6, 1892, with the old Denver Tramway Company and the Metropolitan Railway Company.

The Denver City Tramway Company at once applied to the City Council for permission to electrically equip the cable roads it had purchased, but encountered much unreasonable opposition, in and out of the Council, to the proposed great improvement. The matter dragged along throughout the year 1899, and it was not until March 21, 1900, that the ordinance became a city law; the company having voluntarily proposed to pay the city $76,000 for the privilege, and which proposition became one of the conditions of the ordinance.

No time was lost in making the change from cable to trolley, and construction work of extraordinary celerity was done; everything being at hand and in readiness for it. The Board of Aldermen having met on the night of March 20th and passed the bill as it came from the Board of Supervisors, the Mayor signed it on the afternoon of the 21st. On the morning of the 22nd the company's bond was approved, and work began. On Sunday morning, March 25th, the first electric car was run over the line of the Curtis street and "West Denver" cable. Before the end of that

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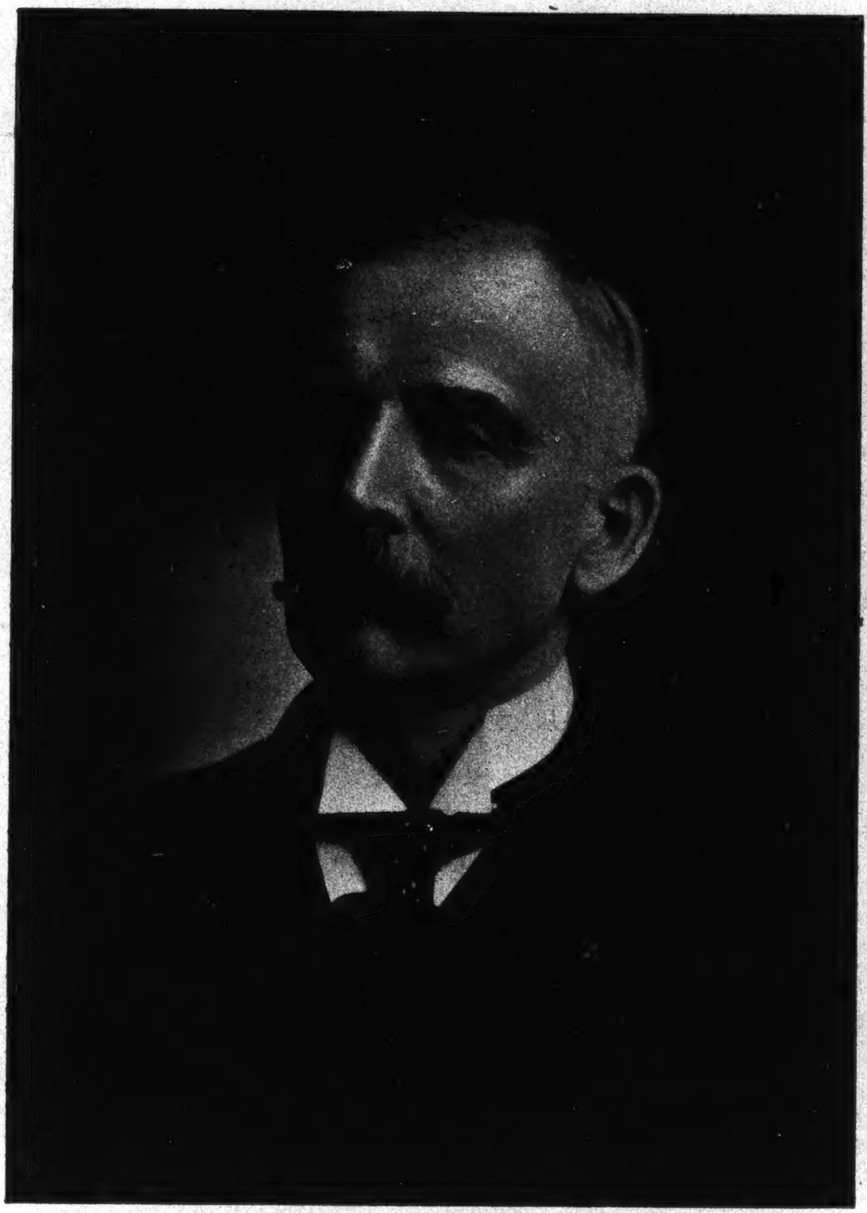
Rodney Curtis, President of the great company owning and operating Denver's fine system of street railways, is a native of Broome county, N. Y., where he was born January 17, 1839. Educated in the local schools and at Susquehanna Seminary at Binghamton, N. Y., and in a commercial school at Chicago, he located in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in 1859, where he began his business career as a dealer in grain. In that year he, like so many other young men along what was then the frontier, became interested in the reports from the Pike's Peak region, and decided that he would go to the new country in the farther west. In the spring of 1860 he and his brother, C. M. Curtis, arrived in Denver, but instead of turning to mining or trading as nearly every new-comer immediately did, they purchased a ranche near Denver. Subsequently Mr. Curtis engaged in the grocery business and still later in the drug business in the pioneer city. In the spring of 1864 he was appointed Pay Clerk or Cashier of the old Mint, a position he filled until 1869 when he became the Mint's Chief Clerk. In January, 1876, after nearly twelve years of service in the Mint, President Grant appointed him Melter and Refiner as which he served until his resignation in 1883 terminated a continuous connection with the old Mint that had extended through a period of about nineteen years.

Mr. Curtis had acquired interests in the city which had expanded with the growth of Denver, and it was to give these affairs personal attention that he resigned from the Mint. In 1867 he and C. J. Clark had platted the Curtis & Clark addition to Denver, and in 1874 they had built the present business block at numbers 1632-38 Larimer street, and which was then one of the conspicuous structures on that thoroughfare. It later became the temporary "Capitol" of the State, having been converted into offices for the Governor and other Executive officers of Colorado.

In 1885 Mr. Curtis became one of the organizers of the Denver Tramway Company and, as related upon these pages, has been the executive head of the corporation from that time to this, through all the various changes, expansions and acquisitions, from its modest inception to its ownership and operation of one of the most efficient and intelligently planned street railway systems in the country; a result largely due to his able, untiring and far-sighted executive management. One of Denver's pioneers, he is still an active, energetic man in the prime of his mental vigor, and, as the reader will have seen, one who has long been closely identified with the development of the city. —J. C. S.



Rodney Curtis.

week the entire thirty miles of cable trackage had been electrically equipped in seven days and four hours of working-time; and on Saturday, March 31st, the last cable car left the streets of Denver, and the huge machinery in the power-house at Lawrence and Eighteenth streets stopped turning its wheels and became obsolete.

As our reader will have seen, an enormous amount of capital has been absolutely sunk, out of sight and beyond salvage, in the construction of various lines of horse, experimental electric, and cable railway in Denver. It appears to have been one of the unavoidable things due to quick development of scientific and mechanical discoveries and inventions. The cable system had a rapid development but it was slow compared with that of the trolley; and the scrap-heap became the inevitable destination of all its mechanical equipment. The large and fine building erected for a power-house at Broadway and Colfax Avenue, empty of machinery and practically idle, is a silent monument to misplaced confidence in the permanent utility of cable lines; and nothing kept the larger one at Eighteenth and Lawrence streets from a similar fate, but its adaptability for use as an electric power station, as which it has been temporarily and partially equipped.

Exterior of new 38-foot combination car—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

The present Board of Directors and officers of the Denver City Tramway Company are Rodney Curtis, William N. Byers, William G. Evans, George E. Ross-Lewin, William F. McClelland, James H. Blood, Samuel M. Peary, Thomas Keely, and George H. Holt, Directors; Rodney Curtis, President; William N. Byers, Vice President; George E. Ross-Lewin, Treasurer; and William G. Evans, Secretary. As will be seen, and notwithstanding that the present corporation has absorbed all the street railways in the city, including those of the former powerful Denver City Cable Railway Company, the executive management is practically the same as that of the old Denver Electric and Cable Railway Company; and which has been continuous throughout the intervening years. It is due to this continuity of policy and direction that there has been matured and carried out a comprehensive plan for establishing a great and convenient system of transportation throughout the city.

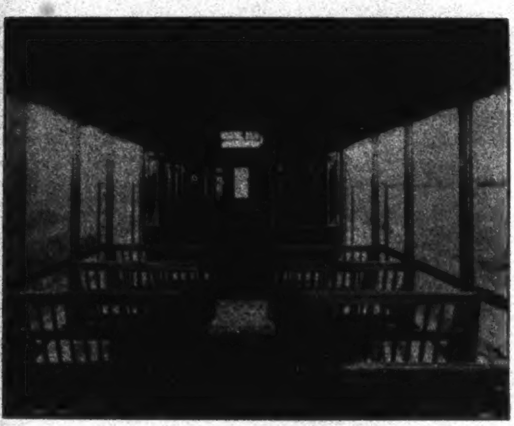
It is to be said, furthermore, that the relations between the company and its many employees are and have been exceedingly harmonious, and have developed a mutual loyalty of feeling that is unusual in these times of frequent discord between those who employ and those who serve. For the use of the men there are two well-appointed club rooms, one on Gallup Avenue near West Thirtieth Avenue, and one at the Tramway Passenger Station at Broadway and Alaska street; the maintenance expense of both being shared by the men and the company.

Since 1894 there has been but little new street railway mileage constructed within the city limits; energies having been directed toward unification and rehabilitation. To this end a vast amount of reconstruction work has been done, resulting in many miles of new and heavy track renewals, and almost an entire new equipment of rolling stock. Part of one line, the West End Electric, acquired by the present company in the purchase of the Denver City Cable Railway Company's property, has been abandoned. When the Larimer street line was electrically equipped in March, 1900, it was extended west to Sheridan Avenue, and that part of the West End Electric on that Avenue and in some other places was removed. In the summer of 1900 the Argo line, which had the distinction of being the last horse-car line within the city limits, was rebuilt on a somewhat changed route, electrically equipped, and directly connected with the general system. In the autumn of 1900 the track on South Pearl street was extended south to Evans Avenue and on that street eastward, increasing the facilities to and from University Park and adding one and one-quarter miles of route. This was nominally done by the University Park Extension Railway Company, incorporated November 18, 1899, by W. C. Johnston, W. S. Iliff, A. L. Doud and A. J. Fowler, with a capital of $10,000; but the line was made practically a part of the Tramway Company's system. The route mileage operated by the consolidated company at the beginning of 1901 is stated in the following, according to the common designation of each line, in miles and hundredths of miles:

Broadway	6.78
Colfax Avenue	3.25
Lawrence street	5.55
Stout street and Riverside	4.09
Twenty-second avenue	2.53
Nineteenth Avenue	2.37

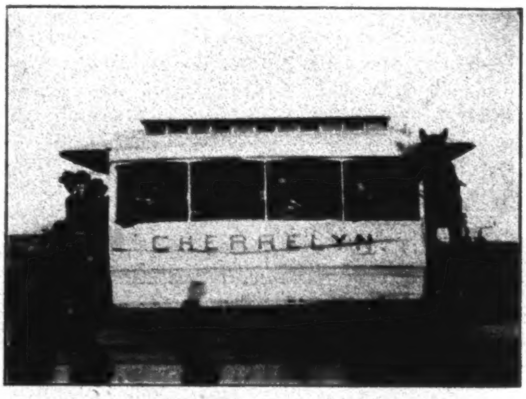
So. Tremont, South Pearl, and University Park	8.46
Larimer street	5.43
Welton street	2.67
Seventeenth street	1.00
West Curtis street	2.45
Seventeenth Avenue	2.40
Goss street	2.72
Argo	2.65
Eleventh Avenue	2.80
Harman	3.79
West Twenty-third Avenue	3.65
Berkeley	4.68
West Twenty-ninth Avenue	4.14
Rocky Mountain Lake	4.76
Park Hill	2.50
Montclair	5.20
Aurora	4.19
West End	2.70

These various routes, allowing for duplication of trackage, aggregate the equivalent of about 144 miles of single track, as nearly all of them are double track lines throughout. In 1900 about 35,260,000 passengers were carried, and the total car-mileage was nearly 6,300,000 miles; or say considerably more than thirteen round trips between the earth and the moon. The company has, of all kinds, about 250 cars, of which an average of 150 are required for handling the ordinary daily traffic. The number of men employed in all departments ranges between 800 and 1,000; the average being about 900. All the lines are so connected that a car may start on a journey from the Fifteenth street "loop" and traverse every one of them, and into every section of the city and its suburbs. The "loop" arrangement is an admirable one. One-half of an entire city block in the heart of the city—west side of Fifteenth street between Lawrence and Arapahoe streets—is surrounded by tracks. Nearly all cars begin and end their round trip there, where passengers going farther are given transfers and may change cars under a handsome train-shed. One may now ride nearly fifteen miles for five cents, in what are probably the largest, handsomest and most comfortable street railway cars in the world; and over tracks the greater portion of which are equal in construction and smoothness to those of the best steam railways.



Interior of open part of new 40-foot combination car—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

To operate this great system five electrical-power stations are maintained; one on Grand Avenue in Baker's Villa, one on Blake street between Thirty-second and Thirty-third streets, one at Broadway and Alaska street, one at West Thirty-eighth Avenue and Twenty-second street (Berkeley), and one on East Colfax Avenue in Montclair. However, at the close of our record the Tramway Company had purchased about a half-block of land on the northward bank of the Platte river, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, on which to build a large central power station that will ordinarily be capable of operating its entire system.



Rolling stock of the Cherrelyn Street railway.

Two short suburban lines alone remain as reminiscences of the horse-car era, but both operate outside the city limits. One extends from Orchard Place on the south line of the city boundary, south on Broadway-in-the-country to "Cherrelyn," a distance of a half-mile or so, its equipment consisting of one horse and a small car. In operation it presents an unique feature in transportation. Beyond Orchard Place the road ascends a sharp grade for a quarter of a mile or more, and on the return trip the horse mounts one of the car-platforms at the top of the hill and contentedly comes in as a passenger. This line was built a few years since by persons interested in suburban property just south of Orchard Place, and is now operated as an extension of the South Broadway line of the Tramway Company to Orchard Place. The other horse-car line is the "Fort Logan Street Railway," extending westward from Orchard Place through Petersburg, across the Platte, through the rather sparsely settled town of Sheridan, past Loretto Heights to Fort

Logan, a distance of 3.6 miles. It was built in 1898 by Rev. Thomas H. Malone and associates, primarily for the convenience of Loretto Academy, and otherwise as a transportation enterprise. Its trains run at intervals of forty minutes, and it is independent of all entangling alliances with other railway organizations.

At various times in the past other street railway enterprises that have not been mentioned in the preceding pages, have appeared on the surface in and around Denver. Some of them to which rights of way were granted in the names of individuals were in the interests of the two corporations that have figured most prominently in our accounts, and had no independent existence. Others were undertakings that never passed the embryotic stage. The records of the Secretary of State contain the whole of the brief histories of dozens of such contemplated enterprises—of companies incorporated to build steam "dummy," cable, or electric roads, but which ended their proceedings in the office of the Territorial or State Secretary. In the middle "Seventies" Jerome B. Chaffee, H. G. Bond and their associates were granted by the city rights of way over various streets for a horse railway. About the same time H. G. Bond, Miers Fisher and Charles Ruter were granted similar privileges for a steam ("dummy") road to Swansea. These proposed roads were not built, and their grants were repealed by the City Council in 1881. The Arapahoe Railway Company figured in the town of Harman in 1892-93; the Citizens' Railway Company of 1895 was a Tramway Company subordinate that received from the city in August of that year rights of way for an electric road over certain streets, but did not use them; the Denver, Globeville and Golden Rapid Transit Company of 1896 was projected to build a line to Golden, connecting with the West End Street Railroad. Several years ago, John Cook, who was largely interested in real estate in the northeastern part of the city, built a horse-car line on Thirty-fourth Avenue from a connection with the Tramway Company's line on Williams street, east to Colorado Boulevard, in the district north of City Park. The line was about one and one-quarter miles long, and in recent times this road has been disused. But at the close of our record the Tramway Company was preparing to rebuild it for electrical operation.

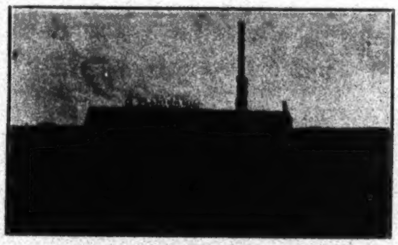
Fifteenth street Loop Station—Denver Consolidated Tramway Company.

The development of our street railway system is a remarkable one to have been accomplished practically within a dozen years, several of which were times of extreme depression. No city has a more comprehensive and efficient transportation system. In proportion to population the mileage is greater than that of any other city in the world; there being more than a mile of track for each thousand people.

With the exception of the steam railways, it would seem that no institution has done so much for the upbuilding of Denver as the street railway system. While it is true that the roads were not built and are not operated as philanthropic enterprises, or as public benefactions, it is equally true that they have been chiefly instrumental in distributing Denver's population over the unusually large territory it occupies, and are to a great degree responsible for the absence from the city of anything approaching a "tenement house district." Denver has nothing like that blight common to so many large cities. The system has enabled men of moderate means to acquire homes for themselves in pleasant places away from the business center, instead of being housed tier upon tier in congested localities as so many have to be in so many other cities. The thousands of pretty dwellings and of suburban cottages that line streets far away from the commercial districts, would not be there under less favorable conditions for going and coming; neither would the suburban towns be there. These adequate means of transportation in every direction have enabled men to build their castles where trees and grass and flowers may grow, and where they are not crowded for ground-room; to the great good of each and the common benefit and pleasure of all. Much has been said of the economic results springing from the operations of this great institution; of the increased value they have given to what were outlying areas of the plains; of the vast increases of tax revenues for the public treasuries; and of the dollars and cents aspects of all the consequences. But these things are of the lesser importance. The great, outstanding, wealful fact is that prudent citizens even of limited means and income may own and occupy homes of their own. In trying to gauge the far-reaching influences of home-owning upon men and women and children, the measure of mere dollars and cents is an utterly useless thing.

CHAPTER LXIX.

COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURING INTERESTS—PIONEER MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS—VOLUME OF THEIR BUSINESS—BEGINNING OF MANUFACTURING IN DENVER—EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF THE BUSINESS—INFLUENCE OF RAILROAD COMMUNICATIONS—DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURING BUSINESS AT PRESENT TIME—EARLY ORGANIZATIONS OF BUSINESS MEN—HISTORY OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND BOARD OF TRADE—DENVER'S FUTURE AS A COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURING METROPOLIS.



One of the pioneers—Moyne Brothers' planing mill.

Denver may not fairly be represented as a great commercial city in the sense of being a wholesaling metropolis, nor as a great manufacturing city; though both these lines of business are now healthfully expanding their spheres of influence and trade. Denver has been said, even in recent times, to have relatively the largest retail and the smallest wholesale commercial business of any city of its size in this country. But, if the present ratio of increase in the wholesale branch of the city's business be maintained a few years, these conditions will be changed; assuming that the statement mentioned be true. The recent erection of large structures, some of which are subjects of illustration here, exclusively for wholesaling purposes, indicates more clearly than mere figures the increasing volume of the city's commercial trade.

But, considering all the circumstances of location, and taking a broad view of the obstacles that have had to be overcome, Denver's commerce throughout her history has been of creditable proportions. It was relatively large in the pioneer times, for a town of less than five thousand people. While Denver's first mercantile house, that of Blake & Williams who came at the close of October, 1858, had but a small stock, and while "Uncle Dick" Wooton's merchandise that was unloaded on Christmas day, 1858, was mostly of Taos manufacture, and packed in barrels, the town, before a year had passed, harbored some stocks of general merchandise large in variety and in value. As we have heretofore mentioned, Jones & Cartwright alone had $150,000 worth of goods in Denver in 1859-60; the old-time firm of J. B. Doyle & Company—Doyle and F. Z. Salomon—had nearly as much; St. Vrain & St. James also carried a large stock; and in 1860 there was a dozen more establishments representing heavy investments. The firm of J. S. & J. F. Brown, that has had a continuous existence through all the intervening years, though recently given a corporate name, dates from that period and has always ranked among the establishments transacting a heavy annual business. It is true that a large part of merchandise values in the early days stood for the cost of transportation, the freightage on many articles exceeding their cost at the Missouri river; and on some several times their cost. Still, in actual quantity there were large stocks of goods in Denver in the pioneer times, and the town's commercial business was, in proportion to population, far greater than it is now, for it was then the only place of any im-

Another pioneer establishment—north side of Blake street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets.

portance in all the region around it—it was the metropolis and without competitors worthy serious consideration. But the application of the per capita proposition signifies no decadence of commercial enterprise; it merely emphasizes the unusual conditions surrounding the city in those years. As we have, in preceding chapters, narrated the circumstances attending the coming and business of the pioneer merchants, we need not further dwell upon them here.

Throughout the decade of 1860-70 Denver's commerce, notwithstanding the many disadvantages, the depressions, the discouraging situations that so often presented themselves, continued to be in proportion to population, abnormally large; aggregating several millions of dollars annually. It received a tremendous stimulation by the advent of the railroads in the summer of 1870, and in 1871 the sales of merchandise in Denver exceeded eleven and one-half million of dollars; figures, however, that indicate high prices as well as large business, and in which there was doubtless some duplication of values of goods both wholesaled and retailed in the city.

Under the influence of railway connections in several directions, and of that of the developing Colorado country and comparatively rapid growing city, the mercantile interests of Denver had a vigorous expansion, and by 1875 the volume of business aggregated double that of 1871. Between 1875 and 1880 it did not increase in so great a ratio, if the figures for those years may be accepted as trustworthy; yet, the aggregate was most encouragingly large, the average annual value having been about thirty-five million dollars. In comparison with these figures those of the manufacturing industries of those times were of very modest proportions; probably not exceeding an average of $1,500,000 per annum.

To go back to the actual beginning of manufacturing in Denver we must recall the firm, or the old-time "partners," of Moyne and Rice. They first figured as wagon-makers and, as stated in a preceding chapter, built a double log-cabin at the southeast corner of Larimer and Fifteenth streets in the latter part of November, 1858; and in one end of which they had their shop. Later they became the pioneer "cabinet makers," and in August, 1860, bought a boiler and engine from a man who had brought them across the plains and did not know what to do with them when he got here. Under steam, the business expanded and subsequently under the ownership of Moyne Brothers developed into that of a planing mill and lumber yard.

Then, there was John Kinna who came even earlier—November 3rd—and located in Auraria City. If a tinner and worker in sheet iron can be considered a manufacturer, he would take precedence

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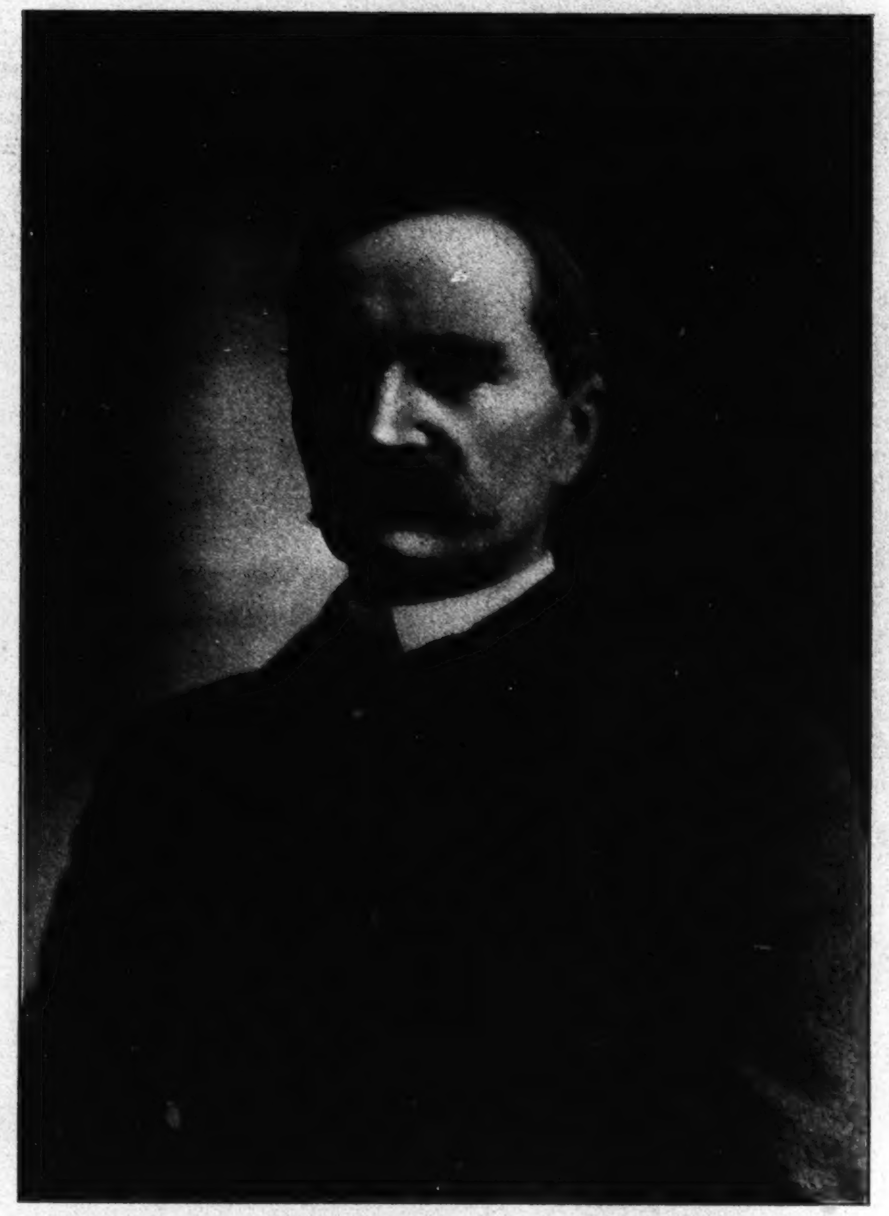
Henry M. Porter is another of the forceful men who have witnessed the wonderful development of this great central region west of the Missouri river, and who helped to accomplish a large part of it. He was born at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, November 2, 1840. Soon after his birth his parents left Lancaster and settled in Jefferson City, Missouri, where they resided until 1847, when they located on a farm near that place. In 1855, they removed to Adair county, Missouri, continuing at farming.

As a boy and youth Mr. Porter was engaged in farm work and attending the country schools. When he was eighteen years old he found new employment with the Missouri Telegraph Company which was then constructing a telegraph line from St. Louis along the Missouri river to the then newly located town of Omaha. Late in 1860 he began building the Overland Telegraph line which was constructed by him as far west as Julesburg, being completed to Fort Kearney in the spring of 1861, and to Julesburg in the autumn of that year. Subsequently in that decade he constructed the Denver-Santa Fe telegraph and other local lines, as we have elsewhere stated. Late in 1861, and when he had barely attained his majority, he undertook the construction of a telegraph line for the government from St. Louis to Fort Smith, Arkansas; and another from St. Louis down the Mississippi to Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. While engaged in this later work Mr. Porter and his party were captured by the Confederate General Jeff Thompson. After a brief detention the telegraph builders were released, and later returned to and completed their work.

In the autumn of 1862 Mr. Porter established in Denver the wholesale grocery house of Stebbins & Porter, which was one of the prominent mercantile firms here in those times. He later became extensively engaged in banking, and the forwarding and commission business; with banks at Atchison, Kansas, and Kirksville, Missouri. Branch banking and mercantile houses were established at Santa Fe, Cimarron, Elizabethtown, Springer and Silver City, New Mexico, and at Del Norte, Colorado, the combined business assuming large proportions.

In 1882, Mr. Porter took up permanently his residence in Denver where he had continued to hold large interests. In the upbuilding of the city he became closely and actively identified with many of the great operations that made Denver what it is today, including interests in the Denver National Bank, the American Water Works Company, the Gas Company, the Consolidated Electric Company, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Denver Paper Mills Company, the Denver Stock Yards Company, the Denver Packing and Provision Company and several other local industrial enterprises. He also engaged in the live-stock business on an extensive basis, in the Pawnee, Red River, Gila, Cimarron, Texas, and Urak Cattle Companies, a business in which he is still very largely interested.

In 1874 Mr. Porter married Miss Laura, daughter of John W. Smith who was, as our readers will have learned, during his long business career in Denver one of the leaders in many great enterprises for the development of the city and State.
—J. C. S.



Henry M. Porter.

over Moyne and Rice. At the close of December, 1858, came Thomas Pollock, a blacksmith, who opened a shop in Auraria on the 10th of January, 1859—and a good man he was. So we might assume that Kinna, and Moyne and Rice, and Pollock were the pioneer manufacturers in business at the mouth of Cherry creek.

But, considering the application of machinery to the conversion of raw material into marketable products, as constituting manufacturing, in the true sense, we must pass these hand-workmen, and give attention to the first conception of using machinery here where Denver stands; though it was never carried into effect. It was an idea of the indefatigable General William Larimer, and is explained in the following proposition which he submitted to the Directors of the Denver Town Company at a meeting they held on January 22, 1859:

Original premises of the Denver Wire & Iron Works Company, 1420 Market street.

"To the Board of Directors of the Denver City Town Company: Gent'n—I hereby ask your board to grant me the privilege of building a toll-bridge across the South Platte river at some suitable point at or near the mouth of Cherry creek, and the further grant of the privilege of using the water power at or near the mouth of Cherry creek, with sufficient grant of land for both; it may be possible that I will so construct the abutments for the bridge that I can make sufficient dam in the Platte river for the water power and mill privilege; if so, less land will be required, and not over four hundred feet square be necessary for toll-house and buildings, along the margin of the street running along the Platte river and Cherry creek. The bridge to be put under contract as soon as practicable and to be completed by the first of January, next. The dam not to be so high as to obstruct the present crossing or to overflow the land on either side of the river."

The fact that General Larimer contemplated building a grist-mill proves that he then realized that wheat and corn would soon be growing here along the South Platte river; an opinion that the other pioneers did not share. The Denver Town Company's Directors agreed to his proposition and made the grant he requested, but other affairs almost immediately engaged General Larimer's attention, and the proposed bridge, dam and grist-mill were not built. At that time the South Platte flowed a far greater quantity of water than it does now and would have afforded abundant water power for a mill of considerable capacity.

The Bennett and Wyatt, and the Oakes, saw mills which were brought out in April, 1859, were the first establishments operating machinery in the Pike's Peak country, but they were set up near their raw material some twenty-five or thirty miles south of Denver, and, therefore, can not fairly be classed as Denver establishments, although their owners were Denver men. There does not appear to have been any machinery operated by mechanical power in Denver, in 1859; although a number of stamp mills were so operated in the Clear creek mining districts in the autumn of that year.

Early in 1860 A. G. Langford & Company established a small foundry and machine-shop in Denver—the first of its kind. In April of that year they made a small amount of pig-iron, the first produced from Colorado ores. The ore used in the experiment was from a deposit found on Coal creek, about sixteen miles northwest of Denver, and it yielded nearly sixty per cent of good iron. This concern which appears to have been the first to employ steam power in Denver, was subsequently removed to Black Hawk where it was continued until late in 1874.

Later in 1860 Fraser & Scoville set up a small foundry and machine-shop on east Larimer street, using scrap-iron for castings. In that year the cost of hauling pig-iron across the plains was almost prohibitive, hence the early attempts to produce Colorado pig. In December, 1860, Joseph M. Marshall bought this establishment, and in the autumn of 1861 made there a little pig-iron from

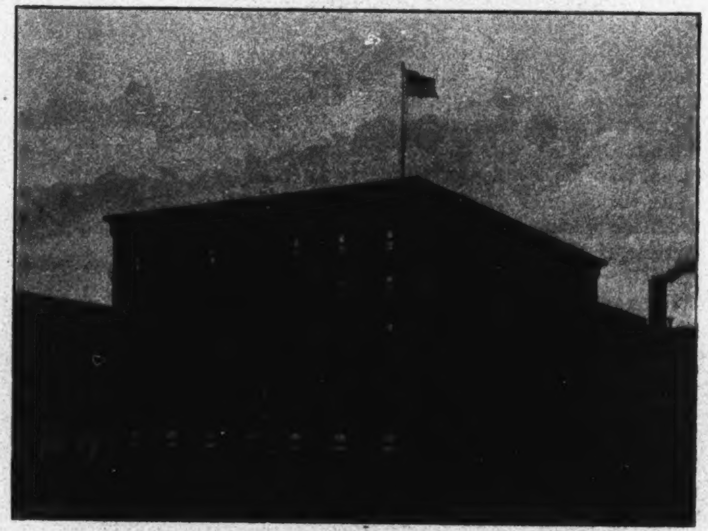
Original plant of the Western Chemical Company.

hematite ore found at Erie. In 1863 he built a small furnace at Erie which failed to work well. Early in 1865 it was rebuilt and that year produced about 250 tons of pig. Then the production of pig-iron ceased at Erie. The principal reason for the discontinuance grew out of the abundance of scrap-iron then available here. Literally hundreds of tons of inefficient or worthless mining and stamp-mill machinery had been brought into the country, and discarded or abandoned; the freight on it across the plains having ranged from ten to twenty-five cents per pound. But in the meantime smelting of iron ore had been resumed in this city. In the winter of 1862-63 Tarr & Cushman, owners of the "Denver Foundry," were producing a good quality of gray pig-iron for fine castings, from Colorado ore, which yielded in their little furnace about thirty-three per cent. of iron. They were also making in considerable quantities a harder and coarser quality for stamp-mill castings.

Before the close of 1860 there were a score of small establishments in Denver that could be classed as manufacturing, the more important of them being the few iron-working concerns; the others were of blacksmiths, wagon-makers, "cabinet-makers," carpenters, saddlers, and so on through a category that will readily suggest itself to the reader. With but few exceptions only hand-labor was employed, and the bulk of the business was of repair work; as attempts to produce new articles were confined to about half of the occupations. The foundries and machine shops depended almost wholly on the mining towns for their livelihood.

Brewing was another business ranking as manufacturing that had an early beginning in Denver. The first brewery was built early in 1860, by James Endlich, on the east side of Tenth street, between Lawrence and Curtis. It was a small concern, but survivors of that period still recall with pleasant reflections the quality of its beer. The present large "Milwaukee Brewery" was an outgrowth of Endlich's little pioneer establishment, which later passed to Salomon, Tascher & Company, who continued the business.

The miller was also among Denver's pioneer manufacturers, and from his beginning produced an excellent quality of flour, though the early mills were quite different affairs from the two huge establishments now engaged in that business. John W. Smith brought Denver's first flour-making machine (and also the first in Colorado) when he came here in 1860. It was a small portable buhr grist mill with which he made in that year the first flour and corn meal produced in Colorado. In 1865 Smith erected in "West Denver" a rather large steam flour mill the fuel for which was wood at twenty-five dollars a cord. Disposing of this a year or so later, he built another and much larger mill which he operated by water power obtained from the Union Ditch Company's hydraulic canal that had been constructed in "West Denver" in 1864, and taking water from the Platte river some distance above the town. In 1874 Smith built still another and still larger mill—the Excelsior Mill—still in operation at Eighth and Lawrence streets and which in 1879 he sold to J. K. Mullen who later built the present great Hungarian Mills. Another pioneer milling firm was that of Whittemore & Company which, in the autumn of 1864, had built a mill on the "West Denver" hydraulic, and began grinding flour from Colorado wheat about as soon as water was turned into the ditch. That season's crop was not a large one, and harvesting had been rather late.


The J. S. Brown & Bro. Mercantile Company's building at Eighteenth and Wynkoop streets.

The pioneer conditions in Denver and Colorado were discouraging to the early efforts of manufacturers. Every movement was attended by extraordinary expense, the heaviest of which was the cost of transportation—getting materials into Denver, or into the Territory, and then getting the finished products out to the customers, most of whom were located in places rather difficult of access. These circumstances naturally and necessarily circumscribed the pioneer manufacturers.

The coming of railroads in 1870 greatly relieved the transportation situation, but there was no marked expansion of manufacturing in Denver until later in that decade. In 1870 John W. Smith and John Winterbottom built and began operating a rather large woolen mill making rough flannels, blankets and yarns; their building having been on the south side of Larimer street, near the "mill ditch" in "West Denver." But the business did not permanently prove profitable. Conditions of 1873 embarrassed it, and in 1877 it was discontinued. This was, we believe, the first and only woolen mill in Colorado. The machine shops and flour mills at that time were the more important manufacturing interests. In January, 1871, Baxter B. Stiles sent a few sacks of "Rocky Mountain Flour" to the Southern Hotel at St. Louis. The hotel turned it over to the St. Louis Board of Trade; the Board sold it at auction for $460 and passed the money to charities. The price it brought was probably the highest for which any equal quantity of breadstuffs was ever sold.

The value of manufactures in Denver in 1871 was about $800,000; and they consisted of foundry and machine work, flour, carriages and wagons, boots and shoes, saddlery and harness, lumber and planing mill products, blacksmith's work, beer, soap, cigars, native jewelry, and so forth.

In the autumn of 1874 an important and notable addition was made to the city's manufacturing interests, in the removal hither from Black Hawk of A. G. Langford & Company's Colorado Iron Works; citizens of Denver having subscribed money sufficient to pay for ample ground for the establishment. Langford & Company, whom we have already mentioned as having been the pioneer founders and machinists here in 1860, had later removed their shop to Black Hawk and named it "Colorado Iron Works." Since then the establishment has had a remarkable development, though it long since passed to its present ownership in which John W. Nesmith is principal.

In 1878 another important addition was made, but was unfortunately permitted three years later to withdraw from the city. Some years previous to that time William Faux had established a rolling mill at Pueblo, but had become dissatisfied with the situation, facilities and prospects there. Through the instrumentality of F. J. Ebert, W. G. Sprague and other citizens of Denver he was induced to remove his mill to this city, a substantial subsidy having been raised for him by subscription. The mill was located near the tracks of the Kansas Pacific railroad, in the northern part of the city and near the old fair grounds. It was a very good mill and did a good business while here, rolling a large part of the rails used in constructing the Denver & South Park railroad. After the iron and steel works were established near Pueblo, the company owning them bought Faux's plant and moved the machinery down there, which, so far as Denver was concerned, ended the career of her first and only rolling mill.

The opening of the railroad era in Denver's history had brought, of course, great relief to every

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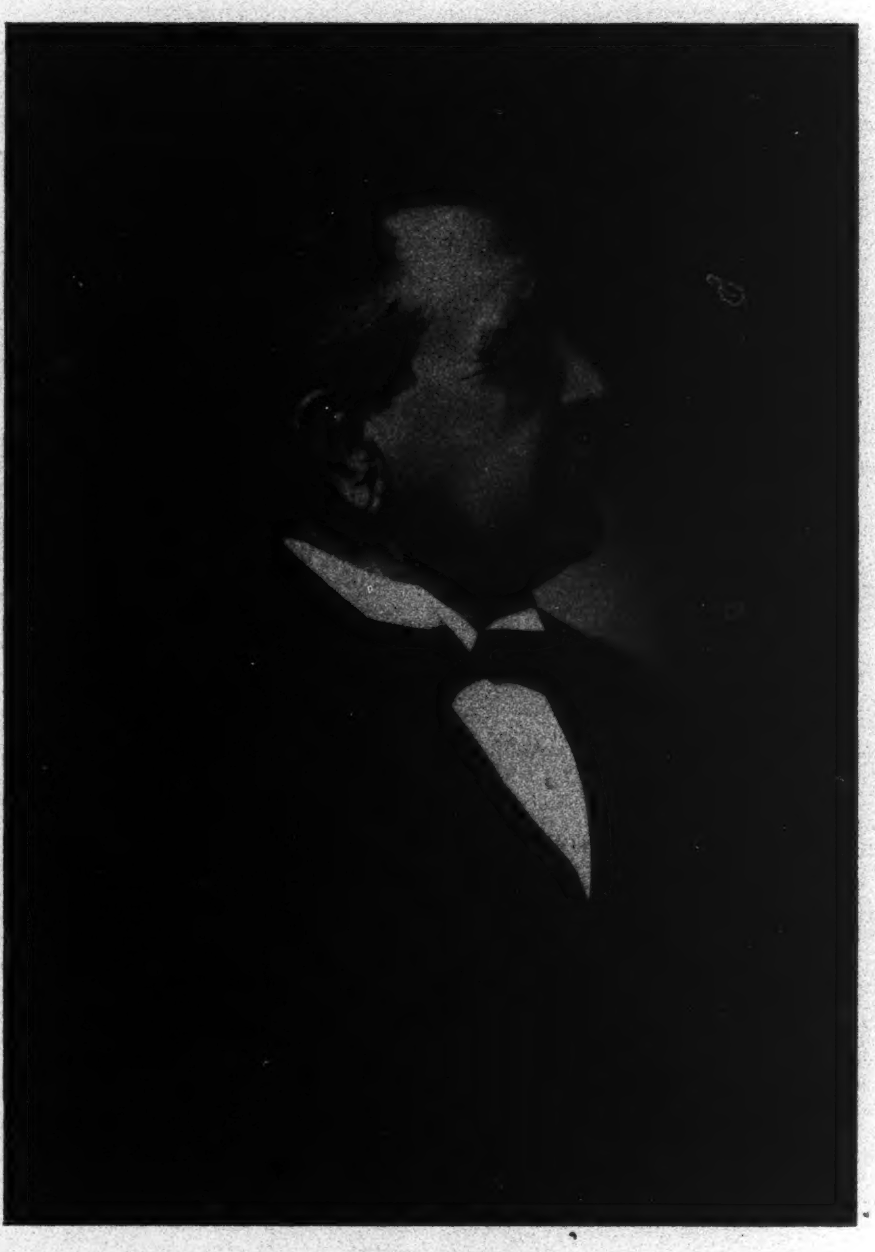
John W. Nesmith, descendant of an old Scotch family that traces its lineage back to the Thirteenth Century, was born near Chillicothe, O., in 1834. Endowed with a strong preference for mechanics, he qualified himself in youth and early manhood as a machinist of the first rank. He came to Colorado in the spring of 1860 for the purpose of erecting and superintending for a St. Louis company a stamp mill at the Gregory Diggings, where he was later engaged in mining and milling for several years, and where he also later became interested in the foundry and machine shop of Langford & Co., which had been established at Denver in 1860 and subsequently removed to Black Hawk; having then been named the Colorado Iron Works.

Mr. Nesmith was elected to represent Gilpin county in the upper house of the Territorial Legislature and served during the sessions of 1868 and 1870. In 1874 he became identified with the Denver & South Park railroad, and when part of its lines had been built was appointed its General Superintendent, as which he most efficiently served several years. In the meantime the Colorado Iron Works had been removed back to Denver, and in 1876 incorporated. In 1879 Mr. Nesmith resigned from the South Park railroad, bought an interest in the Iron Works, and became superintendent and general manager of the concern which was then a comparatively small one. Since that time his connection with it has been continuous, and since that time its growth has also been continuous until it has become one of the most important manufactories of mining machinery in the country. The company, of which he has been President since 1885, has built most of the large smelters between Helena, Mont., and the city of Mexico, and many in foreign countries; and its great development and success with its products have been chiefly due to his sagacity, judicious management, and to his knowledge and skill as an inventor, a designer, and a metallurgist.

Mr. Nesmith, as the reader will have learned from this note and other contents of this volume, has long been intimately associated with the progress of Colorado and of Denver, and they have profited in large degree by his indomitable will and never-ceasing energy, and by the fame the products of his great establishment have given both. All his interests are here, and here he has attained the success so justly due men possessing his sterling integrity and with a career so honorable as his.

An expert in the chemistry and metallurgy, as well as in mechanical processes, of smelting and otherwise dealing with precious metal ores, Mr. Nesmith is a recognized authority on blast furnace and other construction and practices as applied to the reduction of such minerals. From his youth he has been an untiring student. His education, began in public schools, was supplemented by a term or two at the Illinois Wesleyan University, but has chiefly been self-acquired. In his later chosen profession of civil and mining engineer, he practiced in Gilpin county and vicinity from 1868 to 1874; and in this profession he has few, if any, superiors. He is a member of the National Association of Mining Engineers, of the Denver Society of Civil Engineers, and of the Colorado Scientific Society of Denver.—J. C. S.



John W. Nesmith.

kind and manner of business; and the railways are to be credited with having stimulated many new or enlarged enterprises. But both manufacturing and commercial undertakings received a serious check between 1875 and 1885 from the railroad practices of that period. Those were the years of the pooling system the abuses of which eventuated in the Congressional legislation known as the Inter-State Commerce law. In those times railroad influences were against the development of manufacturing in Colorado, because the direct tendency of home production would have been adverse to the interests of the railways making the long haul of goods manufactured east of the Missouri river. These interests were unquestionably serious hindrances to the rapid development of manufacturing in Denver, and made it a slow process. Yet, in the larger sense, it may be said to date from 1880, notwithstanding the difficulties it encountered. Down to that time, and aside from milling, the majority of the manufacturing establishments, none of them very large, had continued to find much the greater part of their employment in restoring the worn or disabled products of distant makers. The local practice in the later of those years of including smelter out-put in the statistics of manufacturing rendered the figures uncertain as to manufacturing, proper. But it is certain that the aggregate value of Denver-made manufactures in 1880-85 was between five and six million dollars annually.

Present plant of the Western Chemical Company at Bayaud and South Seventh streets.

The commercial interests were less hampered by the railroad practices to which we have referred, though the tendency was to restrict trade to the local field. The products of distant places constituted much the larger part of stocks carried, and freight charges figured as part of original cost however high they may have been. But this forbade extended competition with markets more favorably circumstanced in freight rates. However, we find that in 1886 Denver's mercantile trade had risen to more than $14,000,000, and the value of

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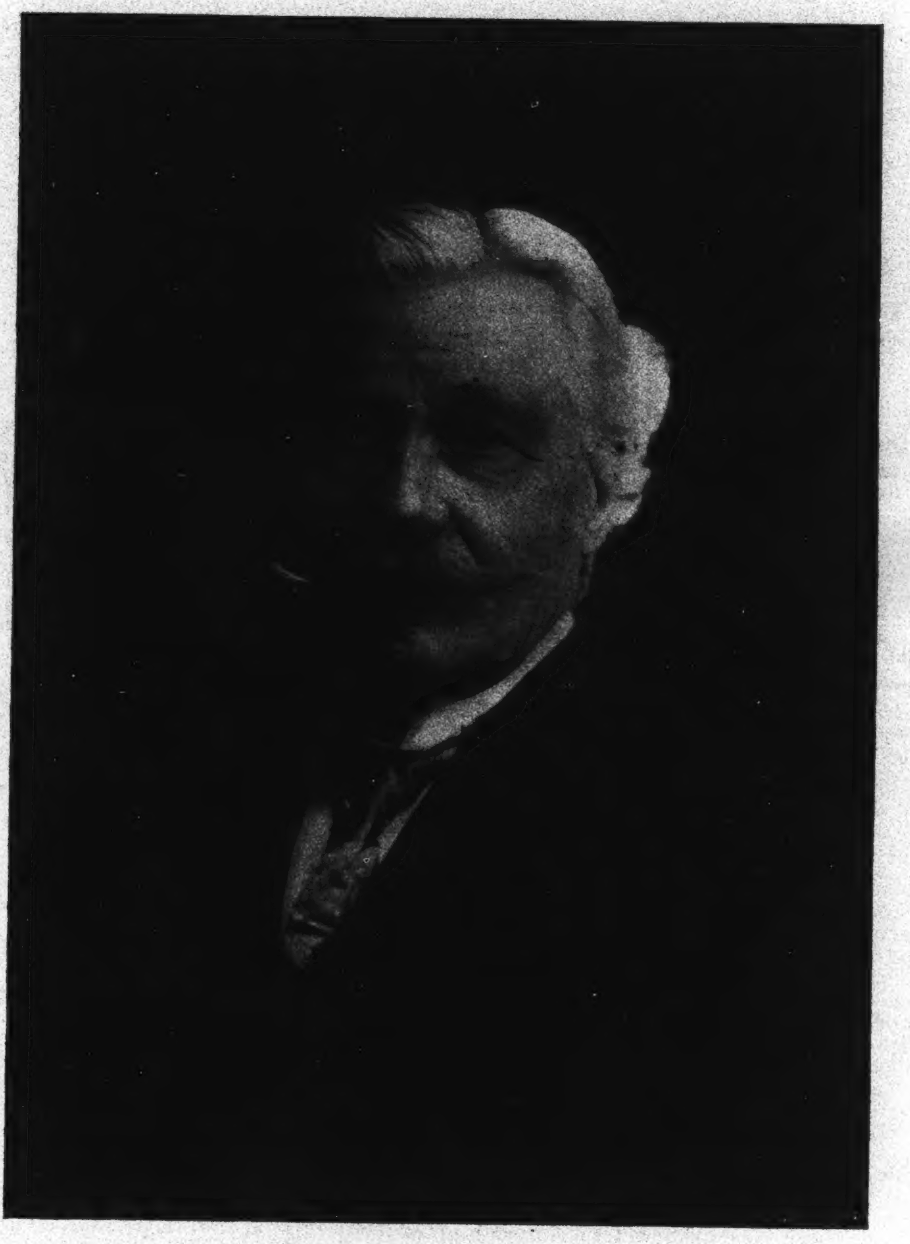
Max Kuner, President of the Kuner Pickle Co., one of the important industrial establishments in Denver, was born in Lindau, Bavaria, December 4, 1824. Educated in the public schools of Lindau, he learned the business of a watchmaker; completing his training therein in Switzerland. At the age of twenty-one he was for a short time in military service, but "drawing lucky number," he was released. Going to Nimes in Southern France, he worked at his business, and in October, 1847, in company with three brothers, emigrated to America; landing at New Orleans.

Proceeding to Vicksburg, Miss., Mr. Kuner found employment as a watchmaker, and in 1852 became a partner in the business, which was a successful one until 1861 when the outbreak of the civil war interrupted everything. After the surrender of Vicksburg he found his store plundered and burned, and himself financially ruined. Energy and good fortune later placed him on his feet, but in 1872 he sold his business in Vicksburg and removed to St. Louis; the conditions in Mississippi having been made intolerable by the evils of "carpet-bagger" and negro rule.

At St. Louis Mr. Kuner engaged in the manufacture of vinegar, but with limited success. In 1878 the Globe Pickle Co., of St. Louis and Chicago, was organized with him as Vice President, and manager of the Chicago branch. In 1886 he sold his interest in that company and removed to Denver and assumed the management of what is now the Kuner Pickle Co., but at that time a very small concern. By thorough knowledge of the business and close attention to it he has made the Kuner Pickle Co. the largest and best-known concern of the kind west of the Missouri river, and one of the very important industries of Denver. For several years a Director of the Chamber of Commerce, he established the manufacturers' exhibit now maintained in the Chamber Building.—J. C. S.



Max Kuner.

her manufactures, including smelter out-put, to more than $20,000,000. But, in these commercial figures there was considerable duplication between wholesaling and retailing, and in those of manufacturing the out-put of the smelters was improperly included.

In 1889-90 there were several important additions to Denver's manufacturing industries. A large cotton-mill which has had a very successful career, an extensive paper mill capable of supplying printing stock for all the newspapers in this region, a fiber mill, a boot and shoe factory, together with several small concerns were established at that time. There was a rapid expansion in the business of all manufactories in Denver up to the panic period, when it suffered in common with every other interest. The revival was slow but steady, and within the last two or three years has been of a very substantial character that has placed the general business far in advance of any position it had previously occupied.

In common with others who have endeavored in recent times to properly present a summary of the latter-day extent of manufacturing in Denver, the writer was handicapped by the lack of reports, statistics, and so forth, bearing on the subject, and of known accuracy. Such information is not within reach, nor does it yet exist in any aggregated form, nor in any other capable of being reduced to an approximately exact presentation. The details of the census of 1900 had not been worked out at the time our record closed, but we had received a preliminary bulletin giving some general results in manufacturing in the State of Colorado in the census year that ended June 1st. Our local Superintendent of that census alleged that he had reason for complaining about the reluctance of Denver manufacturers to respond to his canvassers' inquiries, and therefore there will be some doubt about the accuracy of census returns when they shall have been finally analyzed.

The statistics of the bulletin referred to above are of little value for our purposes, and the small value they might have possessed is impaired by the smelters having been included among manufacturing establishments. In the census of 1890 they were treated separately. They stand as the conspicuous labor-employing industries in the city, but their relation to mining warranted our accounts of them appearing in a preceding chapter dealing with various matters associated with mining.

Chester Stephen Morey, President of the C. S. Morey Mercantile Company, was born in Dane county, Wis., March 3, 1847. His parents owned a primitive farm in that then new country and lived in a small log cabin; and there, in a region prodigal in little but hard work and a great deal of it, he lived until he was fifteen years old, attending the country district school in winter and working on the farm the remainder of the year. In 1862 a grave financial misfortune befell the family. The father, enthusiastic for the construction of a railway, had earlier mortgaged his farm and invested the money in stock of a proposed road, the Company had become bankrupt, and in that year the farm was sold to pay the debt. The family then removed to Modena, Buffalo county, Wis., where another farm was entered and the life of labor resumed.

Soon thereafter came what appeared to be the culmination of the struggling family's misfortunes. In January, 1864, under calls for volunteers, the Modena settlement's quota was four men. To avoid the impending draft that probably would take heads of families, young Morey and three of his schoolmates, all under eighteen years of age, enlisted in Company I, Thirty-sixth Regiment Wisconsin Volunteers. In camp at Madison he was prostrated by camp disease, but after his recovery he joined his regiment in June. It was then engaged in the bloody work around Petersburg, Virginia, and young Morey found that two of his schoolmates had already been killed, and the third wounded. On the second day after his arrival his regiment engaged the enemy in a fierce battle and was repulsed with heavy loss, the young recruit having his knapsack shot from his back, and his belt severed by a bullet which lodged in his bayonet scabbard. He took part in several of the ensuing engagements in front of Petersburg and then was again the victim of camp illness. He was sent to City Point and from there to Emory hospital in Washington, where he remained until November. In the meantime, in filling Wisconsin's quota under another call for troops, his father had been drafted and had been assigned to a regiment in Sherman's army. The father was in "the march to the sea," and soon afterward died at Savannah. Upon his recovery and discharge from the Washington hospital, young Morey re-joined his regiment and participated in the tremendous battles that followed in Virginia during the closing months of the war; was on the field of Appomattox when General Lee surrendered, and in the final grand review at Washington. He had been promoted to be a corporal, and subsequently received the brevet rank of Lieutenant for gallantry in action, though still a mere boy in age.

When mustered out of service Mr. Morey's personal resources consisted of about $200 saved from his pay as a soldier, and his father's death required him to assume management of the neglected farm and the care and support of the family. Through the winter of 1865-66 he attended school at Waterloo, Wis., and the next winter and spring at the High School of Portage, in that State, paying for his board by sawing wood mornings and evenings for a relative who kept a hotel in that town. During the winter of 1867-68 he attended a business college in Chicago at which he received training for the business career he had resolved upon following. This he began at the foot of the ladder in the spring of 1868, first as a porter and a few weeks later at clerical work, in a retail grocery in Chicago. In July of that year he engaged as a commercial traveller for the Chicago wholesale

C. S. Morey.

The returns for Denver are embodied in the report for the State, but as they include smelter statistics they are of small value even for comparative purposes. However, they follow here and are given for what they may prove to be worth:

ITEMS.	1900.	1890.	Per Ct. of Inc.
Number of establishments	1,474	762	93
Capital	$30,883,046	$16,811,868	83
Wage earners, average number	10,926	9,283	17
Total wages	$6,799,476	$6,653,585	2
Miscellaneous expenses	$2,409,785	$1,340,868	79
Cost of materials used	$24,572,199	$14,216,549	72
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	$41,368,698	$29,240,747	41

The census reports with which we are here dealing, show that a very large proportion of manufacturing in the State is centered in Denver and Pueblo; the Arkansas valley metropolis having three large smelters and the great steel works of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. The figures for Pueblo, corresponding to those above for Denver and including smelters are as follows:

ITEMS.	1900.	1890.	Per. Ct. of Inc.
Number of establishments	241	102	136
Capital	$12,374,248	$1,278,792	867
Wage earners, average number	4,911	937	424
Total wages	$3,044,280	$629,759	383
Miscellaneous expenses	$577,501	$92,792	522
Cost of materials used	$22,589,669	$999,966	2,159
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	$30,795,481	$2,374,631	1,196

The relation that manufacturing in Denver and Pueblo bears to all that is done in the State is shown by these census returns to be as follows:

	Denver.	Pueblo.	The State.
No. works	1,474	241	3,570
Capital	$30,883,046	$12,374,248	$62,825,472
Employes	10,926	4,911	24,725
Wages	$6,799,476	$3,044,280	$15,146,667
Cost material	$24,572,199	$22,589,669	$66,886,016
Value product	$41,368,698	$30,795,481	$102,830,137

These figures credit Denver with about forty per cent. of the manufacturing establishments, more than forty per cent. of workmen engaged, nearly fifty per cent. of the capital invested, and upward

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grocery firm of Sprague, Warner & Co., and then entered upon his very successful business career. He remained with that firm until his health became seriously impaired in the autumn of 1871; and for its benefit he came to Colorado in May, 1872.

Having accumulated a considerable cash capital, he formed a partnership with W. L. Beardsley in the cattle business in southern Colorado, and rode the range in supervision of their enterprise, which proved a profitable one. In 1875, his health having been restored, he resumed his relations with Sprague, Warner & Co. and established his headquarters in Denver; his very successful operations extending over a large territory. On January 1, 1881, he became a member of the firm; his accumulating resources having been augmented by fortunate investments in Leadville real estate in 1878. Sprague, Warner & Co. then established a branch house in Denver under the direction and management of Mr. Morey which continued until 1884, when it was incorporated as the C. S. Morey Mercantile Company, of which he became, as he now is, President, manager and controlling owner; and which, also, is now one of the large mercantile establishments in the west.

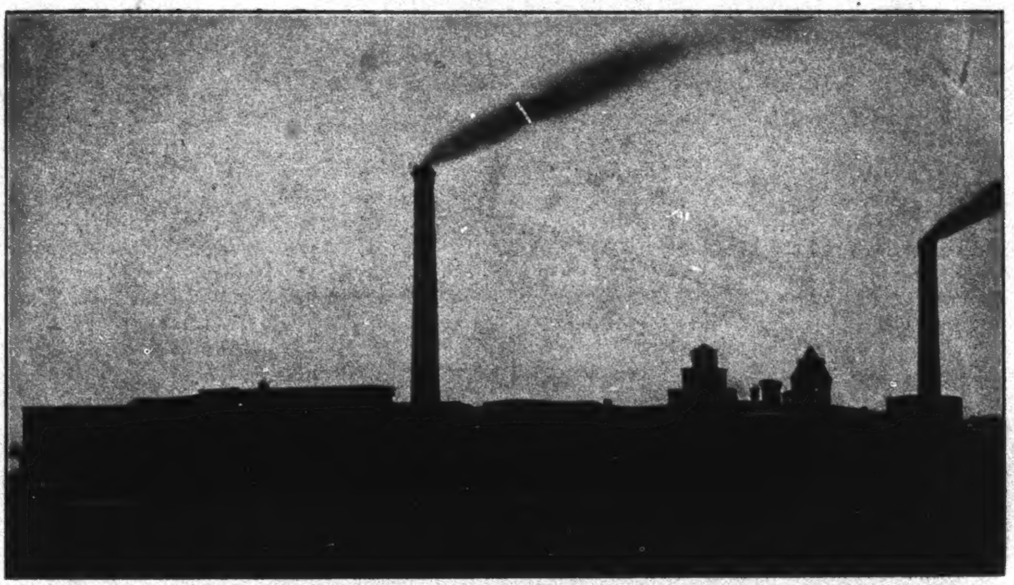
In 1891 Mr. Morey was elected a member of the Board of Education of District No. 1 and served three years. He had long been considering the expediency of adding a manual training school to the Denver public school system, and brought the matter before the Board in January, 1892, by the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:

"Ordered, That a special committee be appointed to investigate and consider the subject of a Manual Training High School, with a view of adding a department of that kind to the schools of this district, and report to the Board, if desirable, a plan for the establishment of such school."

As members of this committee the Board appointed Mr. Morey and James B. Grant, and the former instituted a thorough investigation of the practical side of the proposition. At his personal expense he visited several eastern States in which such schools were conducted, and carefully observed their methods of instruction and the mechanical appliances with which they were equipped. These investigations enabled him on behalf of his committee to make a report that was so satisfactory and conclusive, that the Board of Education accepted it unanimously on May 27, 1892; and as a direct result of that well-considered report, the Manual Training High School became a part of Denver's public school system.

Mr. Morey has long been an active and generous friend of the charitable and benevolent institutions in the city, and for several years until 1899 was President of the Charity Organization Society, an association comprising about sixteen organizations. During the same period he also served as President of the Society's Board of Trustees, a position he still fills and in which he is, to a great extent, the leader in providing and obtaining the funds annually disbursed by the Society, amounting to $35,000 or $40,000. His services in this and kindred directions for good constitute an important part of the history of the charitable and benevolent organizations of Denver. Of his personal benevolences to victims of life's misfortunes, quietly bestowed in ways and at times known only to the recipients and himself, the limitations would be hard to define.

On December 12, 1877, Mr. Morey married Miss Anna L. Clough, daughter of Mr. John A. Clough who removed from Chicago and located in Denver in 1870. Two children, John W., and Mary L., were born to them, and are living. Mrs. Morey died February 27, 1890.—J. C. S.



Rocky Mountain Paper Company's Paper Mill.

of forty per cent. of value of the total products. They accord Pueblo twenty per cent., each, of capital invested and workmen engaged, and thirty per cent. of product value; smelter figures being involved in the reports for each city, and, as we have said, rendering them of little value as statistics of manufacturing, proper.

However, they do in a general way, indicate a rapid growth in manufacturing in both cities. In Denver no smelters have been added since 1890; yet the number of manufacturing establishments has been increased ninety-three per cent. since that time. But exact deductions from the other data are barred by the presence of smelter statistics for 1900 and their exclusion from the figures used for 1890.

In reviews of the year's business published by our daily newspapers at the close of 1900, after their established annual custom, statistics of Denver manufacturing were given but, having been from necessity largely estimates, in which wide disagreements of figures appear, we deemed it inexpedient to incorporate them here. However, while this work was not intended to be statistical in character, and while it has not in its other departments entered far into figures or tabulated statements in detail, a comprehensive summary of the city's manufacturing and commercial business at the close of the Nineteenth Century might well have been made of record in a convenient form, had definite information of known accuracy been available for that purpose.

The preliminary statistics of the census of 1900 indicate a growth of manufacturing in the State at large so gratifying that a summary of results is included here. In 1890 there were, exclusive of smelters, 1,518 manufacturing establishments in Colorado; in 1900 there were 3,570, including smelters; an increase of 135 per cent. Invested capital, 1890, $26,651,840; 1900, $62,825,472. Wage-earners employed, 1890, 15,016; 1900, 24,725; a gain of sixty-four per cent. Total of wages paid, 1890, $9,872,405; in 1900, $15,146,667. Value of products, 1890, $42,480,205; in 1900, $102,830,137; an increase of 142 per cent.

In the foregoing figures for the State, the smelters are included in all that pertain to the year 1900, but not in those for the year 1890; and therefore made apparent results in 1900 misleading. But deducting smelter totals from the various totals given for the State, we derive the following: number of manufacturing establishments in 1890, 1,518; in 1900, 3,559; increase 2,041, or 130 per cent. Invested capital, 1890, $26,661,840; in 1900, $37,947,448; increase $11,285,608, or more than forty per cent. Wage-earners employed, 1890, 15,016; in 1900, 20,999; increase, 5,983, or nearly forty per cent. Wages paid, 1890, $9,872,405; in 1900, $12,440,326; increase, $2,567,921, or more than twenty-five per cent. Total value of manufactured products, 1890, $42,480,205; in 1900, 58,204,832; increase, $15,724,627, or nearly forty per cent.

Next to the smelters among the industries of Denver stand the iron-working establishments, several of which, such as the Colorado Iron Works, are chiefly engaged in the production of mining machinery, appliances and tools. About 1,200 men are engaged in these several shops, some half-dozen of which are large concerns that have originated and developed most of the many ingenious devices they produce. Denver-made mining machinery predominates in all the mines of the west and is exported to foreign countries in large quantities. Boilers, engines, and machinery for other purposes are among the out-put, but the demands of the mines afford the greater volume of business. Next in importance to these, in iron-working, are the shops of the Denver & Rio Grande, and the Colorado & Southern railroads, and those of the Pullman Company, of each of which some account is given in our history of the railroads. Employing a relatively large proportion of high-priced labor, such establishments are very important manufacturing concerns, though they are not usually considered in that sense. In the lighter manufactures of iron, the Denver Wire and Iron Works company, producing various kinds of architectural and ornamental iron work and a great variety of "wire goods," has grown from a small beginning to one of the important manufacturing organizations in the city.

Denver Fire Clay Company's manufactory at Blake and Thirty-first streets.

Of flour mills there are several, but the two conspicuous ones are the "Hungarian" and the "Crescent." These with their attendant elevators would rank as large concerns anywhere in the country outside of Minneapolis. They consume much Colorado-grown wheat and draw further supplies from Kansas and Nebraska. The value of flour made in Denver in 1900 is stated to have exceeded $2,000,000.

Perhaps the most suggestive, and being one of the more important, of the city's manufactories, is the Overland Cotton Mill producing unprinted cotton cloth. It is a large mill built, as we have already mentioned, about ten years ago. In recent times it has enjoyed great prosperity, and its suggestiveness lies in the fact that it has proved the expediency of manufacturing cotton goods at Denver, and has firmly established itself as the pioneer in that industry in Colorado.

The paper mills and sulphite fiber mill, not fardistant neighbors of the cotton mill, have had rather trying times in the past, but their acquisition by a new and strong company, of which something is told in the course of this review, promises to raise them to a very important position among our industries and to extend their market far beyond the limits of Colorado.

Manufacture of fire-clay products, of pottery, and of brick has become of large proportions, yet is capable of a much greater development, because of the excellence of the almost unlimited quantities of raw materials. The fire-clays are of superior quality, and the market for products thereof is already extended far beyond Colorado. In this the Denver Fire Clay Company has been the principal agency, and the out-put at its large factory constitutes a surprising variety of fire-clay products.

As we have stated, brewing began in Denver within less than two years after the first cabin had been built. The business is now represented by several breweries; two of them, the Zang Company's and the "Milwaukee," ranking as establishments of the first class in size and capacity.

A glass factory producing flint-glass merchandise was built in the Valverde suburb in ante-panic times, but subsequently had to put out its fires.

Recently this establishment resumed business under favorable circumstances and conditions. Opportunities for large operations in glass-making would seem to be unusually favorable in Denver and its immediate neighborhood.

Interior of machine room, Rocky Mountain Paper Company's mill.

Continuing these references to separate lines of manufacturing would unduly encroach upon our pages, and also be foreign to our purpose. There are, as we have seen in the census report, nearly 1,500 separate concerns in Denver that are classified as manufacturing establishments, but under the census rules these figures included many small shops of one kind and another that would not in the common understanding be regarded as manufactories. Aside from these, the Denver manufactories range in size and importance from those we have specifically mentioned in the foregoing, down to small shops employing three or four persons. Their products are also widely varied.

Francis T. M. McEnery.
General Manager Rocky Mountain Paper Company.

Production of acids and other chemicals is a large and growing business, the great establishment engaged in it being that of the Western Chemical Company which, like most of Denver's manufactories, has grown from a small beginning. Preparation of condiments, pickles, and canned goods is another line of business that has largely developed, the Kuner Pickle Company being the more prominent of the concerns engaged in it. Adding to the list would include carriage and wagon-making, operations of planing mills, manufacture of cigars, clothing, overalls, furniture, harness and saddles, soap and many other industries that are making substantial progress.

To operate Denver's various manufacturing establishments, all told, in 1900, (including the smelters), as the reader has seen by the census report, required the services of an average of 10,928 persons classified as wage-earners. Furthermore, business in all branches of manufacturing is healthfully increasing, and is accompanied by feelings of confidence and a marked disposition to enlarge productive facilities and extend the fields of operations.

During the year 1900 several new establishments were added to Denver's group of manufactories, or provisions made for their appearance early in 1901. Among these are a manufactory of fuses and explosives, and others for producing, respectively, electric drills, pneumatic tools, steel chains, and steel-tired car-wheels. But the most important transaction of the year, and which was consummated about the time our record closed, was the consolidation of the Denver Paper Company's two mills with the mill of the Denver Sulphite Fiber Company and merging the properties in a new corporation, the "Rocky Mountain Paper Company," representing entirely new interests in the local manufacturing field. Of this new and strong organization, Thomas H. Savery, of Wilmington, Delaware, is President; W. W. Pusey, of the Pusey & Jones Shipbuilding Company of Wilmington, Vice President; Newell Martin, of New York,

Rocky Mountain Paper Company's Sulphite Fiber Mill.

Treasurer, and Francis T. M. McEnery, of Denver, General Manager. The other Directors and stockholders are principally Philadelphia and New York men, but several Denver capitalists are associated with them. The company's capital stock is fixed at $750,000 common, and $600,000 preferred; with $100,000 of the latter in reserve. The properties it acquired had been in the hands of Mr. McEnery as Receiver for several years in consequence of 1893. They were built about ten years ago in the era of high prices, and represented an outlay equal in amount to the preferred stock of the new company. They have been in continuous operation, but their complete rehabilitation, reequipment and doubling of capacity are to immediately follow, to make them the largest producers of papers between the Mississippi and the Pacific. This transaction in Denver's manufacturing circles is not only the most important in recent times, but for several years.

As we remarked at the beginning of this chapter, Denver may not properly be regarded as a great commercial city, yet the volume of trade grows larger year by year. The field of operations by its wholesaling establishments embraces Colorado, much of New Mexico, and Utah and Wyoming. We shall not encumber these pages with an enumeration of the kinds of goods sold, because as a jobbing center the city provides for all the ordinary wants of mankind. In doing so the facilities, experience and capital of many large establishments are employed. Such houses as that of the Morey Mercantile Company, the Brown Mercantile Company and several others, dealing in the varied merchandise collectively known as "groceries," and as that of W. A. Hoover & Company wholesaling drugs, would be conspicuous in cities much larger than Denver. In hardware, and drygoods, and footwear, and so on, the aggregate annual business requires ten figures for numerical expression. Yet, there is a consciousness that it is not so large as it should be, and that Denver has not yet become the distributing center for these classes of merchandise that she should be. An example of what is possible to be done toward making this city such a distributing center, is presented in the operations of the Continental Oil Company, which is a merchandising and not a manufacturing corporation. From its headquarters in this city it directs the distribution of a large proportion of all petroleum products consumed in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Mon-

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William A. Hover, senior member of the firm of W. A. Hover & Co., wholesale druggists, was born at Mazomanie, Wis., March 9, 1856, and there led the quiet and uneventful life of a village lad. Having been graduated in the local High School when he was about seventeen, he entered the University of Wisconsin as a freshman in 1873, and was there graduated with honors, taking the degree of Bachelor of Mining Engineering. The succeeding year was spent in the Columbia College School of Mines, whence he came directly to Colorado, locating at Lake City where he engaged in assaying. Removing to Denver in 1878, he here became associated with J. O. Bosworth, a retail druggist, under the firm name of Bosworth & Hover. A year later he purchased Bosworth's interest and established the firm of W. A. Hover & Co., which later discontinued retailing and entered upon its present business of exclusive wholesaling. —J. C. S.

William A. Hover.

tana. Some of Denver's manufacturers, especially the makers of mining machinery, cover the same field and a great deal more. While it is not probable that other commercial operations may be extended so far from this point, yet it would seem, considering Denver's geographical situation, that she should and will become the commercial metropolis of the larger part of the great region embraced in those States and Territories.

The wholesale commercial interests have had much with which to contend in reaching their present magnitude, the greater obstacle having been presented by unfavorable freight-rates—a long-existing bone of contention. But notwithstanding this obstacle, the jobbing business of the city has significantly increased in recent years, and in 1899 and 1900 several large structures were erected to accommodate this increasing business. It is to be remembered that in the earlier years and even to within five or six last past, the attention and energies of our people as a whole were, it may be said, concentrated upon one occupation—that of mining. This unquestionably and naturally led to a lop-sided development of resources, opportunities and possibilities. There has been a change in this, and the results are seen in the increasing interest in manufacturing, in commercial affairs, and in agriculture. An indication of the ratio of increase of commercial business in Denver is found in the fact that the total value of goods imported from foreign countries and brought here in bond for payment of duties was thirty per cent. greater in 1900 than in 1899.

DENVER WIRE & IRON WORKS CO

Present premises of the Denver Wire & Iron Works Company, northeast corner Fourteenth and Market streets.

The general retail business of the city is unusually large and, as we have already said, has given Denver the reputation of being, in proportion to population, an abnormally great retail market. Such establishments as that of the Denver Dry Goods Company—a name, by the way, not especially well adapted to a huge "department store"—of Daniels & Fisher, and others on Sixteenth street would be notable for their magnitude, and for quantity, quality and variety of stocks, in most places of double Denver's population. About all the needs and most of the fancies of men and women may readily be satisfied in the emporiums in the retailing district, and it is doubtful if there is in any city of corresponding size in this country a shopping thoroughfare more attractive, more animated, or thronged by greater numbers of people than our Sixteenth street on a pleasant day in the busy seasons.

It would not be worth while to attempt statistics of Denver's wholesale and retail commercial business, as data approximating accuracy are lacking. Even if that were not so, there would be much confusing duplication in reports of sales by wholesale of goods much of which was in turn handled and reported by those who retailed them. Of the value of mere estimates, the reader may judge from those that have been made of the volume of wholesale and retail trade in 1900. They range from $25,000,000 to $40,000,000.

The live-stock business and the packing-house industry have in recent years taken on large proportions in Denver, yet both are comparatively in their infancy. The Denver Union Stock Yards were established in a small way in 1886 in the northern part of the city at a point accessible by all the railroads entering the city. The yards now cover 105 acres and are demanding additional room. They now have capacity to daily handle about 40,000 head of cattle, horses, swine and sheep. In the yard an Exchange building, a bank, and other facilities for the transaction of business are maintained, and in 1899 a new and commodious hotel was erected. At the Denver Stock Yards in 1899 there were received 283,430 head of cattle, 120,654 of hogs, 221,698 of sheep, and 10,286 of horses and mules, of an aggregate value of $10,349,351. In 1900 the figures were, for cattle, 239,500; hogs, 115,700; sheep, 306,019; horses and mules, 22,700; of a stated aggregate value of $10,047,894. Much of this stock was really in transit, the Denver yards having been the trading point between breeders and feeders, and purchasers for shipment to eastern markets. In cattle there was a decrease in 1900 from the business of 1899, chiefly due to the abnormal war demand for beef cattle in 1898 and 1899 that reduced stocks on the ranges. The increase in number of sheep handled reflects the remarkable expansion of the business of rearing and fattening young sheep in Colorado, for eastern markets; though but a part of such stock comes to the Denver yards.

The cause mentioned above also had an effect in packing house operations in 1900, slightly reducing the number of cattle and hogs slaughtered here. In 1899 the figures were, for cattle, 33,505; for hogs, 115,345; for sheep, 69,209. In 1900 for cattle, 27,783; hogs, 112,567; and for sheep, 72,634, with a stated market value of $3,146,000. Corn not being extensively grown in Colorado, the rearing of swine has not reached great proportions in the State. But the discovery that hogs eagerly devour the offal of the beet-sugar factories with which a little barley and alfalfa are mixed may lead to a large increase in pork products; barley being a grain to which the soil and climate of Colorado are very friendly, and alfalfa growing abundantly on irrigated land.

The consequences of the panic of 1893 have wholly disappeared from commercial circles, both of wholesaling and retailing. Many merchants were prostrated by that storm, and for several years the evidence was seen in numerous vacant business rooms. But now the numbers, extent and solidity of commercial business houses exceed anything previously known in the city's history.

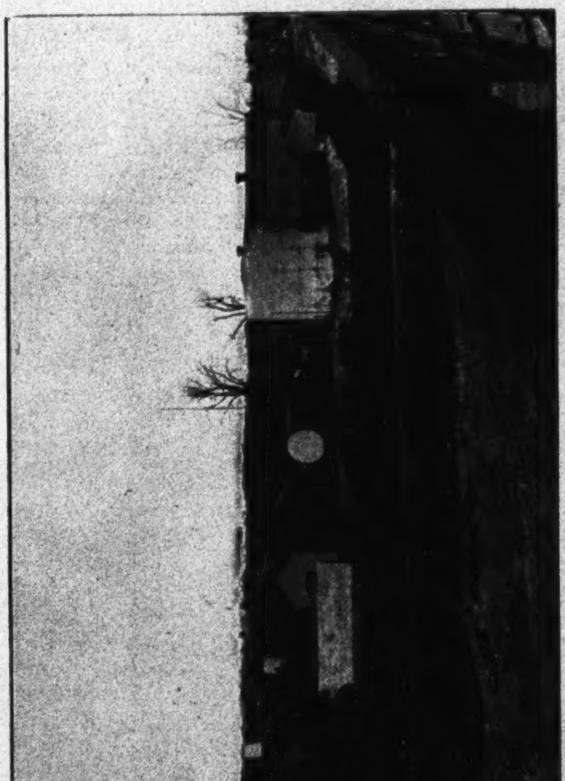
The great organization of business men in Denver is the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade; great in its influences and great in what it has accomplished for the progress and welfare of the city and State. The present organization is not the first one of the kind undertaken, but may be said to be the fourth. It is hard to realize that within two years after W. Green Russell and his party first made camp at the mouth of Cherry creek, a "chamber of commerce" was organized here; but the history of the city includes in its records the organization of a "Denver Chamber of Commerce" in the summer of 1860, by the business men of the town, who elected General F. J. Marshall President of the association. There was little for it to do, and in the next year it passed away through inanition. But the mere fact that such an organization was formed at that time and under the circumstances of that time is a significant incident in the Story of Denver.

C. S. Morey Mercantile Company's building, northwest corner Sixteenth and Wynkoop streets.

After that pioneer beginning and ending of commercial organization, there was no successor for several years. In the autumn of 1867, when the construction of the pioneer Denver Pacific Railway was undertaken by Denver men, one of the agencies called into existence to assist in what was a most difficult undertaking, was the "Denver Board of Trade," which was organized November 13, 1867, with the following-named officers: John W. Smith, President; John Pierce, First Vice President; Isaac Brinker, Second Vice President; Frank Palmer, Treasurer; Henry C. Leach, Secretary; who, with William M. Clayton, J. H. Morrison, F. Z. Salomon, J. M. Strickler, George Tritch, D. H. Moffat, Jr., R. E. Whitsitt and J. S. Brown constituted the Board of Directors. It was an useful means in accomplishing an important end, but after its specific purpose had been consummated its organization was not long perpetuated.

The next movement came thirteen years later when, on November 12, 1880, the "Merchants' Board of Trade" was organized by representative business men of the city. Joseph T. Cornforth was President; N. B. McCrary, Vice President; Lewis Matthews, Secretary; and A. W. Jones, Treasurer. It established and opened its headquarters in Henry C. Brown's building at the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets, where it attempted to inaugurate a system of "board trading." Market reports were received and posted, but through lack of interest in business of that kind, and greater lack of vitality in the organization, it did not have a sturdy growth. It was not an enterprise in which the general public was very much interested, and it lacked breadth of purpose. But its organization was continued until early in 1884 when it was merged in the new and now existing Chamber of Commerce.

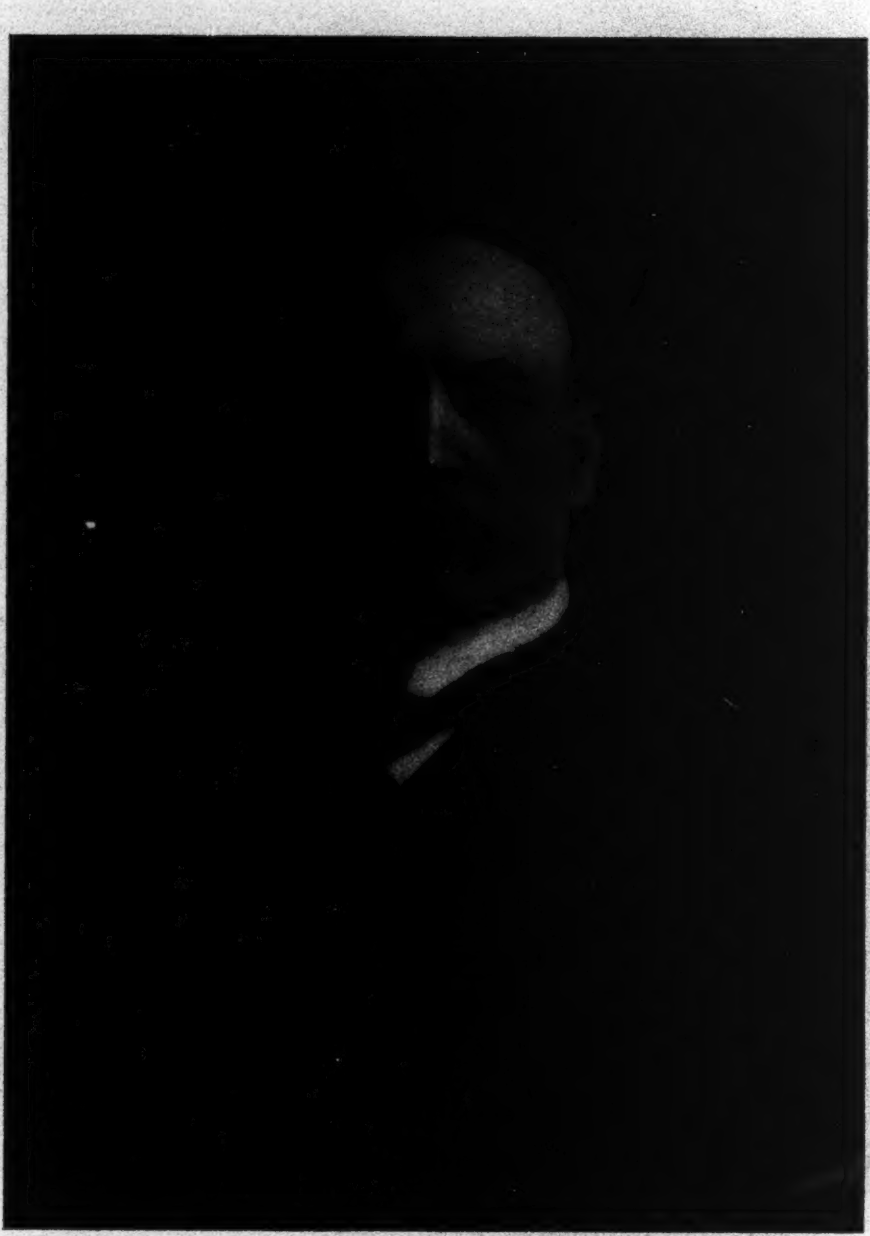
In 1880 the building of the Denver & New Orleans Railway, now incorporated in the Colorado & Southern road, had been determined on by Governor Evans and his associates. To give local encouragement to the great project the Governor made an effort to organize a new Board of Trade, with the further intention that it should become a permanent institution of the city. A meeting of citizens was held on January 29, 1881, at which some good and forceful speeches were made, and committees appointed to formulate plans upon which to found the proposed new body. But nothing effective came out of that movement and the railroad was built without the special co-operation of a Board of Trade.



Continental Oil Company's Tank Station and Storage Yard, Twenty-third street and South Platte river.

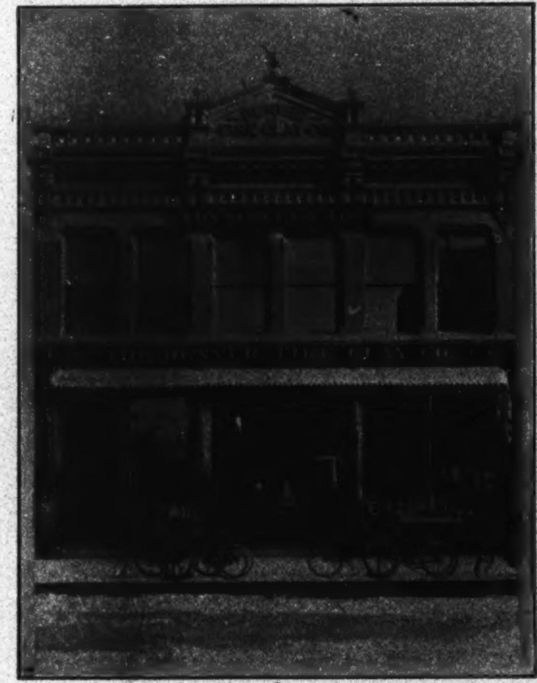
Three years later the present and permanent Chamber of Commerce was organized. A preliminary meeting called for that purpose was held on January 15, 1884, at the City Hall, at which committees were appointed to perfect the details of organization. This new movement was heartily supported by not only the commercial and manufacturing interests, but by the citizens generally. On March 24, 1884, the Chamber was incorporated by R. W. Woodbury, J. T. Cornforth, M. J. McNamara, J. F. Mathews, and C. F. Wilson, as the "Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade." The objects for which the body was created are thus stated in the articles of incorporation:

William R. Owen, General Manager of the Denver Dry Goods Company, was born in the town of Columbus, Wisconsin, January 3, 1852. Having attended the public school at Columbus until he was thirteen, he then set out to make his way in the business world, and was engaged as a clerk in stores at Racine, Portage and Fox Lake, Wisconsin, until 1875. In that year he came to Denver and entered the establishment of Daniels & Fisher where he remained three years, when he went to Leadville and began business on his own account, having been one of the pioneer merchants in the great carbonate camp, and also becoming a member of the Board of Aldermen in the first city government of Leadville. After five years of successful business there he sold his store to Daniels, Fisher & Co., and returning to Denver, again engaged in merchandising here for a short time. He then became connected with the M. J. McNamara Dry Goods Company and with which he continued until its business passed to Dennis Sheedy and Charles B. Kountze in the summer of 1893; becoming General Manager under the new ownership. In May, 1894, he joined in the organization and capitalization of the Denver Dry Goods Company that was practically the successor of the McNamara Company. Since then Mr. Owen has been the General Manager of the Denver Company's great establishment at Sixteenth and California streets.—J. C. S.



William R. Owen.

The objects for which the said corporation is formed are to promote the general prosperity of all the varied interests of the State of Colorado and especially those of the city of Denver and vicinity thereof; to procure, preserve and disseminate information in relation to commercial, financial and industrial affairs that may be of general interest and value; to secure uniformity in commercial laws and customs; to facilitate business intercourse, and to promote equitable principles, as well as the adjustment of contests and disputes in trade; to lease, erect or acquire, by purchase or otherwise, a suitable building or buildings, and all necessary real estate for the same, for the uses of the association.



Denver Fire Clay Company's retail store, 1742-46 Champa street.

The articles also named those who were to constitute the first Board of Directors: R. W. Woodbury, John Evans, J. T. Cornforth, Jacob Scherrer, Rodney Curtis, J. F. Brown, J. F. Mathews, M. J. McNamara, H. A. W. Tabor, C. B. Kountze, Nelson Hallock, Edward B. Light, and Charles F. Wilson. These Directors met on March 27th and organized by electing Roger W. Woodbury, President; M. J. McNamara and J. F. Mathews respectively First and Second Vice Presidents; Frank Hall, Secretary; and W. D. Todd, Treasurer. At that time the old "Merchants' Board of Trade" passed out of existence, its membership being merged into that of the new organization.

Much of the work of the Chamber is apportioned among its large number of efficient committees; there being at the present time Committees on Architecture and Arts, Agriculture and Horticulture, Beet Sugar, Coal and Iron, Commerce, Conventions and Excursions, Education, Entertainment, Irrigation, Law and Legislation, Live Stock and Packing and Wool and Wool-growing, Manufactures, Membership, Mines and Mining, Immigration and Statistics, Public Institutions and Improvements, Railroad Building, Streets and Parks and Boulevards, Stone and Marble, Auditing, House, and on Ways and Means.

The Chamber was also provided with several subordinate organizations or "exchanges," composed of members directly interested in the branches of business which these auxiliary bodies represented; and which were Real Estate, Produce, Live Stock, Lumber, Manufacturing, and Mining. After an experience of a year or two with these sub-organizations it was found that they did not accomplish the results anticipated, and were discontinued.

The Chamber had immediately prepared to place itself on a firm and lasting foundation by providing an appropriate home of its own, that would to some extent indicate the character and importance of the organization, and give strength and significance to membership in it. It was intended that the Chamber of Commerce should mean and be something more than a name. The city owned the then vacant building site on the northeast corner of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets, on which the

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Charles D. Cobb was born in the town of Columbus, Johnston county, Missouri, June 15, 1844. Educated in the public schools of his native place and in the Irving Institute at Tarrytown, N. Y., he came to Denver in 1863, and for several years thereafter was employed as a clerk in Denver jobbing houses. In 1867 he became associated with Col. Robert Wilson in the post-tradership and in government contracting at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, in which he continued until 1870 when he returned to Denver and organized a general fire insurance business covering Colorado, Wyoming, Utah and New Mexico. Since that time the management of this extended business has engaged the greater part of his attention, although he has been and continues interested in various other enterprises in Denver.

In 1880-84 Mr. Cobb was a member of the Board of Education for School District No. 1, and in 1885 when the Board of Supervisors was added to the city's legislative department, he was elected one of its members, and after two years of service in that position was nominated by the Democratic party as its candidate for Mayor of Denver, but was defeated by a small majority by William Scott Lee. Mr. Cobb participated in the organization of the Commercial National Bank and became its Vice President; also a participant in the organization of the Chamber of Commerce, he became a Director and Vice President of that body; one of the projectors of the Riverside Cemetery, he long served as its Secretary; and as a leader in the affairs of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows he has filled its various official positions including that of Grand Master of the State and that of representative of the Sovereign Grand Lodge.—J. C. S.

Charles D. Cobb.

Interior Denver Fire Clay Company's store, 1742-46 Champa street.

Chamber took a lease for ninety-nine years. Plans for the fine building now standing there were prepared in the summer of 1884, and on October 1st a contract for its construction was made with Peter Gumry, who later became Construction Superintendent of the State Capitol, and who perished in the destruction of his hotel in 1895. Gumry completed the edifice, which is three and one-half stories in height and built of lava and granite, in August of the next year; and on September 1, 1885, it was occupied by the Chamber, the meetings of which had theretofore been held in the City Hall police court room, in which, as we have earlier stated, the initial organization meeting was also held. On September 22nd the building was formally dedicated with somewhat elaborate ceremonies, and it may be truly said the career of influence and usefulness for the Chamber as outlined by the orators upon that occasion has been such as to justify all that was anticipated for it.

It is due Roger W. Woodbury to record here that it was largely through his instrumentality, energy, and enthusiasm that the Chamber was placed on a substantial and enduring basis; and, indeed it is not too much to say that he is its founder. It is an organization in which the true interests of the city receive more thorough and thoughtful consideration, and through which the desires of the people of Denver respecting important economic affairs are given more intelligent expression, than appear to be available by any other existing agency. It sometimes happens that those clothed with authority and over whom the Chamber has no control depart from its recommendations and advice; but the welfare of the community is not often well-served when that course is pursued. Since its organization the Chamber has been directly instrumental in originating and developing many local industries; in expanding the commercial trade of the city; in inducing, without misleading, immigration to the State; in successfully dealing with problems and abuses involved in rail transportation; in preventing imprudent, and in directing wise, management of municipal affairs; and in efficiently dealing with other important matters quite too many to be recounted here. Our Capitol building would not have been the magnificent edifice it is without the attention and influence of the Denver Chamber of Commerce; it founded our first free, public library; and it is questionable whether the great military post of the United States—Fort Logan—would have been located here, or anywhere in Colorado, had Denver been without this active and influential organization. Its last public service that has rank among its conspicuous achievements was the introduction of sugar-beet cultivation in the State, bringing with it the erection of several large sugar refineries in Colorado, and opening the way for a vast development of agricultural resources.

This innovation in Colorado agriculture followed the labors, instituted in 1897, of a committee of members of the Chamber consisting of Earl B. Coe, Chairman; Charles F. Wilson, W. A. Hover, I. N. Stevens, and J. F. Callbreath. In co-

W. A. Hover & Company's building, southwest corner of Fourteenth and Lawrence streets.

Office building of the Denver Gas & Electric Company, northeast corner Seventeenth and Tremont streets.

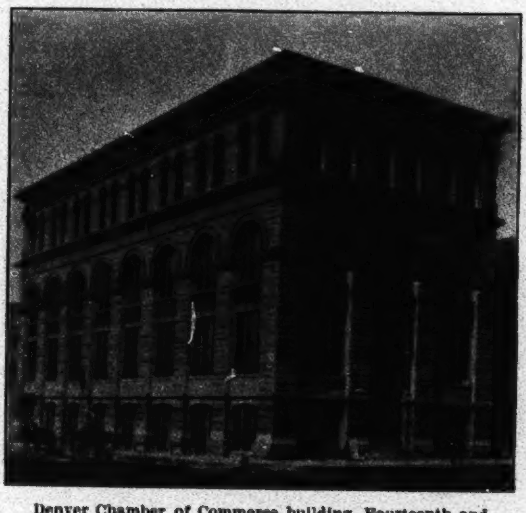
operation with the Colorado Agricultural College at Fort Collins, this committee introduced experimental cultivation of the sugar beet in several Colorado counties in 1898. These experiments proved that the acreage yield of beets from Colorado soil was about double the usual crop elsewhere; and practical tests made at the Grand Island, Nebraska, sugar refinery proved that Colorado beets carried an unusually large percentage of sugar. These results were followed in 1899 by the beginning of what promises to be a great agricultural industry in our State; and in the autumn of 1899 the first Colorado sugar was placed on the market by the pioneer refinery at Grand Junction.

Of the rapid development of the beet sugar industry in the State within two years, the facts have been presented in Chapter LI. Mr. Coe in an address recently delivered to one of the minor organizations of Denver business men thus related some of the initial circumstances that led to the introduction of sugar beet culture in Colorado:

"One day in the autumn of 1894 when the effects of the panic were still upon us, I was passing along Arapahoe street thinking of possible ways and means of reviving the hope and spirit of the city, when I saw hanging in the meat display of the Denver Packing Company the carcass of a prize steer. Upon inquiry I learned that the animal had been fattened near Denver entirely upon sugar beets. It then occurred to me that perhaps the sugar beet might become a substitute for Colorado's lost silver, and I immediately set to work upon my own account to investigate the question. I spent considerable time and a few dollars in my investigations—time was plenty and money scarce in those days—and soon became convinced that Colorado soil would abundantly produce the sugar beet, and that definite experimental work was the next step to be taken. This I undertook to do. I visited the beet-growing district and sugar factory of Grand Island, Nebraska; thence went to New York in furtherance of my purpose; and employed a man to go to Mexico to gather data there. Having assembled considerable practical information, I published a paper, the "Sugar Beet Industry," which was distributed free among the farmers of Colorado and in which offers of a few prizes for growing sugar beets were made. In this way some interest was created. Subsequently I sought and at once obtained the active co-operation of the Chamber of Commerce which appropriated $1,000 to be distributed in premiums to encourage further experimental planting of beets. The Chamber created a Sugar Beet Committee of which I was appointed Chairman, and which instituted a campaign of education in the possibilities of beet sugar production in Colorado. With the results of these preliminary proceedings all of you are familiar."

There are several special organizations among Denver's business men, the more prominent of which are associations with memberships confined to those engaged in certain common fields of effort—special trade organizations. An important one that had been dormant for several years, is the Denver Real Estate Exchange, incorporated and organized in 1879 for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining sound and uniform business principles and usages in real estate transactions, to properly disseminate trustworthy information about Denver real estate, to influence and direct legislation in reference to laws bearing on titles and transfers of real estate, to discourage wild speculations and fictitious booms, to encourage and direct as far as possible the safe investment of capital, and to elevate and dignify the real estate business. It had a useful career which was interrupted by the extraordinary depression following the fateful year 1893; but under the stimulation of reviving activity in real estate in 1899 and 1900, the organization was revived in the last-named year, or rather a new one was effected, with good prospects of succeeding to the usefulness of the earlier association.

But the great association, the one that includes all the others and more, too, is the Chamber of



Denver Chamber of Commerce building, Fourteenth and Lawrence streets.

Commerce. In its membership are found the manufacturer, the merchant, miner, professional man, the owner of and dealer in real estate and, indeed, those of almost every honorable calling. The Chamber may be said to have the general business and economic welfare of this great community in its keeping. Every question affecting the city's interests promptly receives intelligent consideration from its membership of thoroughly representative men, and it is always quick to respond to necessity for its action. It has become one of the conspicuously active commercial organizations in the west, and throughout its career has been a commanding force in Denver and in Colorado. Its officers for 1900 were William N. Byers, President; L. Anfenger and G. F. Dunklee, respectively First and Second Vice Presidents; O. P. Baur, Treasurer; and Arthur Williams, Secretary.

In December, 1900, a movement was set on foot to organize on a broad basis and as an adjunct to the Chamber of Commerce, a "Mercantile Club," largely of a social character, but to be representative in the best sense, of the city's business community, and to co-operate with the Chamber. At the close of our record the plans for this proposed organization had not been perfected.

Denver's situation in the center of a vast empire of country in which she has no competitor, no rival, and which is steadily increasing its population, should eventually, and undoubtedly will, make her truly metropolitan in commerce and manufacturing as well as in population. Both her commercial and manufacturing interests are now fairly expanding, and with the growth of each are opportunities for additions to each to the advantage of all. Denver may fairly lay claim to the manufacturing and commercial business of the great region within a radius of three hundred miles; and in certain directions she ought to go farther and enter upon possession. Her movements are steadily toward that end, but they should be accelerated by additions to her active forces.

In the natural course of things the strictly commercial lines of business expand with greater readiness than the manufacturing. The possibilities of the latter require some special attention and encouragement. With the enormous deposits of both coal and iron in Colorado, in proximity to each other, to which we have referred at some length in the geological history of this region, not only Denver but other places in the State should become producers of iron and steel in vast quantities; and the time is coming when they will do so. While it will be at least a decade or two before our flourishing steel-making neighbor, Pueblo, will have been fully justified in proclaiming herself "the Pittsburgh of the West," there are no natural causes to prevent that city, or some other place in Colorado, becoming a great center of iron and steel production. The one corporation now engaged in that business in the State is represented to have made an out-put of iron and steel to the

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Henry L. Doherty, President of the Denver Gas & Electric Co., was born May 15, 1870, and reared in Columbus, Ohio. Leaving school at the age of twelve years he found employment in the office of the Columbus Gas Co. where he worked his way upward until, in 1894, he became Chief Engineer and Assistant Manager of that company.

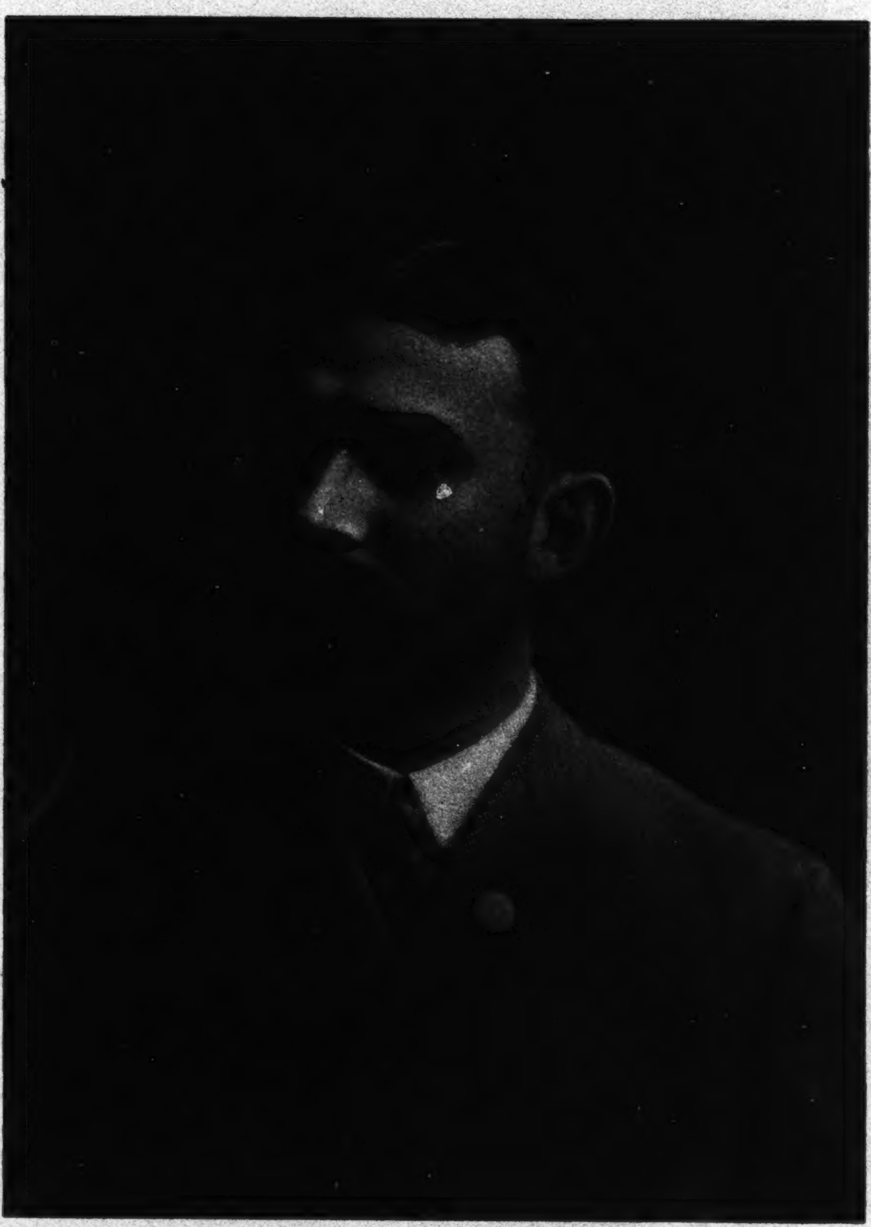
Since that time he has held, either successively or simultaneously, the following-named positions: General Manager of the Madison Gas & Electric Co. of Madison, Wis.; Manager of the St. Paul Edison Co. of St. Paul, Minn.; General Manager of the St. Paul Gas Light Co. of St. Paul, Minn.; Engineer of the St. Croix Water Power Co. of Hudson, Wis.; Engineer of the Jacques Cartier Water Power Co. of Quebec, P. G., Canada; Engineer and Manager of the Columbus Electric Co. of Columbus, O., and General Manager of the Denver Gas & Electric Co.

He is now President of the Denver Gas & Electric Co.; of the Madison, Wis., Gas & Electric Co.; and of the Lincoln, Neb., Gas & Electric Co.; General Manager of the Jacques Cartier Water Power Co. of Quebec; and General Manager and Chief Engineer of the American Light and Traction Co. that controls the Milwaukee, Wis., Gas Light Co.; the Grand Rapids, Ind., Gas Light Co.; the St. Paul, Minn., Edison Co.; the St. Paul, Minn., Gas Light Co.; the St. Croix Water Power Co. of Hudson, Wis.; the Binghamton, N. Y., Gas Works; the San Antonio, Tex., Gas & Electric Co.; the San Antonio, Tex., Traction Co.; and the St. Joseph, Mo., Gas Light Co.

He is also President of the National Electric Light Association and of the Ohio Gas Light Association; and was formerly President of the Northwestern Electrical Association. He is also a member of several engineering and scientific societies, including the American Institute of Electrical Engineers and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. A member of the American Gas Light Association, he won the 1898 gold medal for the best paper on subjects of special interest to that organization.

Furthermore, he is a member of the Lotos, Engineers', and Democratic Clubs, of New York City; the Columbus Club, and the Engineers' Club, of Columbus, O.; the Minnesota Club, of St. Paul, Minn.; and of the Denver Club, and the Denver Athletic Club, of Denver.

Mr. Doherty takes great interest in everything pertaining to the production and use of gas and electricity, and in hydraulic and steam engineering; and is a frequent contributor to the current literature dealing with them. He is also the inventor of many mechanical appliances now used in connection with lighting and power; and as shown by his record has proved successful as manager of large industrial enterprises. While his headquarters are in New York city, and his legal residence in Madison, Wis., he spends much the larger part of his time here in Denver, and devotes whatever of leisure he can find in his hard-working life to further study of the technical problems arising in the great industrial undertakings with which he is identified.—J. C. S.



Henry L. Doherty.

value of $5,684,000 in 1900, notwithstanding that a large part of its capital ($25,000,000) and energies are devoted to coal-mining; it having produced in 1900, 3,783,383 tons of coal. An iron and steel producing center in Colorado would have natural advantages not possessed even by Pittsburgh. There the coal, and most of the iron used are naturally a thousand miles apart; here in our own State they are often within rifle-shot of each other; and not infrequently lie together. A greater development of iron production would carry with it a development of a large variety of manufacturing more or less allied with it. Colorado is the only State in the Union in which all the materials for steel-making are found near each other in quantities sufficient for large operations.

It is not to be expected that manufacturing involving the consumption of much timber and lumber would be expedient here for obvious reasons. But aside from the various industries already in operation, and from the possibilities that lie in our deposits of iron and coal, the production of textile fabrics of cotton and of wool and, as a logical consequence, that of clothing; of footwear; of glass and queensware, for which excellent natural materials exist; and of the many other things that are suggested by the presence of raw materials or by various products of the State that are further manipulated elsewhere, would seem to promise most favorable results. The great Overland Cotton mills have already demonstrated what can be done here with cotton. One of the largest and most prosperous woolen mills in the country is in operation in Utah.

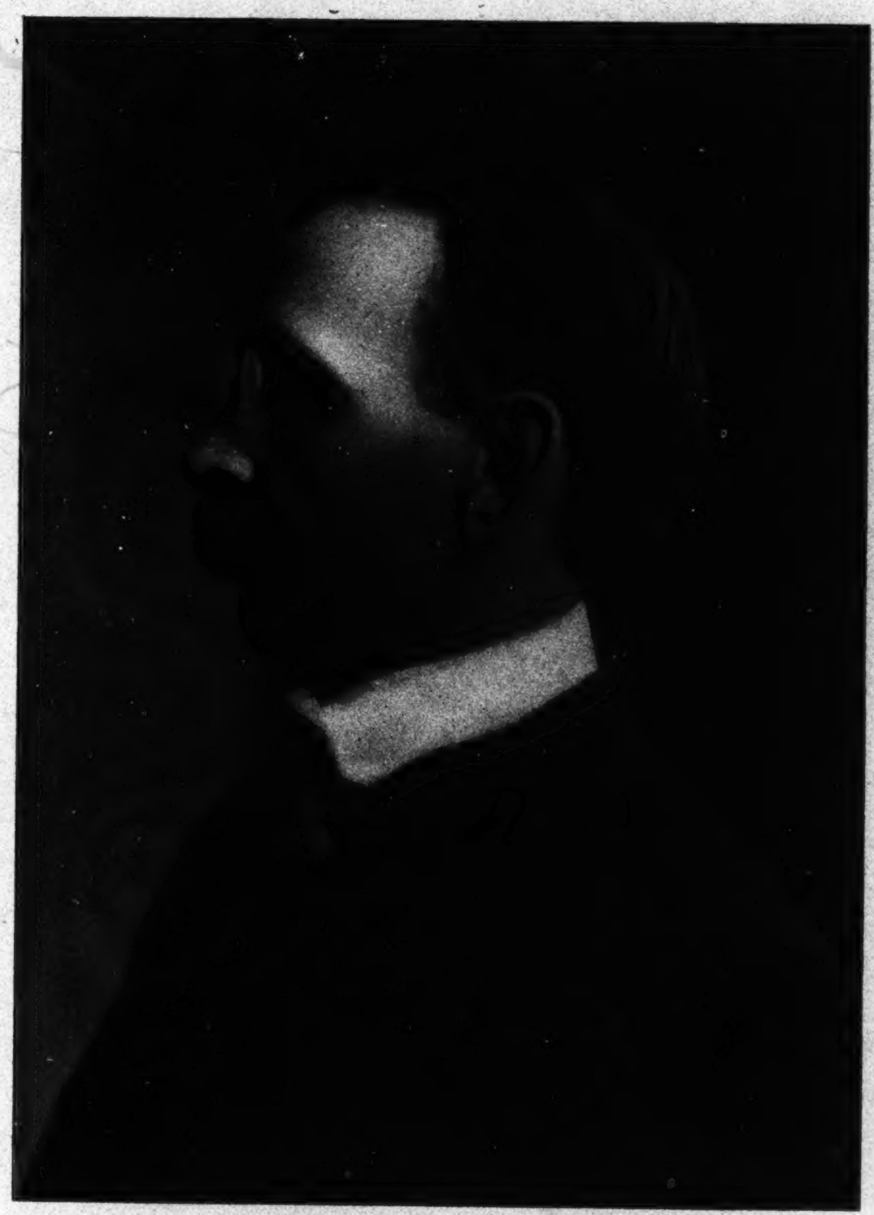
It now appears as one of the certainties of the future that the commerce of the United States with Oriental countries is to become of vast proportions. From the character and habits of the peoples of those countries, a large part of the trade will be in fabrics of cotton. Than Denver, there is not in the United States a locality more favorable for the manufacture of raw cotton into marketable commodities. The one element of climate alone would give her a distinct advantage in the employment of cotton spinners, weavers and printers, and an army of them could find room for homes of their own instead of being swarming tenants in crowded tenement houses as in the older manufacturing cities. Moreover, Denver has the cotton fields of Texas at her back-door, and three or four railways to Pacific tide-water.

Something of Denver's railways, that radiate from her like the spokes from the hub of a wheel, has been said elsewhere; and if there had not been, the city's shipping facilities are too much in evidence to need recounting here. But in one direction it would seem that the greater relative utilization is yet to come; and that is by freighting on salt water between the Atlantic coast cities and Galveston, and by rail in connection therewith to and from Denver, over the direct line existing between the two cities. The distance from Denver to tide-water at Galveston is about the same as from Denver to Chicago. It is not improbable that the advantages naturally belonging to that route for freight will, if they be not arbitrarily throttled, constitute a very important factor in Denver's commercial and manufacturing future.

Francis W. Loveland, son of W. A. H. Loveland, was born at Brighton, Ills., July 24, 1859. With his father's family he came to Colorado in 1860, has resided in the State since that time, and for ten or twelve years has been a citizen and business man of Denver. Educated at Michigan University, he entered the law department of the University of Denver in which he was graduated. He was then admitted to the Colorado Bar but has never engaged in practice; having studied law for the advantages it would give him in his business affairs.

Mr. Loveland was for seven years Secretary and Treasurer of the Rocky Mountain News, and for four years Secretary and Treasurer of the Denver Circle Railroad Company and of the Denver Circle Real Estate Company. He was also Receiver for the Grand River Ditch Company at Grand Junction, and for six years was Treasurer and a Director of the Denver, Lakewood & Golden Railroad Company. In more recent times he has been engaged in coal mining and is now General Manager of the Louisville Coal Mining Company and of the Rex Coal Mining Company. He is also interested in ranching at Berthoud, and in the San Luis Park near Alamosa.

Mr. Loveland is a member of the Colorado Bar Association, the University Club, and the Overland Park Club. He has never sought nor held any public office nor has he ever desired to do so.—J. C. S.



Frank W. Loveland.

CHAPTER LXX.

A CHAPTER OF MISCELLANY—OLD CITY CEMETERY—MASONIC AND ODD FELLOWS' CEMETERY—RIVERSIDE CEMETERY—FAIRMOUNT CEMETERY—MT. OLIVET CEMETERY—FORT LOGAN AND ITS ORIGIN—MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF THE COLORADO—PLACES OF AMUSEMENT—CHARACTER OF PIONEER THEATERS—"JACK LANGRISHE"—HOME THEATRICAL TALENT—GUARD HALL—TABOR OPERA HOUSE—BROADWAY THEATER—LYCEUM AND DENVER THEATERS—SUMMER AMUSEMENT PLACES—THEATERS THAT ARE NOT—PROMINENT DENVER CLUBS.

The first place of burial in or near Denver was then far out of the pioneer towns, to the eastward, and is included in what later became known as the City Cemetery, and what is now the tract of land at the eastern end of Eleventh Avenue that figures on the city map as "Congress Park;" a name given it in consequence of its later reservation to the city by the United States government. The place was selected for burial purposes in the winter of 1858-59 by General Larimer, of the Denver Town Company, and in the early days was as forlorn and desolate as any spot well could be—treeless, shrubless, waterless, utterly forsaken and neglected except by prairie dogs. Jack O'Neill, one of the rather conspicuous pioneers of 1858, who was killed by John Rooker, was early buried there; and for several years thereafter the place was called "Jack O'Neill's Ranche." Steele, who was killed at the time of the attack on the News office; the men who were hung by the People's Courts in 1860; and others who were killed in various affrays in the early times, were put under the ground out there, where their bones still lie; and with them were the bodies of citizens who went out of the world in ordinary ways. The spot could not be dignified by the name of "Cemetery;" it was merely a burial place of the dreariest kind imaginable. Title to the land was conveyed to the city by an act of Congress in 1872.

In the later "Sixties" the Masonic and Odd Fellows societies established a little cemetery at the northward end of Fifteenth street, beyond the limits of what there then was of "North Denver," and which became commonly known as the "Masonic Cemetery." It was used until late in the "Seventies," when it began to be abandoned; and the remains of many buried there were then and later removed to the new Riverside Cemetery.

In 1876, a company of citizens, determined to provide a better place of sepulture, in a locality affording opportunities for improvements, embellishments and adornments, organized the Riverside Cemetery Association as a private corporation, but upon a broad and liberal basis that enabled any one to obtain a burial plot at very small expense. The Association was incorporated April 1, 1876, with Benjamin F. Woodward, Ira S. Elkins, Herman Beckurts, John F. Spalding, Henri R. Foster, Alonzo M. Morrison, John H. Morrison, Albert R. Brown, Edward B. Light, Frank P. Swindler, Daniel Hurd, John R. Hanna, Isaac N. Rogers, Mitchell Benedict, Frederick Dreyer, Job A. Cooper, Wilbur C. Lothrop, Richard E. Whitsitt, Francis M. Case and Roger W. Woodbury as incorporators.

Riverside was the first cemetery in the State to introduce the landscape or park system of cemetery culture. It originally comprised one hundred and sixty acres of land beautifully situated on the right bank of the South Platte river four miles northward of the State Capitol, and which is intersected by the city's general northern boundary line. The tract was the Dr. J. H. Morrison farm, or ranche as it was then called. About fifty acres were added subsequently by purchase of adjacent property, so that the cemetery now comprises two hundred and fifteen acres. Improvement and adornment of the land were at once put under way, and with the abundant supply of water available there, it soon was made an appropriate resting place for those for whom life's fitful fever was ended. Irrigation is effected by means of iron pipes under the surface throughout the grounds, with hydrants for hose attachments at convenient points, water being supplied by the cemetery's own pumping plant located on the river bank within its grounds, so that an abundance of water economically obtained is assured at all times.

The establishment of Riverside marked the passing of the "grave-yard" era in Colorado, and was the introduction of modern ideals here. The cemetery has made fair returns upon the capital invested, and a midsummer stroll through its shady avenues will convince the visitor that it has also fulfilled its mission as a conservator of public interests and refined tastes.

View in Riverside Cemetery.

There is a popular tradition that Dr. Morrison, the original owner of the tract of land, and the original projector of the cemetery, was the first person to be interred therein; but, as a matter of fact, Dr. Morrison's was the fifth burial in the grounds, it having occurred on July 22, 1876. The first burial was that of Henry H. Walton, on June 1, 1876. There are now about 18,000 interments within the cemetery's hallowed bounds. There were many removals from the old City Cemetery to Riverside, and burial was discontinued in the former, which is now nominally classed as a park, and which will be made one in reality before many years pass. Riverside Cemetery was intelligently planned, and has been attractively embellished until, quoting the language of a recent writer, it is now "a most beautiful city of the dead, adorned with shrubbery and lawns and costly monuments, so that one feels in the midst of it all, that rivers of human love and devotion flow up and down all its walks and drives."

Fairmount Cemetery, one of the exceedingly beautiful burial places in the western country, lies outside the southeastern limits of the city, at a distance of five and one-half miles from the State Capitol. The Fairmount Cemetery Association was incorporated February 20, 1890; and its first Board of Directors consisted of Donald Fletcher, William H. Bush, E. W. Rollins, Charles F. Wilson, Willard Teller, Thomas H. Potter, and Frank C. Young. Donald Fletcher was elected President; Willard Teller, Vice President; James H. Morris, Treasurer; and William D. Peirce, Secretary.

Fairmount was one of the results of the extraordinary growth in population and great expansion of the city's area in that period, and was located beyond any probable danger of encroachment upon it by future increases of the city's population or extensions of city boundaries. Two of the earlier cemeteries, the old one on Capitol Hill to which we have already referred, and the one in "North Denver," having previously been abandoned, the projectors of Fairmount wisely profited by these preceding errors of location. A tract of 560 acres of rolling and fertile land was acquired by the Association and platted upon the modern "park" plan of cemetery landscaping. Through the intervening years the work of beautifying the cemetery has gone forward without interruption, and the place is now one of winding roads and pathways, beautiful lawns, and groves of shade-trees. The Gate Lodge, of French Gothic style, is one of the finest examples of that kind of architecture in the west. Built of a light-colored sandstone, it is eighty feet long on the main front with a depth of twenty-six. The road passes under a massive arch sixteen feet wide and rising to a height of twenty feet. Within the cemetery, upon the summit of a low hill, stands another beautiful structure—the Mortuary Chapel, with its receiving vaults. It is of stone, in the Ecclesiastical French Gothic of the thirteenth century, and is twenty-six feet in width by sixty-four in depth, surmounted by a tower ninety feet in height. All the details of this edifice were carefully worked out and completed in harmony with the purposes for which it was erected. The cemetery receives an abundant supply of water from the high-line canal and reservoir system, and can also obtain it from an extension of the Denver Union Water Company's supply pipes. Its location is a most favorable one and its view of the great ranges is of magnificent grandeur. The first interment was that of the body of Sadie Shafer, on November 19, 1890; and at the close of the year 1900, about 9,000 persons had found their last resting-places there.

View in Fairmount Cemetery.

Early in January, 1900, there was a union of interests of the Riverside and Fairmount Associations, and on the 10th of that month the two passed under one control and management, though each retains its separate identity and is conducted as a separate institution. The new Board of Directors elected at that time and now having control and direction of both cemeteries consists of H. M. Orahood, President; Thomas H. Potter, Vice President; R. H. McMann, Treasurer; H. K. Brown, E. W. Rollins, Willard Teller, Charles D. Cobb, and Frank C. Young; with William D. Peirce as Secretary. At the close of our record arrangements were in progress for the erection of a crematory at Fairmount, to be ready for use in 1902; and which will be the first one in the vast empire between St. Louis and San Francisco.

Mt. Olivet Cemetery is eight miles northwest of the city, within the borders of Jefferson county, and is often referred to as "the new Catholic cemetery." On May 23, 1891, Bishop Matz and the pastors of the Catholic churches in Denver met at the Cathedral residence to organize a cemetery association under the laws of the State. The Mt. Olivet Cemetery Association was incorporated October 24, 1891, as a result of that meeting. It was the desire of the projectors to locate the cemetery beyond probable encroachments by the city's growth, and therefore two hundred acres of land, well adapted for appropriate improvement were bought in the valley of Clear creek, just inside Jefferson county, where it is readily accessible by good roads and by rail. The land is rolling and willingly lends itself to the excellent effects in platting and embellishment now present there. The Association was not organized for profit, and its influence in every way favors reduction of the expense of sepulture. Any surplus remaining above its expenses the Association is pledged to devote to charitable purposes in Denver. The first interment was made July 5, 1892, and there are now about eighteen hundred persons sleeping there. The management of the Association's affairs is vested in a Board of Directors consisting of Bishop Matz, and seven pastors of Denver Catholic churches, the Bishop being President.

In 1880 after the reservation system had been applied to all the Indian tribes in the west, and the probability of further Indian wars had been reduced to a minimum, the United States government adopted the policy of abandoning the small military posts scattered over the country west of the Missouri river, and concentrating the troops of its small army in new and large establishments in proximity to the centers of population. The disorder growing out of the labor troubles in 1877 which soldiers of the regular army were called upon to suppress, was one of the causes which suggested the new policy; while others were the greater economy and convenience of handling and providing for the little army in such establishments located

Gate and Lodge, Fairmount Cemetery.

in the neighborhood of the great railroad centers and within easy reach of the more probable scenes of future need for the services of soldiers.

Under this new policy it was decided to abandon Forts Crawford, Garland, Lewis, Lyon, and Uncompagre, in Colorado, which was done within a few years and the reservations turned over to the Interior Department for sale to settlers. In place of these and other abandoned small posts, the War Department decided to establish one of the large new ones here in the central west, but no definite action was taken for several years.

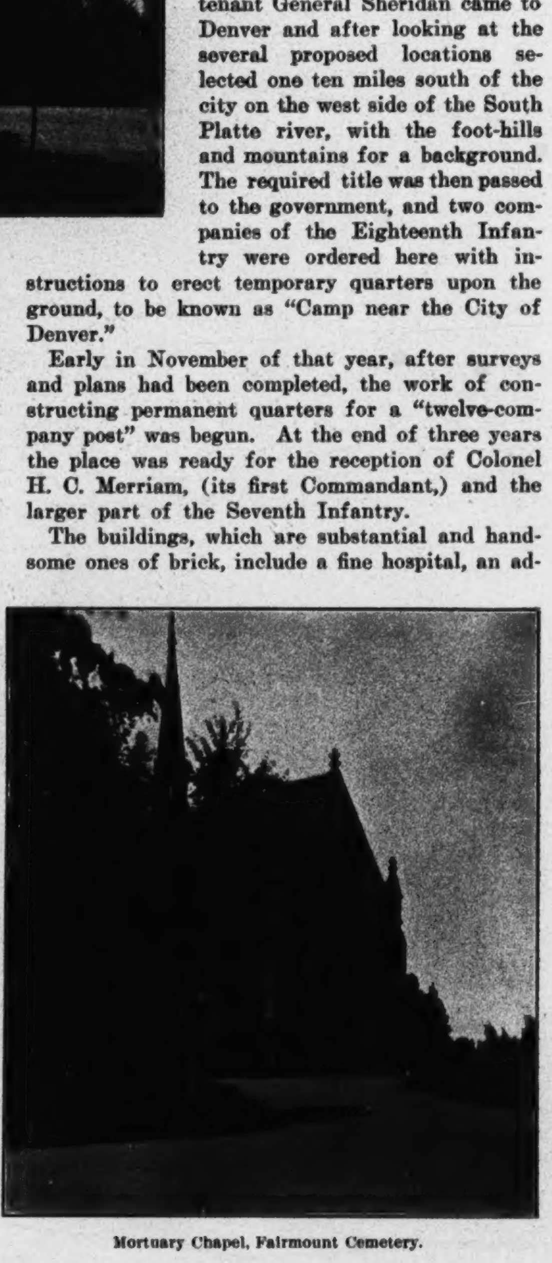
After considerable preliminary work by the Denver Chamber of Commerce, in the winter of 1886-87, Nathaniel P. Hill, Henry R. Wolcott and several other wealthy and influential citizens of Denver instituted a movement to secure the location of the proposed new military establishment, near Denver. The result of this was a proposal to the government to donate sufficient land for the post, near the city and well-located, the choice of several suitable sites being offered. In consequence of this liberal proposition Congress, on February 28, 1887, enacted as follows:

> "That the Secretary of War be and is hereby authorized and directed to establish a Military post near the City of Denver, in the State of Colorado, at some suitable site to be selected by the Lieutenant-General of the Army and approved by him: Provided, That a good and sufficient title, to be approved by the Attorney-General of the United States be first made to the United States, free of cost, of not less than six hundred and forty acres of land in a compact body, including the site so selected.
>
> "Section 2. There is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $100,000, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War, in the commencement of the work of constructing the necessary buildings, quarters, barracks and stables for the post to be established under the provisions of this act: Provided, That no part of such money shall be expended until the State of Colorado shall have ceded to the United States jurisdiction over the tract of land which may be selected under the provisions of this act."

In the summer of 1887, Lieutenant General Sheridan came to Denver and after looking at the several proposed locations selected one ten miles south of the city on the west side of the South Platte river, with the foot-hills and mountains for a background. The required title was then passed to the government, and two companies of the Eighteenth Infantry were ordered here with instructions to erect temporary quarters upon the ground, to be known as "Camp near the City of Denver."

Early in November of that year, after surveys and plans had been completed, the work of constructing permanent quarters for a "twelve-company post" was begun. At the end of three years the place was ready for the reception of Colonel H. C. Merriam, (its first Commandant,) and the larger part of the Seventh Infantry.

The buildings, which are substantial and handsome ones of brick, include a fine hospital, an ad-



Mortuary Chapel, Fairmount Cemetery.

ministration building, many good dwellings for the officers and their families, barracks for the men and all the various structures required for an important military establishment. The location is a fine one, affording room for quartering a small army if required to do so, and is accessible by several lines of rail communication. Destitute of almost every aspect usually associated with a "Fort," Logan in these times of peace seems more like a restful retreat than an abiding place of the forces of grim-visaged War.

When the new post began to assume its presentable proportions the choice of an appropriate name for it became a subject of discussion. As General Sheridan had selected the site, the people of Denver by common consent called the place "Fort Sheridan." A new post was then being built near Chicago, and when it was decided to call it Fort Sheridan, the name of Fort Logan was chosen for the Denver establishment. The choice was not a particularly happy one, inasmuch as it might well have been one of the many historic names directly associated with the settlement and development of the Colorado country.

In 1893 the United States Military Department of the Colorado was established with headquarters at Denver. Brigadier General Alexander McD. McCook was the first Commander of the Department, serving from July 1, 1893, to the close of April, 1895. He was succeeded by Brigadier General Frank Wheaton who served until June 30, 1897. Then Colonel Henry C. Merriam was in temporary command until Brigadier General E. S. Otis took charge of the Department May 16, 1898. He was temporarily succeeded by Colonel E. V. Sumner who served until January 30, 1899, when Brigadier General Henry C. Merriam, in charge at the close of our record, was again placed in command.

Passing from the domain of the sons of Mars to consideration of provisions for amusing our people might seem to be asking the reader to turn a rather sharp corner; but perhaps there will be no serious objections. What is called "the amusement season" continues with us throughout the year, the theaters having the field from the beginning of October to the close of May, leaving the summer months to yield a harvest to several places of amusement in the suburbs of the city.

The pioneer theaters of Denver were pretty rough establishments and the proceedings on their stages were usually in keeping with the tastes of the average person in the exceedingly varied assortment of men that constituted the audiences. The critics were not severe so long as the stage doings included plenty of action, with especial efforts on the part of the "lady performers" in the direction of singing and dancing, accompanied by an "orchestra" sometimes consisting of a few discordant violins, and sometimes of only a little old piano that had had all the musical qualities jolted out of it while crossing the plains in a freight wagon. The buildings were neither better nor

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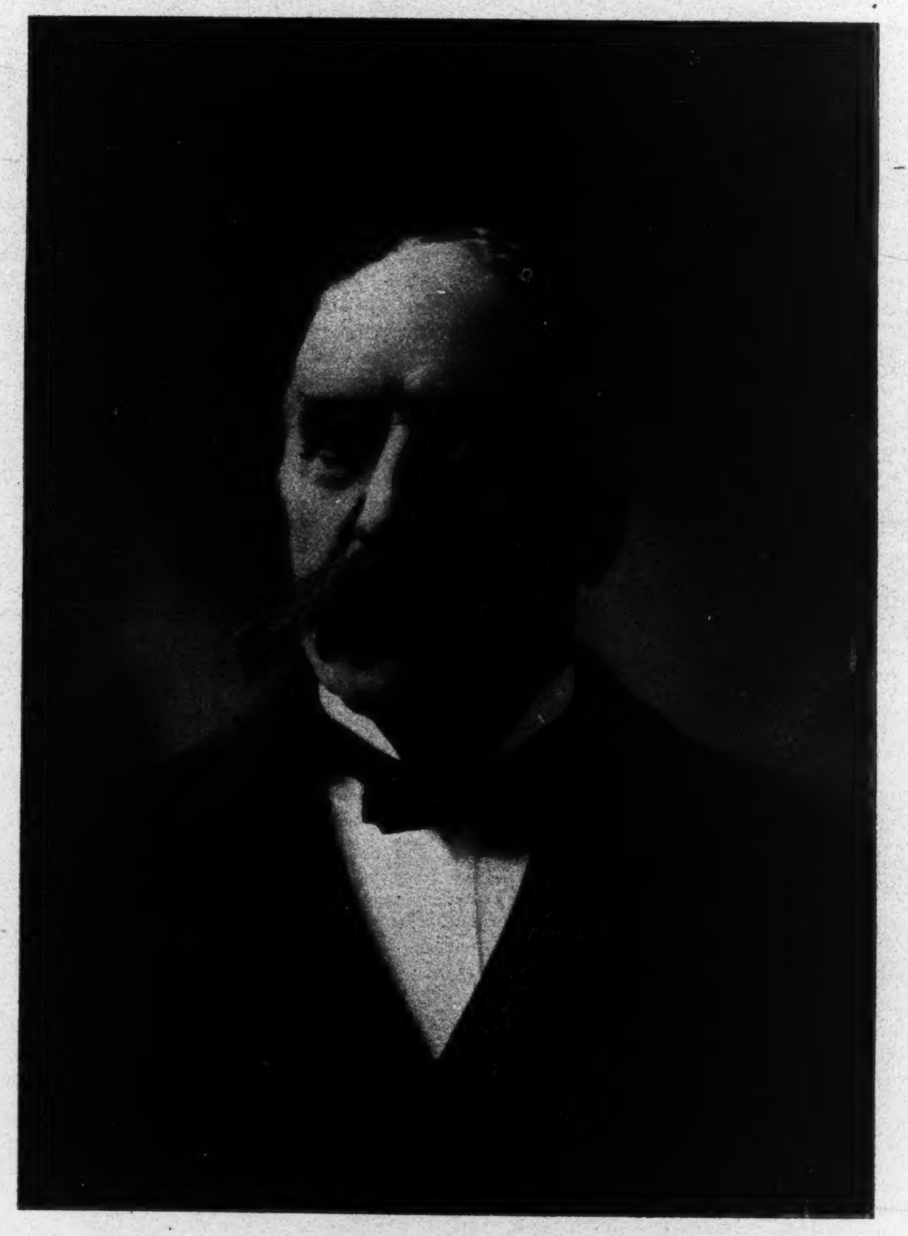
Horace Austin Warner Tabor was born in Orleans county, Vt., November 26, 1830. Having acquired such education as a rural school then afforded, he learned the trade of a stone-cutter and followed it until he was twenty-five years old. In 1855 he located in Riley county, Kas., pre-empted land and engaged in farming. An ardent anti-slavery man, he was elected a member of the Kansas Free Soil Provisional Territorial Legislature of 1857 which was dispersed by Federal troops, and of which he was one of the prominently brave and radical members.

Coming to Colorado in the spring of 1859, very poor, Mr. Tabor reached Denver in June when the excitement over discoveries of gold in the mountains was at a high pitch. Remaining here until the spring of 1860 he then went with the throng to California Gulch. His claim there proved more enduring than nearly all the others, and he worked it profitably until 1865, and in the meantime established there a miners' supply store. In that year he sold his interests in the Gulch, removed to Buckskin Joe, where he opened a large store, became Postmaster, and a prominent and influential man in the camp. Buckskin having waned, he moved his store back to the Gulch in 1868, and located it in "Oro City," where he remained until 1877.

The placer deposits in that general district had been exhausted, the population had dwindled, and prospects had sunk low. Then came the famous discovery of values in carbonates of lead, and the birth of Leadville to which place Mr. Tabor at once removed his store. Having frequently assisted needy miners, he was soon appealed to for help by two poor shoemakers who wanted to go prospecting. He staked them and they discovered the famous Little Pittsburgh mine that yielded enormous wealth. Mr. Tabor sold his interest in it for one million of dollars. He invested in other mines and money poured into his coffers. He acquired mining interests in New Mexico, Arizona and Mexico, each of which contributed to his large and fast-growing fortune. Everything he touched seemed to turn into money. It is an oft-told story, that of this man's unexampled success, and further details are not needed here. In ten years the miner-storekeeper of California Gulch with his modest accumulations, had acquired a fortune of ten millions of dollars in the values of those times.

In Leadville's early years he was that city's most conspicuous figure, was elected its Mayor, and so served two terms. He later built a fine opera house there, established the Bank of Leadville, built a system of water works, a telephone exchange, and was engaged in many other enterprises.

Tabor next turned his attention to Denver, and in 1879 made large purchases of real estate here. Of these, and of his construction of the Tabor Block and the fine Tabor Opera House, the particulars have elsewhere been related. His investments in that period tremendously stimulated improvements in Denver. Continuing these investments, he also became identified with financial and



Horace A. W. Tabor.

worse than their neighbors, usually of two stories, with the theatrical department on the second floor; the ground floor being given over to drinking and gambling accommodations. Not infrequently a highly pleased admirer in the audience would invite the entire stage company downstairs to the bar, at the end of an act; a hospitable manifestation of approval and good will that was rarely rebuffed, but which often resulted in lowering the standard of artistic effects in the closing scenes of the drama. However, the ability of the audience to discriminate was usually somewhat befuddled, itself, after ten o'clock in the evening, by between-acts adjournments to the regions below. A noted pioneer of such establishments was, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, the "Cibola Hall" in Auraria. It was a long, one-story building, with the drinking and gambling departments in front and the theatrical in the rear. As a place of iniquity it had few equals at any time and anywhere in the west.

Officers' Dwellings, Fort Logan.

In fact, the pioneer "theaters" were mere adjuncts, "attractions," to the more important lines of business conducted in connection with them. Drinking and gambling in the crowded rooms went on continuously, day and night; and Sunday was recognized only as a day that brought a largely increased amount of business. Almost every kind of gambling and swindling device was kept in operation, and the miners who came in with their hard-earned dust were the principal victims; though many of the new arrivals who had not yet seen the mining districts lost every penny they possessed. But, when one victim arose and left the scene of his financial discomfiture there were two or three fresh ones standing ready to drop into his place; and so the miserable business went on day after day, night after night. In preceding chapters some details have been given of several of these pioneer "amusement" establishments, and the subject is not of sufficient importance to be much further followed.

The old "People's Theater," a frame building that stood on the north side of Larimer street near the corner of Fourteenth street, and which appears in one of our street-view illustrations, was a locally famous place in the early "Sixties." As we have stated, it was the old Apollo Hall building which

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other Denver institutions. His influence, example, and assistance inspired everyone with energy and enthusiasm. He was investing all of his great wealth in the development and improvement of the city and State, and he spread faith and confidence in both wherever he went and in all that he did.

A Republican of deep-seated convictions, he entered the political arena. He was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1880, and in 1882, when Senator Teller was called to President Arthur's cabinet, Governor Pitkin was strongly urged to appoint Tabor to the vacancy; but the choice fell upon Chilcott to serve until the next session of the Legislature. In January, 1883, the Legislature elected Tabor to serve the unexpired part of the Teller term that ended March 4, 1883. He was a candidate for the succeeding full term but was defeated by Bowen by only one vote. Senator Tabor faithfully served his party in other capacities; as chairman of its State central committee; as chairman or member of its State executive committee; and as a counsellor, guide and friend in many seasons of political strife. To his party's welfare he was generous with his means in the days of his prosperity, and after adversity came upon him he freely continued to give it his services and influence.

When the devastating financial hurricane of 1893 came and wrecked so many Colorado fortunes, Tabor's went down with the rest. He manfully braved the blast as he saw his accumulations swept away, and heroically faced the consequences in his endeavors to repair the wreckage. But the millions were scattered far by the storm, and the old pioneer of the pick and pan was again beset by hardship, as he was when he first came to Denver. But through it all he was the same Tabor. The people of Denver will long remember his rugged figure bent by years of toil, that hearty handshake, the friendly greetings and sterling sentiments that always fell from his lips in his intercourse with his fellow-men.

In 1898 President McKinley in response to the unanimous desire of the people of Denver and to that of thousands of other citizens of Colorado, appointed Senator Tabor Postmaster for this city, the position he held at the time of his unexpected death which occurred April 10, 1899, after a few days' illness, and that caused a painful shock to this community. There was an imposing public funeral, but that manifestation of respect for him was as nothing compared with the feelings of profound regret in the hearts of all his fellow-citizens when they had learned that the end had come to this valorous old Captain in Colorado's army of pioneers. He was a frank, honest, open-hearted man—an unusual combination of gentleness and ruggedness. No more generous man, none truer to his friends nor more responsive to their wants in times of need, is known in the annals of Colorado; and in his charity and benevolence he gave with both hands as long as he had aught to give. But in all of this he was often sadly imposed upon.—J. C. S.

Jack Langrishe, who came here from Fort Laramie in August, 1860, leased, refitted, renamed, and opened on October 3rd of that year. It was conducted by him on a little better basis than it had theretofore been operated, but was still a rather boisterous place in the early "Sixties." Another, of that same period, was the "Palace Theater," a brick building erected by Chase and Heatley on the north side of Blake street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. The building is still there and now glories in the name, "Palace Lodging House." Chase, one of its builders, is still a resident of Denver. These concerns were improvements over their pioneer predecessors, but were bad enough, if measured by present standards. The first theater intended to be conducted on a respectable level was the one built in 1860 on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, and which Jack Langrishe bought and improved in 1861, renaming it the "Denver Theater." Some account of its construction, career, and destruction by fire has already been given. Langrishe's beginning here was, as we have stated, in connection with a less reputable establishment, but his subsequent theatrical management was quite in accord with the radically changed social conditions in Denver in later years, and his old "Denver Theater" was a fairly creditable place of amusement for its time and circumstances. He died at Wardner, Idaho, a few years ago, where he had been engaged in publishing a local newspaper after he left Denver. He was an Irishman and had been employed on the New York Tribune before he came west. His true name was unknown; "Langrishe" having been an assumed one.

Soldiers' Quarters, Fort Logan.

Denver had many theatrical favorites of local origin or, at least, of local habitation, in the earlier times—a greater number than she has now; but their fame and popularity, according to the common fate of the "profession," were evanescent. Mentioning them now would be merely recalling names nearly all of which are forgotten and from which nearly all interest long since passed away. However, there were two who won considerable fame and distinction. One was C. W. Couldock, an actor of unusual versatility and ability who was a favorite throughout the country. He has, we believe, been dead for several years. The other is Samuel Christy, a one-time popular negro impersonator and comedian. It has been years since he achieved his burnt-cork triumphs, but he is still a resident of Denver.

Denver really had no theater worthy of the name and creditable to the city until H. A. W. Tabor built the Grand Opera House which was opened in September, 1881. Mr. W. B. Vickers, writing in 1879, thus lamented the city's poverty in this respect:

> "Denver, it must be confessed, is sadly deficient in places of legitimate amusement, though concert halls are unhappily only too plenty in the lower part of the city. Since the destruction of the old Denver Theater by fire—which was not much loss to be sure—Guard Hall, now the Denver Opera House, has been the only regular theater in the city. It is small and uncomfortable, being poorly ventilated. No regular stock company is maintained by the manager, but it is often occupied by traveling troupes, and occasionally an excellent performance is given upon which occasions the little theater is crowded from cellar to garret, there being no pit or dome about it. To the shame of Denver it must be written, that Leadville, Central and several other towns in the State, are provided with better theaters than the capital. Walhalla Hall, corner of Curtis and Sixteenth streets, is now the only hall for concerts, lectures, public meetings, etc., in the city. It is a comfortable, not to say handsome, hall. Turner Hall on Holladay street, is the German Temple of Art, and is the most commodious hall in Denver, though inconveniently located."

"Guard Hall," referred to by Mr. Vickers, was in the building on the northwest corner of Curtis and Fifteenth streets, built by the old military company, the "Governor's Guards," in 1873. The original structure was later raised to one of three stories, and converted into a business block. The ground floor is now occupied by store-rooms, while the upper ones are used for apartment purposes. In its time Guard Hall stood for the best in theatricals in Denver, but it passed out of commission when the Tabor Opera House was completed and opened. Of Walhalla Hall some account is given elsewhere.

The erection of the Tabor Grand Opera House was a conspicuous event in Denver's history, and when the building was completed it ranked as one of the few places of amusement in the United States widely noted for their size and elegance, and its fame went far over the country. The house was "opened" September 5, 1881, by Emma Abbott and her opera company, with a brilliant audience present. Since that time its stage has been trodden by every actor and singer who have attained distinction in their respective professions. The house has a seating capacity of 1,550, but the character of its entertainments in recent years has not been up to the former high standard. On January 4, 1884, the building was damaged by fire to the extent of some twenty thousand dollars; the only mishap that has occurred to it in its career of nearly twenty years.

Old Guard Hall—Governor's Guards on parade.

The Broadway Theater which, with the Hotel Metropole, constitute one building on the east side of Broadway, between Seventeenth and Eighteenth Avenues, was a consequence of the development of the new residence district on Capitol Hill. It was erected by a company organized by the late William H. Bush and associates. Work was begun on the structure in 1889 and completed in the summer of 1890. The theater was "opened" on August 28, 1890, by the Emma Juch opera company, and the occasion was one of much social distinction. The Broadway, which seats 1,620 persons, has outranked the Tabor Opera House in public esteem in late times, and in some respects is its superior. The hotel, front, part of the structure is of pressed brick and red sandstone, lofty, and of some architectural attractiveness; the rear, theater, part is merely a plain brick box, but well safeguarded against fire.

The Lyceum Theater on the north side of Curtis street between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, and the Denver Theater just across the street from it, complete the present list of theaters. They are small and not especially noteworthy establishments. The Lyceum occupies a building that was long used as a kind of concert hall. In 1893 the interior was completely reconstructed, and in January, 1894, was opened as a theater under its present name. The other occupies a small brick structure in the rear of a business block.

Elitch's Garden, a worthily popular place of summer amusements, on West Thirty-eighth Avenue between Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth streets in the far northwestern part of the city, was established by the late John Elitch in 1890. The handsomely improved enclosure embraces about seventeen acres of land, well set with trees, shrubbery and flowers. A small zoölogical collection is maintained, but the chief attraction is the summer theater which is conducted upon a high plane.

"Manhattan Beach" strains a point to be entitled to its name, though it is located on the "beach" of Sloan Lake in the extreme western limits of the city, its premises bordering on the line of Jefferson county, at the intersection of Byron Place and Sheridan Boulevard. The "Beach" was established about ten years ago by George G. Darrow and associates. Summer theatricals go on

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George Tritch, who was one of the successful pioneer business men of Denver who saw the city grow from the small, rough, mining town of 1860, to its present magnificent proportions, was born in Baden, Germany, April 23, 1829. In his second year his parents came to America bringing their infant son with them. They settled in Chillicothe, Ohio, the first capital of that State, where the subject of this sketch spent his boyhood years. He attended the Chillicothe schools in which he acquired the substantial foundations of his broad practical education.

In 1844 he decided to learn the trade of a tinner and coppersmith, and for that purpose went to Cincinnati where he served an apprenticeship of five years. In 1847 Mr. Tritch, now a master of his trade, located in Pittsburgh, Pa., into which the first railroad across the Alleghanies was then preparing to make its way, and where he engaged in the hardware business. Soon after he established himself in Pittsburgh he met Miss Eliza Hammond, who became his wife on March 25, 1849.

In 1852 Mr. and Mrs. Tritch concluded to remove to the then far west and locate in St. Paul, Minn. They travelled by steamboat down the Ohio river and up the Mississippi, the river routes then affording about the only practical means of reaching the central west. On their voyage they changed their plans, and in doing so changed the whole subsequent course of their lives. Disembarking at Davenport, Iowa, they located there where Mr. Tritch resumed the hardware business and remained until the autumn of 1860 when he disposed of his business and with his wife crossed Iowa in a wagon, reaching Council Bluffs in the following March. After a short stay there he decided to push on west to the mountains, and one wagon conveyed all his belongings across the plains. Accompanying him was his wife with their three children, and the little party arrived here late in May, 1860. Of the circumstances of his coming, Mr. Tritch, a short time before his death, said:

"We came to Denver because the tide of immigration was this way; the people heard of the Pike's Peak country and fabulous stories of gold. When we started out we had no idea where we were going, but I thought that towns had to spring up, and possibly I could make a living for my family. There is only one reason why we stopped in Denver. There was nothing here that was promising, but when we got this far our money had run out, and knowing that we could go no farther we were content to remain."

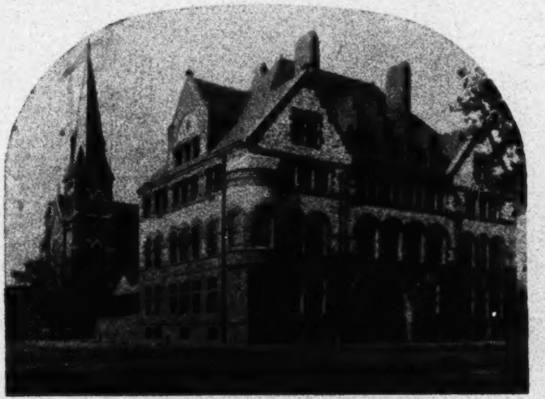
Having brought with him his tools and a little stock of goods, Mr. Tritch at once began business in a cabin on Blake street near Cherry creek, and

George Tritch.

there, and Sloan Lake does what it can toward justifying the name its associate bears.

The "Chutes Park," on the bank of Cherry creek, at the intersection of Corona street and Fourth avenue in the southeastern section of the city, is a recent addition to these summer places of amusement, and is designed for those who enjoy spectacular things, and have a fondness for "roller coasters;" a playground for grown-up boys and girls.

In what has been said in the foregoing pages mention has not been made of all of Denver's places of amusement in comparatively recent times. In the spring of 1883 the then new building on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Market streets, directly opposite the old Mint, and owned by P. T. Hughes, was interiorly fitted up by Parker & Killen as a theater, and "opened" on the evening of April 23rd, of that year. It was named the "Academy of Music," and was a very handsome auditorium with a seating capacity of about 1,000. Parker & Killen did not long conduct it, because of pecuniary embarrassment, and the owner of the property then became the "Academy's" conductor. On July 6, 1886, fire destroyed the theater, causing the loss of one life, and the building was thereafter reconstructed for the business purposes for which it is now used. Upon one of her visits to Denver, Madame Adelina Patti sang in that now well-nigh forgotten "Academy of Music."



Denver Club Building.

The walls of another one-time rather popular theater stand on the northeast corner of Fifteenth street and Cleveland Place. It was the Metropolitan Theater built in 1889 by W. Lockhardt Smith, of Philadelphia, and cost something like $60,000. A handsome theater, with a seating capacity of about 1,000, its location there was intended as an accommodation to the then rapidly developing Capitol Hill residence district. It was built of granite masonry to the height of an ordinary three-story building, with a wooden superstructure on the stone-work. During its construction it became an object of suspicion to the city authorities, but managed to pass inspection, notwithstanding the relatively large amount of lumber that went into it. During its brief existence its name was twice changed, but that did not save it from misfortune nor from justification of the doubts entertained concerning it while in construction. On June 10, 1892, just before midnight, fire broke out in the building and the flames left nothing but its granite walls as they now stand. Its destruction was a far more brilliant spectacle than anything ever presented on its stage. When it burned, the theater was owned by the late H. A. W. Tabor.

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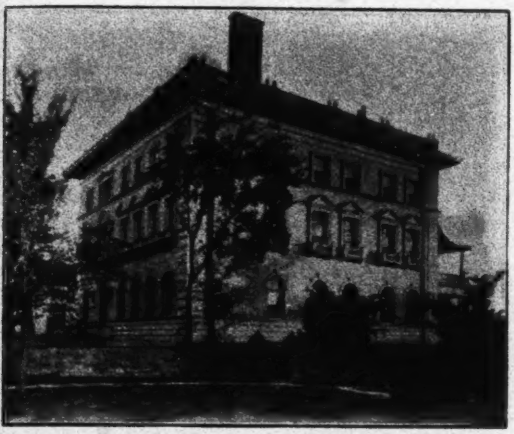
in which he and his family lived. Soon afterward he removed his shop and stock to a small business room on the west side of Fifteenth near Wazee street—the little one-story building appearing in one of our illustrations. In the early times the greater part of his business was in making and repairing tinware, but it fast grew, and early in the "Seventies" called for the creation of a two-story brick store-room and warehouse at Fifteenth and Blake streets in which he housed what was for those times an unusually large stock of hardware and its kindred belongings. In 1884 his business having again outgrown its quarters, he built the fine block on the south side of Arapahoe street near Seventeenth in which he established the present George Tritch Hardware company, one of Denver's great commercial establishments.

Mr. Tritch's activities were not confined to his own personal business. He was one of the association of Denver men who, in conjunction with John Evans, built the Denver Pacific railroad, the Denver and South Park railroad, and the Denver, Texas & Gulf railroad; he assisted in establishing the smelters in Denver, was long identified with banking and with many other important enterprises in the city, as we have elsewhere related. While he faithfully performed all the duties of a good citizen, he was never an office-seeker nor an eager office-holder. He was Captain of a company of volunteer scouts in the Indian-wartime, an Alderman in 1863-65, and later an unsuccessful candidate for Mayor. For several years prior to his death he was a most efficient member of the Board of Capitol Managers.

An extremely conservative man in his business, he engaged in no speculative enterprises. All his interests were centered here in Denver, and the great fortune he amassed by persistent industry, good judgment, and immovable faith in the city, was largely represented by real estate and its improvements. Among these holdings was his fine residence at 1373 Grant Avenue, which he built in 1891.

Mr. Tritch, who was a Mason of the highest degree, died at his home on October 8, 1899, after a lingering illness, leaving a widow and eight children. While not a type of the Colorado pioneer of 1858-59, he was distinctly so of that class of equally resolute men who in succeeding years took up the work of upbuilding the city and State, and never faltered in it, even when prospects and situations were most discouraging.—J. C. S.



University Club Building.

The Denver Club was one of the many consequences of the great forward movement that began in 1880, and it was called into existence by the need for a social organization among the business and professional men of the city. The association was incorporated as "The Denver Club," July 28, 1880, by James Duff, David H. Moffat, Jr., Moses Hallet, A. H. Jones, Walter S. Cheesman, and H. R. Wolcott. The articles of incorporation named as Directors for the first year of the Club's existence, Walter S. Cheesman, James Archer, Hugh Butler, A. H. Jones, J. W. Savin, G. W. Clayton, Richard Pierce, John L. Routt, Moses Hallet, James Duff, E. W. Rollins, David H. Moffat, Jr., and H. R. Wolcott—thirteen in all. The purposes for which the Denver Club was organized are thus stated in the articles of incorporation:

> The particular business and object for which our said association is formed shall be to promote social intercourse among ourselves and associates therein, and to have and maintain in the city of Denver, in the County of Arapahoe, and State of Colorado, for the use of ourselves and associates, for the purpose aforesaid, a club-house with all the appurtenances, and belongings, matters and things of a club and club-house as usual thereto.

The Club's first Board of Directors, as already named, elected from their number the first executive officers; who were Henry R. Wolcott, President; James Duff, Vice President; David H. Moffat, Jr., Treasurer; and E. W. Rollins, Secretary.

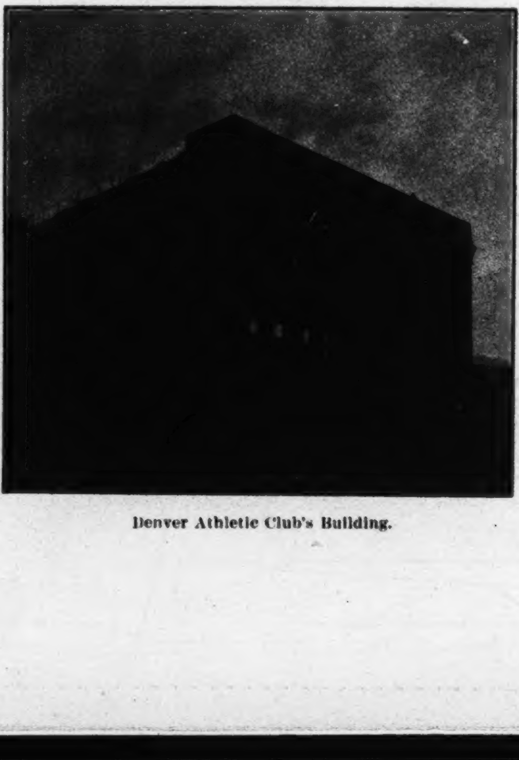
Membership in the Denver Club is limited to 300 resident and 200 non-resident members, with not exceeding fifteen life members; the qualifications being those usual to such organizations. The hospitalities of the Club are extended to visiting strangers and to guests of members in the customary manner. The fine Club House on the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Glenarm streets was erected in 1887-88, and opened October 20, 1888. Built of granite and Colorado red-sandstone, its architecture, size, elegance and completeness of appointments, make it one of the notable establishments of its kind west of New York. The property represents an expenditure of $45,000 for the site and $120,000 for the building.

The University Club was incorporated January 29, 1891, by John L. Jerome, William R. Barbour, George Z. Dimmitt, Henry F. May, Henry T. Rogers, R. Heber Smith, Lambert Sternbergh, Allen M. Culver, Charles H. Toll, Charles R. Dudley, and Edwin N. Hawkins; who, with Herman C. Joy and Oscar J. Pfeiffer, were then named to constitute the first Board of Directors. Of these Henry T. Rogers was elected President; John L. Jerome, Vice President; Edwin N. Hawkins, Secretary; and Allen M. Culver, Treasurer. The corporate name is "The University Club," and its declared objects are the same as those of the Denver Club with the addition of "encouragement of literature and art."

The University Club is more exclusive than the other in qualifications for membership, its constitution prescribing—

> "Any man shall be eligible to membership in this Club, who has received from a University or College a degree, to obtain which, in regular course, at least two years' residence and study are required, or who shall have received an honorary degree from such University or College, or who shall have graduated at the United States Military Academy, or at the United States Naval Academy; provided that a candidate who holds an honorary degree only shall be distinguished in art, literature, science, or public service; and provided that professional degrees shall entitle to membership only when given by such University or College as shall be designated by the Board of Directors, and the list of such Universities and Colleges shall be posted in the rooms of the Club."

Resident membership is limited to 200, and provision is made for receiving a small number of life



Denver Athletic Club's Building.

members; the privileges of the Club being extended to strangers and guests of members under customary rules. The fine home of the Club on the southwest corner of Grant and Seventeenth Avenues, on Capitol Hill, was built in 1895 and opened on January 1, 1896. Its site cost $20,500, and the House about $25,000. The pleasant, retired location of this Club House is in harmony with the purposes it serves.

The Denver Athletic Club came into existence in 1884. It was incorporated on April 4th of that year by Frank H. Wright, John Elitch, Jr., Harry C. Gray, George F. Higgins and Charles Wheeler who were named in the certificate to constitute its first Board of Directors; the first complement of officers having been Frank H. Wright, President; William R. Rathvon, Vice President; John T. Bourke, Secretary; and Donald Robertson, Treasurer. The corporate name is "The Denver Athletic Club," and the organization's objects were stated as follows:

"That the particular business and objects for which said corporation is formed are to purchase or build and to hold, maintain and operate a gymnasium in the city of Denver, County of Arapahoe and State of Colorado, for the amusement, recreation and physical culture of all those who may at any time become members thereof; and also for the purpose of encouraging all proper athletic sports and pastimes of every kind and nature whatsoever."

Membership is limited to 1,000, including non-resident and excluding life and junior members; the latter being young men over seventeen and under twenty-one years of age whose privileges are confined solely to the Club's athletic departments. Life membership is limited to 200, but the junior is not limited. The Club occupied leased quarters until the erection of its large and fine building on the north side of Glenarm street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets in 1890, at a cost of $205,000 for land and building, and which was opened in December of that year. In addition to its athletic departments which are very complete, the establishment possesses the features of other club-houses, is the home of many of its members, and receives visitor-guests under the usual regulations.

The Denver Wheel Club, organized eight years ago, is an association the name of which suggests in a general way the causes and purposes of its existence. It was in one sense an outgrowth of the Ramblers' (bicycle) Club that dated its origin in the times when the awkward and rather dangerous high wheel riding-machine was in vogue. The Club's constitution says—

"The object of this Club shall be to promote cycling; to use its influence in securing good roads; to encourage all manly and athletic sports and social intercourse among its members."

The Club is associated with the League of American Wheelmen, and has active, non-resident, and life members; the qualifications for membership requiring the applicant to be a "white male person over eighteen years of age, not engaged as a bartender or professional gambler, and an amateur within the definition of the League of American Wheelmen." Management is vested in a Board of nine Directors from which a President, Vice President, a Secretary and Treasurer, and Assistant Secretary are elected. In 1900 there were nearly 600 active members, and about forty non-resident and honorary members. The Club occupies a large and well-appointed building (which, however, it does not own) on the north side of California street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets, where its members and their friends are provided with all the usual accessories of a well-ordered establishment of its kind.

CHAPTER LXXI.

HIGH-TIDE YEAR—CONDITIONS JUST PRIOR TO 1893—GREAT FINANCIAL CRISIS—SEASON OF DISASTER—EXODUS FROM THE CITY—EXPERIENCE WITH COMMONWEALERS—CONDITIONS IN 1893-94—WITHERED BANK ASSETS—GOVEERNMENT BY FOLLY—WAITE'S ADMINISTRATION AND ITS EVILS—SPECIAL SESSION OF LEGISLATURE—WAITE'S "WAR ON THE CITY HALL"—DISGRACEFUL EPISODE IN CITY'S HISTORY—DENVER ON VERGE OF CIVIL WAR—HISTORY OF THE AFFAIR, AND ITS FINAL SETTLEMENT—EVILS OF POLITICAL INIQUITIES.

The year 1890, as heretofore stated and as some of our readers may recall, was the period of greatest exaltation in the work of developing the city—the time of high tide in the affairs of the metropolis of the mountains and plains. Late in that year, however, the effect of the Baring failure in London that was somewhat seriously felt throughout the United States, disturbed conditions here and sensibly checked building operations in Denver. The supply of capital from outside sources for investment here was lessened, and the spirit of conservatism began to manifest itself. But this was only in a relative degree, for the scale upon which building improvements and transactions in real estate continued would have amazed the people of any other city, of equal size, in the country.

But through 1891 and 1892 the great host of building mechanics and laborers that theretofore had been attracted hither from almost everywhere became reduced, though still constituting an army of working men. Yet it was several thousand less in numbers than it had been in 1890. The developments in the Cripple Creek district caused an outflow to that locality which was accompanied by a fair-sized contingent of the rather large "floating" population here at that time. So it was that by midsummer of 1893 there had been much contraction of the building "boom" and a considerable shifting of that part of the population without definite anchorage. Still, the changes in the general aspects of affairs in the city were not so conspicuous as the construction statistics for that interval might imply, and Denver still remained the busiest city of its dimensions in the United States.

The extraordinary activity in building operations in 1890 is indicated by the city's record of 2,338 dwellings of various types and sizes having been erected in that year. The record also shows that an aggregate of something like $10,000,000 was invested in Denver dwellings in 1890. The contraction of building operations in the following two years is indicated by the record of 844 new dwellings constructed in 1891, and 851 in 1892. The number for 1893 was 391, but practically all of these were built before midsummer of that year; little or nothing new having been undertaken in its last half. The building of dwellings did not, of course, include all that was going on in construction work between 1890 and the panic time of 1893, for many of the large structures in the business district were erected in that period, which was one not marked by any notable events from a historical standpoint other than those associated with the almost magical building of a large city here at the base of the Rocky Mountains, and that had become everyday occurrences.

The closing of the mints of India to further coinage of silver, in June, 1893, precipitated a financial crisis the effect of which was disastrous in every civilized country on the earth. Whether it were the natural consequence of accumulated disorders and unsound methods and practices in financial systems, or a result that might have been avoided through the agencies of wisely directed statesmanship, are questions with which we have naught to do in this narrative. The coinage laws of the United States had stimulated silver production to the highest pitch in Colorado, and silver mining at that time afforded the broad basis upon which the prosperity of our city and State chiefly rested; all other natural resources of the State having been subordinated in development to that great and wide-spread industry.

The action in India was almost instantly followed by public clamor in the eastern part of the United States for the immediate repeal of the coinage law of July 14, 1890, under which the United States had been buying and coining into standard dollars 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, and which provided an outlet at high value for practically the total silver product of the entire country, much the larger part of which came from the mines of Colorado. This demand foreshadowed what was soon to come, and that did come later in that year from the special session of Congress, in the repeal of the so-called "Sherman law." Anticipating this, the people of Denver and Colorado saw that silver mining was to receive an almost fatal blow; that the foundations of Colorado prosperity as they then existed were to be disrupted.

While the memorable panic of 1893 was bad enough throughout the United States, the conditions here made Colorado peculiarly susceptible to the most violent manifestations of its fury. In Denver the banks were about the first business establishments to directly encounter the effect of public apprehension, and drafts upon their resources had quietly grown to large proportions before the close of June. But it was past the middle of July before the strain reached the breaking point, and then the savings banks were first to succumb. On July 17th three of these, the People's, Colorado, and Rocky Mountain, closed their doors and made assignments, with aggregate liabilities of about three and one-half million dollars. The next day, July 18th, six more city banks closed: the Union National, Commercial National, and National Bank of Commerce, and the Mercantile, Capital, and North Denver banks; the last-named three having been organized under State law. On July 19th the German, State, and People's National banks closed their doors. Thus within three days a majority of the city banks had found themselves unable to further meet the demands for cash made upon them, and the funds of thousands of depositors were for the time being utterly beyond reach. By September 1st two or three additional savings banks had succumbed, but in the meantime several of the suspended banks had resumed, as already related in our historical accounts of banks and banking in Denver.

There had been, as we have seen, comparatively little warning of the tempest's approach, and in this the situation may in some degree be likened to that of Galveston just prior to the awful visitation by the elements recently made upon that city. The direct financial effect upon depositors, and the general demoralizing effect upon the community, of these bank suspensions, taken in connection with the impending downfall of Colorado's principal and very profitable industry, produced conditions in this city that may be imagined; they can not be adequately described, nor would it serve any useful purpose now to enter upon a lengthened review of them here if words could be made to do justice to the subject. The surviving banks were able to provide for the immediate needs of their own people, but could not undertake to meet the wants of thousands of others. Men begged and pleaded for means with which to save themselves, offering as security improved real estate that had been worth several times the sums desired. Money was above all other things in value, and even United States bonds could not be exchanged for it, though offered on a basis far less than their par value.

Hundreds of men in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado were impoverished, bankrupted, ruined. In vain had they offered unheard-of sacrifices that they might save something from the wreck for themselves; for nearly all were seriously menaced by the common misfortune, and in those days of

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Among the men conspicuously identified with the development of Denver was Samuel B. Morgan who, after a citizenship beginning in 1873, died in this city on December 11, 1897. Born in the town of Wethersfield, Conn., February 9, 1835, he was graduated from the High School at Hartford at the age of sixteen, and then went to sea on a whaling vessel. Following the sea about ten years, he rose to be next in command to the Captain with whom he sailed in all his voyages. His seafaring life terminated at San Francisco in December, 1861, when he returned to his Connecticut home by way of the isthmus. Early in 1862 he there married Miss Ellen Theresa Blinn, and having accepted command of new whaling vessel, prepared to again go to sea. At that juncture, at request of a relative who had mining interests at Black Hawk, he changed all his plans, and decided to accept the proffered position of Superintendent of his relative's mining property.

Therefore early in the autumn of 1862 he came to Colorado; his wife and infant son following him late in 1864. During the ensuing eleven years he resided at Black Hawk and Central City, but in the autumn of 1873 removed to Denver. Here he became a member of the old-time firm of Day, Morgan & Co., and later of Morgan, French & Co., dealers in real estate. In that business he acquired large property-interests in the young city and which he retained until his death. When Leadville developed in the late Seventies he went there and became an owner in several very productive mining properties. Disposing of these interests in 1883, he returned to Denver to give attention to his extensive possessions here, the later enormously increased values of which, notwithstanding their great shrinkage and his severe losses in 1893-94, yielded him a large fortune. While more or less interested in various enterprises in the city, his property-holdings continued to receive the major portion of his attention until his death.

Mr. Morgan was one of those who steadfastly adhered to the belief that Denver was destined to become a great city, proved his faith in it by concentrating here the more important of his interests, and by making himself during his twenty-five years of good citizenship that was ended by his death one of the leaders in upbuilding it. Having early foreseen the city's future eastward growth, he was one of the pioneers in acquiring and improving Capitol Hill property, though at the same time improving his holdings in the downtown district. The period of his activities here was that in which Denver was changed from a straggling frontier town to a city of metropolitan character, and the part he bore in the transformation placed him in the front rank of those who made it so—J. C. S.

Samuel B. Morgan.

apprehension and fear no one knew what another day might bring forth. Self-preservation became the first law of conduct; not through selfishness, but from necessity. Scores of good and honorable men conspicuous in the social and business life of the city were forced into the valley of desolation. Names need not be mentioned here, for these events are not so old that the many worthy citizens to whom they brought ruin need have been forgotten. Not a few were impoverished by the financial downfall of their near friends and associates, and lost all.

The withering effects were felt along every avenue of human endeavor and activity in the city and through the Colorado country. The wage-worker suddenly found himself without employment and without prospects of soon regaining it; nearly all the silver mines closed or prepared to do so; the merchant could neither sell his goods nor collect his dues; and the manufacturer found himself in the same situation. In a general way those who had regarded their more or less encumbered real estate holdings as representing fortunes suffered worst, and the host of speculators stood aghast in the presence of the ruin strewed around them, for all values crumbled and the shadow of adversity darkened each passing day. Many of these real estate men who had walked with prosperity became bankrupts before they realized what had happened. Rigid economy was forced upon hundreds of households which had long forgotten its meaning. In thousands of other homes economy became a refinement of domestic ingenuity, and in still many others it was reduced to deprivation.

Late in August when some of the suspended banks re-opened, and in September when others of them also did so, the cloud that had hung low through the summer rifted a little; but only a little. The good influence of these resumptions was to some extent neutralized by reports, some exaggerated and others wholly unfounded, that wrongful acts had been committed by certain bank officers in that emergency in banking affairs. The only instances in that time of such reports being reduced to definite charges were those affecting the President and the Cashier of the People's National Bank, and the Vice President and the Cashier of the Colorado Savings Bank. But these were followed by no proofs of criminal wrongdoing. Nearly two years later, it may be remarked in passing, similar charges were made against the President of the Commercial National Bank, and the President and Assistant Cashier of the German National Bank. However, with this brief reference to these circumstances, they may as well be left to be covered by the oblivion now closing upon them. The line of demarcation between criminal intent and misguided zeal at such times and under such circumstances is not always well-defined.

As a rule the Denver banks of that time had been fairly well managed and most of them had grown to be the pride of those in whose keeping they were placed and to whom their prosperity was first in thought. The misfortunes of banks that have ceased to exist in consequence of the events of 1893 came largely through causes utterly beyond the power of their managers to avoid or control; and it would be a long story in which an attempt were made to express in words the mental anguish, the feeling bordering on despair, the woe and wretchedness that came to honest bank officers as they saw not only their own fortunes go down with their banks, but their friends and neighbors brought to ruin by the calamity that had befallen all.

It was not long after the crash occurred until the daily needs of unemployed and moneyless men became a serious matter, and as the summer wore into the autumn the number thus conditioned became greater. To the troubles and perplexities of those who were not impoverished the burden of temporarily caring for the destitute was added. It was taken up manfully. Food and shelter were provided, and no person physically suffered from want of either. To accommodate a part of those needing assistance tents were set up and camps established in which food and shelter were afforded during a short period in which numbers and needs were greater.

An army of people left Denver in that summer and autumn for the eastern States where conditions were less severe. The movement started in August, and soon afterward those who were footloose, without family responsibilities, began leaving in droves; yet, many others joined in the hegira. Estimates of the number of those who left the city within a few months vary from 15,000 to 25,000; the lesser sum probably being nearer accuracy. Lodging houses were emptied of lodgers, and hundreds of dwellings became tenantless. Opportunities for gaining a livelihood by manual labor or other personal service had sunk to the lowest ebb ever known in Denver. The prairie railroads were forced, through sheer inability to do otherwise, to carry hundreds on their trains without payment of fare. In some instances freight trains were seized by crowds of not unworthy men determined to at once ride away from the scenes of their discomfiture. The places of many who had thus departed were filled by others who came into Denver from the idle mining camps and interior towns. A small proportion of these lingered here through that winter living chiefly by chance or charity to become early in March members of a division of Coxey's famous army of Commonwealers that moved across the country from west to east in the spring of 1894. The exodus from Denver continued in lessening extent throughout 1894, but may be said to have practically ceased with the close of that year.

The recruits that congregated at Denver for Coxey's "army" came from all points of the compass in Colorado, and they had increased in numbers until their presence became a menace to the city. A camp of tents was established for them in the "River Front Park" and provisions supplied, and it was not long until between 1,500 and 2,000 men had assembled. It was then determined that some means for getting them away must be provided. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce a large fund for that purpose was subscribed and representatives of the prairie railroads made a very low rate for transporting the men to the Missouri river. A considerable number of the unwelcome guests refused to leave by rail, and insisted on voyaging down the Platte. Therefore lumber was purchased for building small flat-boats, and when these were completed several hundred of the men embarked in them with a supply of provisions. Other provisions for them were sent by rail, to two or three points down the Platte, for it was feared that if all the rations were given them here they would not leave, but go into camp again in or near the city. Some of the boats were wrecked, and it was reported that several of their passengers were drowned. The other members of the "army" were shipped east by different roads, so as to scatter them and break up whatever of organization there was among them. Their departure brought great relief to our citizens, and it ended Denver's experience with the "Commonwealers" of 1894.

The more sanguine members of our community had hoped and believed that with 1894 would come a revival of confidence and, to some extent, a renewal of activity in the stagnated channels of business. But these anticipations proved almost vain. The spring of 1894 had brought but little improvement in general conditions; and on the other hand it brought bankruptcy to many business men who, by almost superhuman efforts, had managed to keep their heads above the tide of destruction that had all but submerged city and State the previous year, and was then slowly receding. The failures of individuals and the collapse of business enterprises were many in 1894. The shores of business channels had been littered and strewn with wreckage in 1893, and with the additions made in 1894 they presented aspects of most discouraging desolation. Within eighteen months scores of the mercantile and other business establishments had succumbed; some of the banks were still in the hands of receivers or assignees; the manufacturing interests were almost prostrated; and the army of speculators, (many members of which had counted themselves as men of wealth,) its occupation gone, had been broken and scattered. Building had practically ceased and those of the former multitude of workingmen, who had still remained here, could find little for their skillful hands to do. Toward the close of 1894 a slight change for the better became apparent, but upon the whole that year was one of demoralization and stagnation in Denver. One striking illustration of the ruinous consequences of those times of disaster was seen in the "Delinquent Tax List" published in 1895. This advertisement of lands and city lots, chiefly the latter, to be sold for taxes, filled seventy-three of the large pages of the Rocky Mountain News; the equivalent of about 584 columns of solid small type, each line thereof, as a rule, pertaining to a separate piece of property. There were literally thousands of city lots specified in that advertisement. Owners of many of them had acquired title by making a small first payment with the view of soon selling at an advance. The panic had struck down their value, and for all immediate purposes of realization utterly destroyed it. Nothing could then be done with thousands of the outlying, unimproved, city lots, and hundreds of them were abandoned by their nominal owners, many of whom had left the city not to return.

It is perhaps, not essential to much further dwell upon the circumstances and conditions of those dark days in the city's history. In the elasticity of Colorado life they now seem to be happenings of long ago; and it is difficult, in the presence of all that has since been accomplished, and of all that is going on around us now, to realize that the events we have here been considering are those of years so recent as 1893 and 1894. But notwithstanding that they were so well calculated to impair faith in the future, if not to cause general despair, at no time was the spirit of Denver's enterprise sunk out of sight in the depths, nor were the ambitions of her citizens who passed through the ordeal ever seriously shaken by the thought of surrender.

The wreckage made in that time of trouble is not yet all cleared away. Receivers of several of the broken and ruined banks are still prodding and poking around in the rubbish seeking the final vestiges of values possibly remaining in the litter. An incident, which occurred in October, 1899, may serve to indicate the extent and almost completeness of the destruction of some bank assets wrought by the financial tornado. The Receiver of the Commercial National Bank offered for sale at public auction, at the door of the County Court House, a large lot of notes, judgments and the like, aggregating within a fraction of a half million dollars of nominal value. All that he could get for them in cash was $516. Yet, they represented their face value in money that had been passed out over the bank's counter in the booming days of yore. This unhappy fate of that mass of "assets" does not necessarily imply reckless or dishonest banking. Generally speaking, the circumstances and conditions of the times prior to 1893, when more or less of the resources of all the banks were converted into assets that became such Dead Sea apples, excused if they did not justify the fallible human judgment that had consented to exchanging cash for promises that men became helplessly unable to fulfill. This incident reflected conditions that had been found to exist in varying extent in the assets of all the banks, in consequence of that tempestuous storm.

The extent of the collapse in building operations in Denver in the three years following the panic is revealed in the records of the Building Inspector's office. From 2,338 new dwellings erected in 1890, the number for 1894 had sunk to 124; for 1895 to 164; and for 1896 to 134. The revival since 1896 is strikingly indicated by the building of 267 new dwellings in 1897; 343 in 1898 and 582 in 1899. In 1900 771 new buildings were erected, of which 593 were dwellings; the total cost of all, according to the Building Inspector's records, having been $2,197,816.

The annual receipts of the Denver Post Office during the last eleven years constitute another object lesson showing the rising tide of business affairs in the early years, its reversal after the panic, and its return to a far higher point than it had ever reached before. The figures are for the calendar years, and run as follows: 1890, $282,849.31; 1891, $289,120.59; 1892, $325,993.28; 1893, $301,913.87; 1894, $274,009.62; 1895, $294,196.45; 1896, $330,235.59; 1897, $333,090.29; 1898, $364,475.87; 1899, $400,526.52; 1900, $510,258.88.

It would seem that the people of Denver and of Colorado had enough to bear in 1893 and 1894 without having had their burdens and perplexities increased by the calamitous consequences of Government by Folly. But they were to learn by sore experience the possibilities for evil of which Government by Folly was and is capable. The administration of Governor Davis H. Waite was in power during those two unhappy years, having been inaugurated in January, 1893. After the collapse in the summer of 1893, Governor Waite was eager to put into operation some of his many impossible remedies for all the ills to which the body politic is heir, and was also eager to call his Legislature in special session to give the force of law to some of his numerous and preposterous vagaries. By dint of strenuous effort he was prevented calling the special session immediately, but it came later and constituted a grievous burden to the distressed people. To it we will briefly give some consideration before passing to accounts of the most disgraceful political episode in the history of the city and State, and which, also, was another legitimate consequence of Government by Folly.

Pursuant to a proclamation by Governor Waite, the Ninth General Assembly met in special session in Denver at noon on January 10, 1894. From such a body as it had previously shown itself to be, little of good was reasonably to be expected in a crisis; and there existed few sound reasons for it remaining in session after assembling, as its subse-

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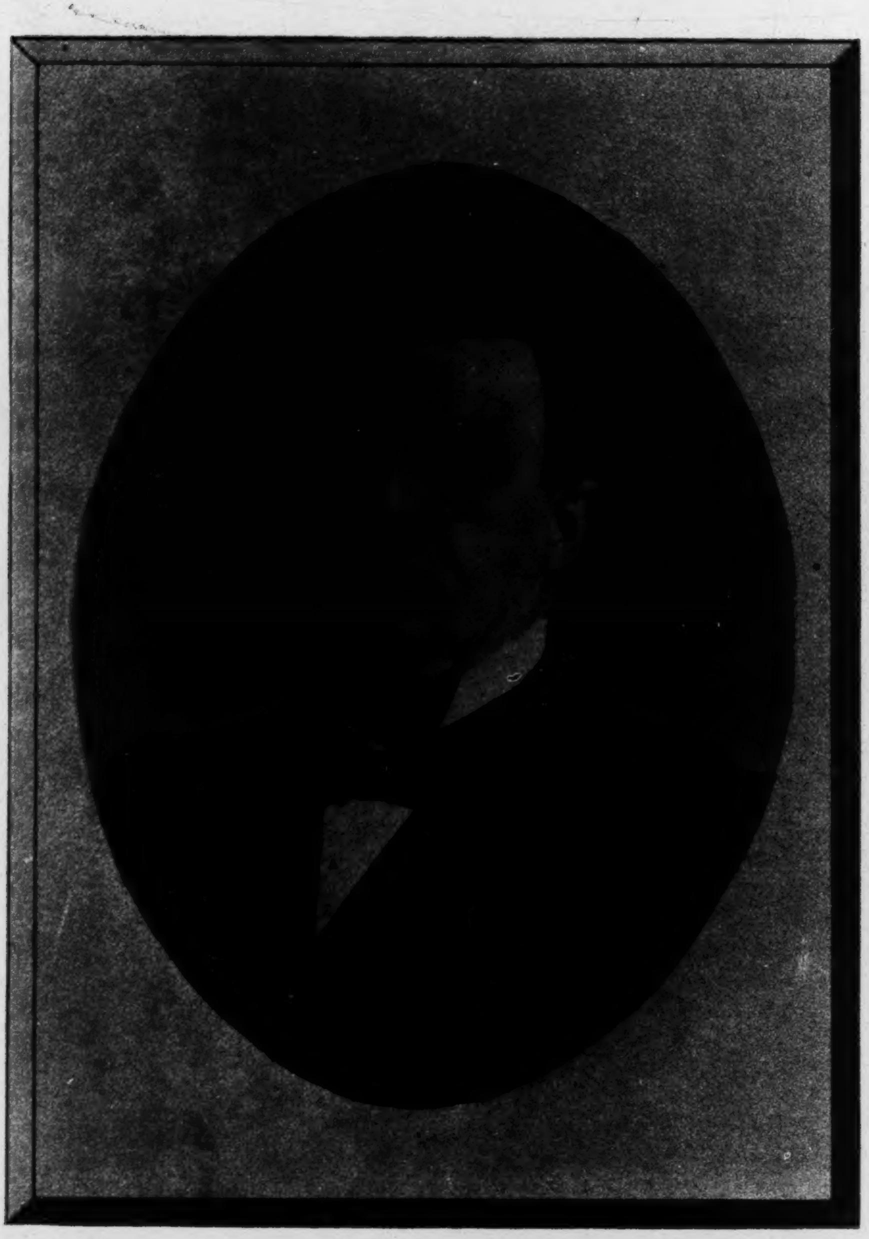
In his long and active life Gen. Bela M. Hughes probably has seen more of the development of our country west of the Mississippi river than any other man now living. Born in Carlisle, Ky., in 1817, he was educated at Augusta, Ky., College, and studied law under his father, Gen. Andrew Hughes, a distinguished Kentucky jurist. His service as a young soldier in the Black Hawk war brings to our minds a rather plainer understanding of the long span of his life. In his early manhood he removed with his father to Missouri where during twenty years thereafter he stood one of the lawyers of recognized great ability in that State. In the earlier period of his Missouri career he served in the Missouri State Senate, and was subsequently appointed by President John Quincy Adams Receiver of Public Money in Missouri. He was long the law partner of Governor Woodson, and for several years preceding the outbreak of the "Pike's Peak excitement" was engaged in banking at St. Joseph.

We have elsewhere told of Gen. Hughes' connection with the great overland mail stage company of which he was President, and of his participation in the organization of the Denver Pacific railroad company of which he was the first President. It was chiefly in consequence of his connection with the stage company that he removed to Denver in 1862; and ever since that time he has been identified with the history and fortunes of the city.

He was elected a member of the last Territorial Legislature of Colorado, and was the Democratic candidate for first Governor of the State of Colorado in 1876. The plurality for John L. Routt, his Republican opponent, was about 800, and the accuracy of the returns were challenged by Gen. Hughes' party which thought they should be contested; but Gen. Hughes refused to request a recount of the votes or to sanction a demand for it by others. In 1888 he formed a law partnership with Charles J. Hughes, Jr., and the firm continued in very successful practice for five years when Gen. Hughes retired from active work; having long before acquired a fortune. His present residence at Fourteenth Avenue and Evans street has for many years been his home.

General Hughes has been twice married. Upon attaining his majority he wedded Miss Katharine Neal who died a few years later, leaving two children who survive. At the age of thirty-one he married Miss Laura Allen; and of this union four children survive.

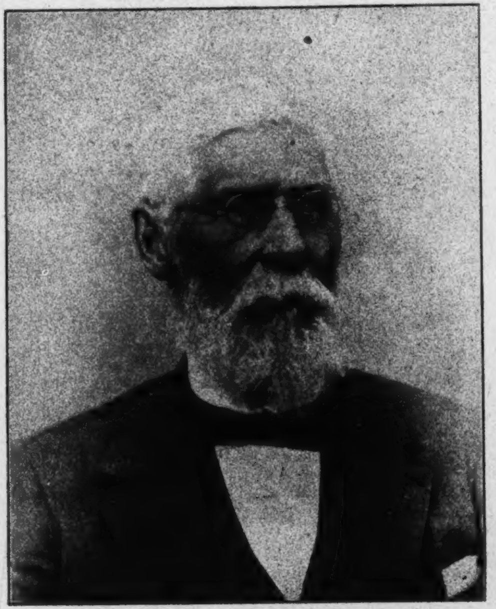
As mentioned at the beginning of this note, Gen. Hughes has seen practically the entire occupation and development of this vast western country on the sunset side of the Mississippi river, and has personally participated in much of it. A man of scholarly tastes and attainments, of studious habits, and a close observer of events, his reminiscences of what he has seen and what he has done in his long life that spans a most wonderful era, cover circumstances and achievements more remarkable than those set forth in any product of the imagination.—J. C. S.



Bela M. Hughes.

quent impotency proved, if proof were needed, Governor Waite's message to it was the most extraordinary haranguing tirade that ever emanated from a Governor of an American State. An effort was made by some members, for the sake of the State's credit and good name, to suppress it by avoiding having it printed, but they were overruled and it went abroad.

The extra session had been much opposed by the people and the rational press of all parties, but with Folly in the saddle, the opposition had availed little. It would be absurd to speak of the "deliberations" of that body. They were merely endless wranglings by day and almost endless janglings by night, and a free-for-all pandemonium ruled most of the meetings. The bedeviled people were kept in daily agitation through fear of some collossal iniquity being given the form and authority of law; and some of the propositions submitted would have been monuments to a frenzied political eruption had they been reduced to statutory form. Each demented member had a panacea for every economic ill, and each held to it that his was better than those of all the others; and so, they got into such a situation that they could do nothing with any of them. This fortunate circumstance, while it prevented the wild-cat variety, rendered the session practically unproductive of wise legislation bearing on some questions that might well have received attention from a conservative, prudent, law-making body.



Davis H. Waite

One of Waite's ridiculous schemes was to have the State of Colorado surreptitiously engage in the coinage of silver dollars. His plan was to purchase Colorado silver, ship it to Mexico and there have it coined into Colorado dollars which were to be brought back here and put into circulation; the object in having the coinage done in Mexico having been to evade conflict with the coinage provision of the United States constitution and the laws enacted thereunder. Fortunately there were enough politically sane men in the Legislature to prevent consideration of a proposition of such stupendous folly, and the "Fandango Dollars," as they were soon termed, failed to make their appearance.

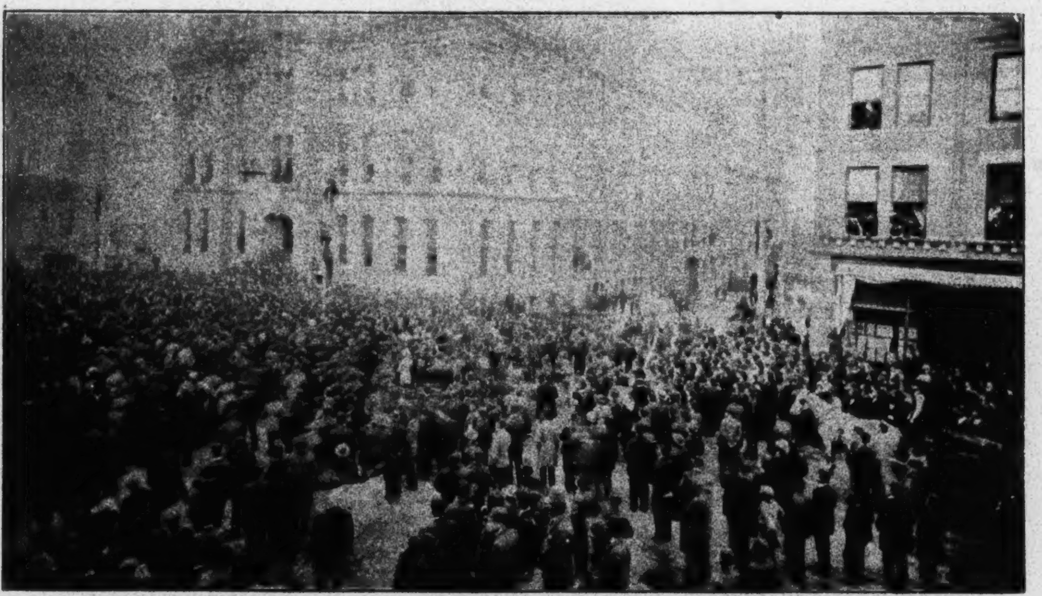
When the special session assembled the declaration was made that it would finish its "business" and adjourn on the fourth day thereafter—that four days should be the limit. Some of the members had proposed that it should meet, receive the Governor's message, and adjourn, on the same day, but this proposition would not be entertained by the great majority. Instead of a session of four days, the miserable farce dragged along through January, through February, and was not ended until late on March 2nd.

A few practical members who realized the necessities of the situation had succeeded in securing amendments to existing laws, granting longer time for redemption from trust-deed foreclosures and reducing the expense of such foreclosures; reducing the legal rate of interest, and the penalties upon delinquent taxes; and exempting from levy and attachment for debt certain wages and earnings of debtors, and otherwise modifying the attachment laws.

A measure—over which there was much self-exploitation by certain members—enacted at that session appropriated $15,000 for the construction of "public works"—a canal of some sort somewhere. It was given out that this was to relieve the distress of the unemployed; but later, when the money had been expended, it was discovered that the larger part of it had gone into the pockets of rabble politicians who had "supervised" the expenditure of the remainder in relieving the distressed unemployed

Standing beside these "relief" measures were the appropriation bills for the pay of the members of the Legislature and for the many incidental expenses of the long session. These aggregated $130,000 of the impoverished people's money, for which they received little consideration. So, about the only tangible result that came to anyone from that special session was the per diem pay of seven dollars to the members, and which amounted to $364 to each.

The wretched condition of financial affairs in Colorado that then had existed for six months had reduced the State's resources to a low ebb. It had no funds properly available with which to meet the heavy daily expense of the special session. The



Assemblage of people at the City Hall, March 15, 1894, prior to arrival of State troops.

Legislature in its regular session, held a year before, had appropriated everything in sight and much that had not come into view; therefore the only recourse was to attack the unexpended balances of the funds that had been set apart for the support of several State institutions. The fund for the School for the Deaf and Blind was first depleted, then that for the support of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, then the Agricultural College fund was ransacked, and finally the fund for the maintenance of the Asylum for Insane was exhausted to pay the expenses of that special session: thus leaving those institutions in a badly crippled financial condition the remainder of the year.

There was something like the irony of fate in this use of money that had been set apart for the support and benefit of insane persons. While the funds did not, exactly, go to those for whom they were originally intended, it seemed that the general purposes for which they had been appropriated had not miscarried.

While the Legislature was in that special session, and even before it met, trouble had been brewing between Governor Waite and two of his appointees at the City Hall—members of the Fire and Police Board. The mere fact that there was trouble, or that it was impending, between the Governor and some of his people at the City Hall, was no novelty to our citizens. The Waite administration was a series of miserable contentions, wretched wrangling, and scandalous strifes over the various offices subject, directly or indirectly, to the personal will of the State's Chief Executive; and one disgraceful brawl after another followed at the City Hall. Even the meanest of the places in the city's service became the cause of an affray of snarling and yowling.

But this particular trouble to which we have referred was destined to become the most disgraceful affair in the history of the government of our city or in that of the government of any other American city, for it brought Denver to the verge of actual civil war in consequence of a quarrel between the Governor of the State and two of his appointees to important positions in the city government. It was not a political quarrel between officials identified with hostile political parties, but practically a family affair in the political organization of which Governor Waite was nominally the head in the State.

After a great deal of uproar over Fire and Police Board affairs, Waite had previously appointed, under the provisions of the "city charter" law, Jackson Orr, D. J. Martin, and A. J. Rogers to that Board. Martin was the Democratic member, and Orr and Rogers were Populists. Orr and Martin were old citizens of considerable experience in public affairs and, while determined men, claimed to be inclined toward conservatism. Events proved them to be quite enough determined, but their valor and steadfastness were worthy a far better cause. Rogers, a man of ability, had but recently become a citizen of Denver; and his appointment had been followed by complaints from disappointed place-hunters who declared that he was barely eligible to the position, under the required period of residence. But that was of no importance, one way or another. Some of the city newspapers alleged that Rogers had been active in the councils of Tammany Hall in New York city in preceding years, and that he, upon receiving his appointment to the Fire and Police Board, had publicly announced his intention to "Tammanyize" the politics of the city; and furthermore, that the beginning was to be made by reorganizing the police force in the absolute interest of Governor Waite and his party. This alleged purpose, however, and in itself, even if given effect, would not have widely diverged from some practices known in our "city politics" both before and since that time.

It was further alleged that this plan, as presented by the advisors of the Chief Executive had captivated the old Governor, and that upon the refusal of Orr and Martin to indorse it or co-operate in it, Waite began casting about for some means by which to get rid of the two obstinate members who were also much inclined to act with some independence in various other directions. This is a brief outline of the alleged state of affairs at the close of 1893 when the Governor had determined upon the removal of the two members of the Fire and Police Board who he declared persisted in acting contrary to his will.

There is no doubt about Waite having been, throughout his administration, more or less a dupe of trickster politicians who cunningly played upon his overweening vanity and highly excited ambitions. But to his credit it is to be recorded that he was personally hostile to gambling and gamblers; and he and his partisans declared that he had instructed his Fire and Police Board that gaming should and must be suppressed in Denver. Alleged indifference to or neglect of the Governor's instructions was, or was pretended to be, the basis upon which the Executive rested his determination to summarily remove Orr and Martin.

Therefore a charge of malfeasance in office was preferred against them, founded upon member Rogers' alleged knowledge of a wrongful act of the accused men. The substance of this specific charge was that Orr and Martin had officially provided police protection for a certain gambling den. On January 15, 1894, Waite notified Orr and Martin in writing of the charge against them, and recommended that they at once resign rather than face an investigation; in fact, the notification was practically a demand for their resignations. The two men responded in writing, denying the charge, inviting the fullest investigation, and peremptorily refusing to resign. On January 19th in response to a summons from the Governor, the two men appeared before him and had a "trial" on the charge and, of course, were found guilty, in his judgment. Still they refused to resign, and demanded a thorough investigation.

State Infantry on Lawrence street near Fifteenth, en route to the City Hall, March 15, 1894.

The special session of the Legislature and other matters growing out of his Government by Folly, demanded the Governor's attention at that juncture, and therefore his conflict with Orr and Martin had to await a later day for its active renewal. But the bickering went on through February and until early in March when Waite precipitated events and brought on the culmination of the shameful affair. He had decided to at once dispose of not only the two members of the Fire and Police Board, but the two Populist members of the City Board of Public Works, and three members of the State Penitentiary Board. He also decided to begin with Orr and Martin by summarily removing them and forcibly ejecting them from the City Hall. The special session of the Legislature had adjourned, and the Senate which, perhaps, might refuse to confirm new appointments, was out of the way, and the Governor thought he had a free field for action.

Having learned of the Governor's intentions, the City Hall people prepared to resist by force of arms, and to stand a siege if necessary. The order of removal for Orr and Martin was expected on March 6th, but there was some delay and it did not come until the 7th. By that time the City Hall had been made an arsenal, and a barrack of armed men—regular and special policemen, and Deputy Sheriffs; for the Sheriff of the county was in sympathy with the threatened Board members. On March 8th Governor Waite appointed Dennis Mullins Fire Commissioner to succeed Orr, and Samuel D. Barnes Excise Commissioner to succeed Martin; A. J. Rogers continuing as Police Commissioner. In the evening of that day, Orr and Martin, claiming that an attempt was being made to remove them for the single reason that they had refused to join in what was alleged to be the political prostitution of the police force, and that for that reason the attempt was an illegal one, went into Court with their case. Upon their application, in which their attempted removal was alleged to have been unlawful, Judge Graham, in the District Court, issued a restraining order preventing Mullins and Barnes interfering with Orr and Martin in the discharge of official duties by the latter two; the writ to remain in force ten days. The order also extended to Governor Waite and Mayor Van Horn, restraining them from using force to eject Orr and Martin from the Board. This was in consequence of Waite's threats to call out the militia and eject the two men from the City Hall at the point of the bayonet, and of Van Horn's action in mustering a large force of special police to assist the militia. The injunction served to suspend active hostilities for a few days, and on the 10th the Governor announced his willingness to abide by Judge Graham's order.

However, on March 13th, the Governor sought to have Judge Graham modify his order of the 8th, which he refused to do. Learning, in advance, of the Governor's movements, the City Hall people had increased their stock of arms and ammunition, and reinforced their policemen and Deputy Sheriffs. Incensed by Judge Graham's refusal, Governor Waite determined upon actual war upon the City Hall, and declared his intention to at once call out the militia. Orr and Martin refused to budge, and next morning (Wednesday, the 14th) were sustained in their position by the physical assistance of the entire police force, reinforced by an increased number of armed Deputy Sheriffs. In the evening of that day Waite ordered out the First Regiment of Colorado Infantry, and the Chaffee Light Artillery with two Gatling guns and two field-pieces. These troops invested the City Hall on Thursday morning and Waite declared that with them he would force an entrance to the building and physically eject the bodies of the two Board members, in defiance of Judge Graham's injunction.

State Artillery on Lawrence street near Fifteenth, en route to the City Hall, March 15, 1894.

With the city thus brought to the verge of actual civil war in its streets, there was, of course, a great turmoil and wild excitement among the people. Business was almost suspended, and battle was momentarily expected to begin. Nothing like such conditions had ever before been seen in the city, and it is to be hoped that nothing like them will ever be seen again. In the City Hall were more than 200 policemen and Deputy Sheriffs armed with Winchester rifles, and revolvers, abundantly supplied with ammunition, and having in reserve a quantity of dynamite. The troops surrounded the building and stood with loaded arms, the artillerymen with their guns shotted, awaiting the order to open fire, which Waite hesitated about giving. Instead of doing that he appealed to the commandant at Fort Logan for more troops "to aid in preserving the peace." In response to what was supposed to be a grave emergency, 300 regulars were hastened in from Logan and stationed in reserve at the Union Passenger Station. Although the excitement among the people was at fever heat, the presence of United States troops was reassuring, for it was known that if they were used at the City Hall or elsewhere it would be to keep peace and not to participate in an attack on that building or in any other way to assist Governor Waite in his madman's work.

Not content with what he had already done in making the city a war-camp, Governor Waite, in the evening of Thursday, the 15th, declared he would call out the entire military force of the State to carry out his purposes at the City Hall, and issued the following:

"PROCLAMATION."

"All companies of the National Guard of the State are hereby notified to be in readiness at their respective armories, to respond to call to come to Denver, which will be issued on Friday of this week.

Davis H. Waite,
Denver, Thursday, 9 p. m. Governor."

That night, by direction of Governor Waite, Adjutant General Tarsney telegraphed all commanding officers of the National Guard to assemble their companies in their armories and await further orders. On Friday morning Waite ordered the Adjutant General to immediately collect all arms belonging to the State that had been loaned to the public school cadet companies, to the Grand Army Posts and other organizations, and declared his intention to call out every able-bodied male citizen to assist with arms in enforcing at the City Hall obedience to his orders. The guns were collected that day, but the citizens were not called upon to use them.

These proceedings added to the Governor's previous inflammatory talk and reckless acts greatly increased the excitement among the people, and produced a feeling of grave alarm among even the most conservative citizens. A meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was immediately called at which a committee consisting of William N. Byers, Chairman; David H. Moffat, Walter S. Cheesman, F. P. Ernest, Job A. Cooper, George Tritch, Charles M. Clinton, R. W. Woodbury, Samuel Lesem, J. S. Appel, Alfred Butters, E. Monash, John D. McGilvray, J. J. Joslin, Donald Fletcher, William G. Evans, Scott J. Anthony, and Charles B. Kountze was appointed to wait upon the Governor and endeavor to induce him to stay his perilous course. So, there was the extraordinary spectacle of a committee of citizens appointed to appeal to the Governor of the State to refrain from precipitating civil war in the State's capital city; and it became chiefly instrumental in turning the tide of danger, though in its first attempt, made during the day, its efforts appeared futile.

On Friday evening a meeting of about sixty prominent citizens was held and, going back to the effective pioneer remedy for anarchy, organized a Committee of Safety.

It was believed by many that Waite had power to summarily remove members of the city Boards, but it was known by nearly everyone that his call upon the militia was utterly unwarranted by law—that he had no authority to order out the militia until asked to do so by the Sheriff of the county who must first have exhausted all the means at his command to preserve the peace. The denial by

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William K. Burchinell, who was Sheriff of Arapahoe county at the time of Gov. Waite's memorable "War on the City Hall," is a native of Pennsylvania, having been born in Huntingdon county October 12, 1846. After passing through the usual course in the public schools of his native county, he entered the Hollidaysburg, Pa., Academy where he remained until July, 1862, when he enlisted in the Fifteenth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry and served with it through the war. He was then attached to the Quartermaster's department at Nashville, Tenn., where he remained until 1866, when he returned to Pennsylvania and engaged in business. In 1873 he was elected a Representative in the Pennsylvania Legislature from Huntingdon county, and after the expiration of his term was appointed Receiver of the Public Land Office at Fairplay, Colorado, by President Grant in February, 1875, a circumstance that transferred him to Colorado, where he has since been a prominent figure in affairs. In 1879 President Hayes re-appointed him Receiver, a position in which he capably served a total of eight years. In 1879 the Land Office was removed from Fairplay to Leadville, where Mr. Burchinell soon became largely interested in mining. Late in 1883, after the expiration of his second term as Receiver, he located in Denver where he has since resided. Continuing his mining operations he became, in 1886, President of the Denver Machinery Company, and in 1891 was elected by the Republican party Sheriff of Arapahoe county; and in 1893 was re-nominated and re-elected to that office. In 1898 he was appointed by the County Commissioners to fill, until the next county election, the vacancy caused by the death of Sheriff Webb. During his terms as Sheriff, in one of which, as indicated on these pages, he had the stormiest experience known by any incumbent of the office, Mr. Burchinell continued his interests in mining, to which he now devotes his whole time and attention, being an owner in several highly productive mining properties in Colorado.—J. C. S.

William K. Burchinell.

Scene on Fourteenth street between Larimer and Lawrence streets March 15, 1894. State troops awaiting orders to open fire on the City Hall.

Orr and Martin of Waite's authority to summarily oust them was a matter for the Courts to decide. The Constitution of the State provided a peaceful and ready remedy that was immediately available, in Section 3, of Article VI:

"The Supreme Court shall give its opinion upon important questions upon solemn occasions when required by the Governor, the Senate, or the House of Representatives."

On Friday evening Chairman Byers and several members of the Chamber of Commerce committee again visited the Governor and after long discussion induced him to submit his case to the Supreme Court under the provision of the Constitution we have quoted. His private legal counsel had also been urging him to do so. On Saturday, March 17th, the Governor, by his attorneys, asked the Supreme Court to pass upon the questions at issue.

The United States troops had been returned to Fort Logan when the nature of the conflict in Denver became known to the War Department, and the Bull Hill strike trouble that had in the meantime broken out at Cripple Creek called for the presence of militia in that town. Therefore, on Saturday, the militia was sent from Denver, and over Sunday the city had less of a war-like aspect; also in the meantime Chief of Police Kellogg had resigned on the 13th and the "old Board" had appointed J. F. Stone to succeed him; and the "new Board" had appointed John F. Farley to the same position, thus giving the city a double-headed police supervision. The militia returned from Cripple Creek on the 20th but was not again stationed at the City Hall.

On March 25th the Supreme Court decided that the Governor had authority under the "city charter" act to remove Orr and Martin and to appoint their successors, but not to call out the military forces of the State to enforce his order of removal; and that if Orr and Martin refused to vacate their positions the remedy was to oust them by action through the Courts. The heart of the decision was embraced in the following lines:

"His duty and responsibility cease upon the making of the order of appointment, and any attempt on his part to personally enforce such order or install his appointee is beyond any express or implied duty or power imposed or conferred by constitution or statute."

This left Orr and Martin in possession of their places and they continued holding the municipal fort, with the intention of doing so until the processes of litigation should compel them to yield. On the 28th the Governor, notwithstanding the decision of the Supreme Court, threatened to declare martial law in the city on account of what he called the insurrection at the City Hall but, instead of doing that he obtained next day an order from Judge Glynn, who was temporarily sitting in Judge Graham's stead, restraining the "old Board" and its Chief of Police from acting in their official capacities. Then on March 30th the Governor ordered Adjutant General Tarsney to at once recruit the two infantry regiments of the State militia up to full war-strength in preparation for concentrating the State's entire military force at the City Hall for an active military campaign.

But all these proceedings were terminated by an order from the Supreme Court that Orr and Martin should surrender their offices to Mullins and Barnes at noon on April 18th, the opinion of the Court having been that there was practically no check, under the law, to the use or misuse of power of removal by a reckless and arbitrary Governor.

The change occurred quietly on the appointed day, and Waite's War on the City Hall became part of local history. The entire affair was a most disgraceful episode and was among the legitimate fruits of frenzied politics and correlated follies. However, the alleged proposition to "Tammanyize" the city government was not put into effect.

Davis H. Waite was elected Governor of Colorado in 1892 by a plurality of 5,436 in a total vote of 93,756, there having been four candidates for the office that year. In 1894, when there were again four candidates, one of whom was Waite for re-election, he was defeated by Albert W. McIntire by a plurality of 18,608 in a total vote of 180,983; the great increase in the aggregate vote having been due to women first voting at general elections, in that year. Their vote was heavily against Waite, and in Arapahoe county McIntire's plurality exceeded 17,000.

Waite is a native of Jamestown, N. Y., (April 9, 1825,) where he taught school, and later studied law in his father's office, but did not practice until comparatively late in life. He lived in western Pennsylvania from 1846 until 1850, when he removed to Wisconsin and in 1856 was elected the Marquette county member of the Legislature of that State. In 1859 he removed to Missouri and engaged in school-teaching until late in 1860, when he returned east and at intervals until 1876 taught school, published newspapers, and practiced law in western Pennsylvania and New York State. Locating at Larned, Kan., in 1876, he farmed, practiced law, and became the member of the Kansas Legislature from Pawnee county. In 1879 he removed to Leadville, Col., and continued law practice; and in 1881 located at Aspen which has since been his home. He was a Republican until 1891, and in each of the places in which he has lived mixed more or less in rather stormy politics, but is now quiescent. His personal honesty has never been questioned—he having that good quality common to nearly all men of fanatical opinions and purposes. His "blood to the bridles" speech, delivered in July, 1893, at Coliseum Hall in Denver, gave him a wider, notoriety than any other act or utterance of his; and this in connection with the general character of his administration, worked great harm to Colorado.

An impartial historian dealing at length with the political affairs of Colorado, revealing the iniquities that have frequently attended them, would make clear to the dullest understanding the afflictions and burdens they have more than once imposed upon the people. Both Colorado and Denver have more than once been grievously wounded by those engaged in political affrays; the good repute of each has suffered and the garments of both have been stained. It was so in the earlier times, and has been so in times between; but in no instance was Territory, or State, or city, brought to such humiliation and shame as were imposed by the Waite administration of State affairs. Through some perversity of fate, it would seem, this most injurious visitation, of all our political evils, came at a time when the people were bowed down by other troubles that were far more than a sufficiency for the day.

CHAPTER LXXII.

PERIOD OF RECOVERY—INSTITUTION OF FESTIVALS OF MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN—GUMRY HOTEL HORROR—MINING DISASTER NEAR CENTRAL CITY—STORM-BOUND RAILROADS—PROPOSED AUDITORIUM—FAILURE OF THE PROJECT—PROPOSED MUNICIPAL WATERWORKS—BONDS AUTHORIZED AND SOLD—LEGAL INTERRUPTION OF PROCEEDINGS—CENSUS OF 1900—DISAPPOINTING RESULT—ANALYSIS OF CAUSES—TIDES IN THE AFFAIRS OF DENVER.

The line of division between an old and a new year is one of man's wholly artificial arrangements, and was not so intelligently laid down as it would have been had it been made to coincide with the winter solstice. As it is, it is wholly arbitrary, and has no more definiteness in the sense of marking changed conditions than is to be found along the lines of demarcation between the city of Denver, proper, and several of the independent towns that flourish within her corporate boundaries. Still, through a custom of ages we have come to something like a conviction that the ending of an old and the beginning of a new year are separated by a distinctive line over which we step when the midnight bells ring out the old and ring in the new. With a simple faith that goes far toward justifying the old conclusion that, after all, men and women are but grown-up children, we always believe that the new year will be different from the one just closed; that it will be fairer, and better in every way, more helpful to us, and that if the ambition of our little lives be not attained within the twelve-months, it will be brought so near that its possession can not much longer be delayed.

Denver bade farewell to 1894 without regret, and welcomed its successor with the courage and hopefulness that would seem to be indigenous to our western country, and with a determination to resume the forward movement; leaving the past to bury its dead. There had been eighteen months of the most trying and destructive conditions that any community was ever called upon to meet and overcome; and our people were glad to step over the line that, it was hoped, and expected, too, would finally separate that long season of trouble and sorrow from an era of renewed endeavor and returning prosperity.

The year 1895 proved these anticipations not to have been ill-founded, although it was not a year of great activity, but rather one of preparation. In the mining districts general attention, that had been in ante-panic times almost exclusively bestowed upon silver production, had been turned to the development of the lode gold-mines which since that time have placed Colorado first among the gold-producing States of the Union, and made it the equal of any part of the world as a producer of precious metals. The extent and richness of the Cripple Creek district had then become well understood, and the agricultural and pastoral interests of the State had made great advances. Nevertheless, 1895 was a year of comparatively "dull times" in Denver. There was some building done, and the advance made in other directions was upon a substantial basis.

Throughout 1896 conditions steadily improved, and confirmed beliefs that the city and State would not and could not be denied renewed prosperity. The revival of progress got fairly under way in 1897, and since that time its momentum has been greater and greater every month and has wrought changes and made developments as remarkable as they are gratifying. The past had buried its dead.

Out of the circumstances and conditions in Denver and elsewhere in Colorado in 1895 arose our autumn Festival of the Mountain and Plain at Denver; an institution that has annually afforded since that time—excepting in 1900—diversion and entertainment for several days to many thousands of Colorado people. The causes leading to the inauguration of a festival season so soon after the rack and wreck of 1893-94, are outlined in the following extract from a recent article by Mr. John McNamara, Secretary of the Festival Association:

> "The season of 1895 seemed at last to offer some basis of at least partial hope. Although general business still stood inactive and was slow to recover from the shock it had received, nevertheless a ripening harvest promised abundance to farmers, and live stock interests were accordingly prosperous and advancing. These hopes were most pleasantly realized in ripening grains and marketable cattle, and these two foundation elements of the community were smiling in plenteous abundance. A feeling of renewed security, a desire to be up and doing, a tendency to take advantage of the new impetus to prosperity pervaded all classes. Above and beyond all was an innate and deep-seated sense of gratitude for the blessings bountifully showered by nature upon a disheartened peo-

ple, and the general and spontaneous impulse was to publicly testify in some fitting manner the glad alacrity with which all business interests grasped at the new lease of prosperity. Out of this public sentiment of universal gratitude grew the idea of the Festival of Mountain and Plain. The name seemed most appropriate, and none other has since been able to replace its apt fitness. It was designed to form a union of the common interests, the common aspirations, the common gratitude, and the common new upspringing of the hopes and expectations of all localities of the state, whether situated in the miner's home among the rugged mountains, or the level lowlands of the husbandman of the plains."

The decision to provide in Denver a brief holiday season for the people of the city and State was reached so late in the summer of 1895 that there was but little time left for preparations. It was quickly decided that the event should be known by the appropriate name, "Festival of the Mountain and Plain," and all arrangements for it, and its general management, were committed to a Board of Direction consisting of the following-named Denver citizens:

Amphitheatre (or "Grand Stand") at Broadway and Colfax Avenue, Festival of 1899.

Platt Rogers, President; J. S. Appel, Vice President; Wolfe Londoner, Treasurer; F. E. Smith, Secretary; Frank E. Hartman, Corresponding Secretary; John McNamara, Assistant Secretary; R. W. Speer, Director-General; George Ady, A. A. Blow, Seth B. Bradley, W. N. Byers, Earl B. Coe, Rodney Curtis, Carlton Ellis, C. M. Hill, S. K. Hooper, R. F. Hunter, W. F. Hynes, W. H. James, J. H. Jordan, J. G. Kirkpatrick, H. J. Mayham, T. S. McMurray, M. J. McNamara, E. Monash, T. J. O'Donnell, W. B. Redmond, Charles H. Reynolds, W. B. Root, J. R. Schermerhorn, M. Spangler, I. N. Stevens, B. F. Winchell and Adolph Zang.

A similar organization, it may be stated here, omitting the Director-General, had charge of each subsequent Festival.

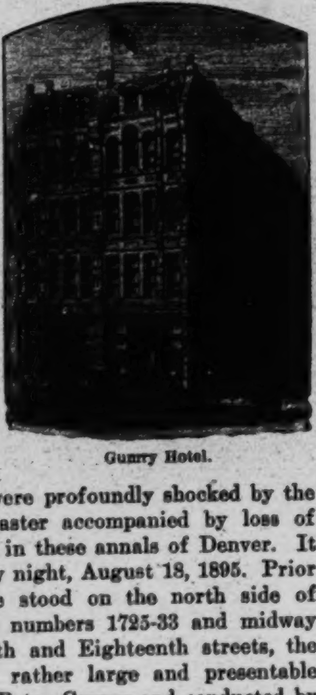
Notwithstanding the brevity of preparatory time, that first Festival drew such crowds to the city, proved so popular with the people, and so well accomplished the purposes for which it had been held, that a determination to make it an annual autumn event was a logical consequence.

The first festival was held in the second week of October, and the next three during the first week of October, but because of the coolness of October evenings, it was deemed better to have that of 1899 in the last week of September. To the earlier ones three days were allotted, but in 1899 the festivities extended over four days. While these festivals are to a very great extent play-times for men, women and children, some of their features reflect the advancement in material progress of the State and city. On each day a distinctive procession passes through the central part of the city, and in that in which the industries of Colorado are represented the magnitude of the mining, agricultural, pastoral, manufacturing and mercantile interests appears in a moving object-lesson. In this, and also in other street pageants, United States troops from Fort Logan, the State militia, the city departments and many civic societies participate.

But it is in the spectacular and masquerading demonstrations that the average spectator or participant is amused and entertained, if not instructed. On maskers' day Nonsense and Tomfoolery are in command, and everybody has a more or less good time; and when that day turns to night there is a public, out-door masquerade ball, free to all, and participated in by thousands. The culminating spectacle of the Festival has been the illuminated pageant, on the last night, under the management of the organized Slaves of the Silver Serpent. In this demonstration allegorical, fabulous, mythological, and various other representations of things dear to the memories and hearts of children of both sexes and all ages appear on wheels and in bewildering gorgeousness; and as a reward for well-doing, the Serpent's Slaves clad in heroic costumes glittering with alleged silver and gold spangles, later in the evening go to a fine ball that constitutes the less public but more brilliant social event of the Festival. The "grand stand," which for past Festivals was built on part of the block bounded by Broadway, and Colfax, Lincoln, and Sixteenth Avenues, was made the objective of the street pageants which passed in review before the multitudes assembled there, and was also the scene of the out-door masquerade ball. The structure erected there in 1899 afforded seats, without crowding, for 10,000 people. As will be seen, the more general character of these festivals has been similar to that of the Mardi-Gras Festivals that have so long been annual events in the city of New Orleans, and that are so familiar in details to thousands that further accounting here of our own would quickly degenerate into tediousness—a condition from which part of what has already been said may not in the reader's judgment be entitled to exclusion.

In the spring of 1900 it was decided that the year should pass without a Festival in order that energies and resources might be husbanded for an effort in 1901 that should make the Festival of the first year of the new century far surpass in novelty, interest and importance everything of the kind that has heretofore occurred in Denver.

A long-continued annual recurrence of the Festival is, of course, not probable; that is to say, not upon the basis of the five that have been held. The spirit and characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon race dominate in Colorado, and to people of that race the general features of past festivals do not present sufficient vitality nor utility to become permanently attractive or desirable. However, it is more than probable that from the beginning made in these festivals, and retaining some of their characteristics, will arise a larger, broader, and more dignified annual expression of the purposes for which they were inaugurated.


Gumry Hotel.

About the time it had been decided to hold the first Festival of the Mountain and Plain, our people were profoundly shocked by the most appalling disaster accompanied by loss of life, to be recorded in these annals of Denver. It occurred on Sunday night, August 18, 1895. Prior to that time there stood on the north side of Lawrence street at numbers 1725-33 and midway between Seventeenth and Eighteenth streets, the "Gumry Hotel," a rather large and presentable building owned by Peter Gumry and conducted by him and Robert C. Greiner as a public house. A few minutes before that Sunday midnight the steam boiler in the rear part of the building's cellar exploded with a deafening roar and crash. At that hour nearly all the inmates of the house were in their beds. The explosion wrecked the building, and caused floors, partitions, furniture and people to fall inward and downward in one confused, inextricable mass. To add to the horrors of the situation, fire broke out in the great heap of debris within a few minutes after the explosion; which had been so violent as to shatter the glass in all buildings in the immediate neighborhood, and to cause great clouds of dust to arise from the wrecked hotel.

The fire and police departments quickly had all their resources at the scene of disaster, but could do nothing toward rescuing those imprisoned in the mass of wreckage; and twenty-two persons gave up their lives. A few of the inmates of the hotel had escaped, some unhurt, and others more or less seriously injured. It is probable that many of those who went down in the wreckage were killed outright; yet, many others died from suffocation or burning.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the firemen to subdue the flames, they persisted in the mass of rubbish, and greatly retarded the work of the large force of men employed by Mayor McMurray to remove the debris and rescue any of the unfortunate people buried in it and who might still be living. But, on Monday morning it became apparent that all were dead. It was several days before all the wreckage was cleared away and the exact extent of the disaster known.

Steam-power was used for running the elevator and for other work of the house. The "engineer" was an inexperienced young man of twenty years, named Helmuth Loescher; and of habits not exemplary. A few minutes before the explosion, he had gone to a neighboring saloon, got a drink, and according to the saloon-keeper's story, started back to the hotel. For several days he was supposed to have been one of the victims. But before he entered the house, the boiler let go. Loescher immediately fled the city, but within the week was recognized and arrested at Antonita in the southern part of the State, and brought back to Denver.

The disaster and the peculiarly frightful circumstances attending it, horrified the city; and as the burned, broken, and in some cases almost unrecognizable, bodies of the victims were brought forth, one after another, the tension of public feeling became greater and greater in anticipation of the ca-

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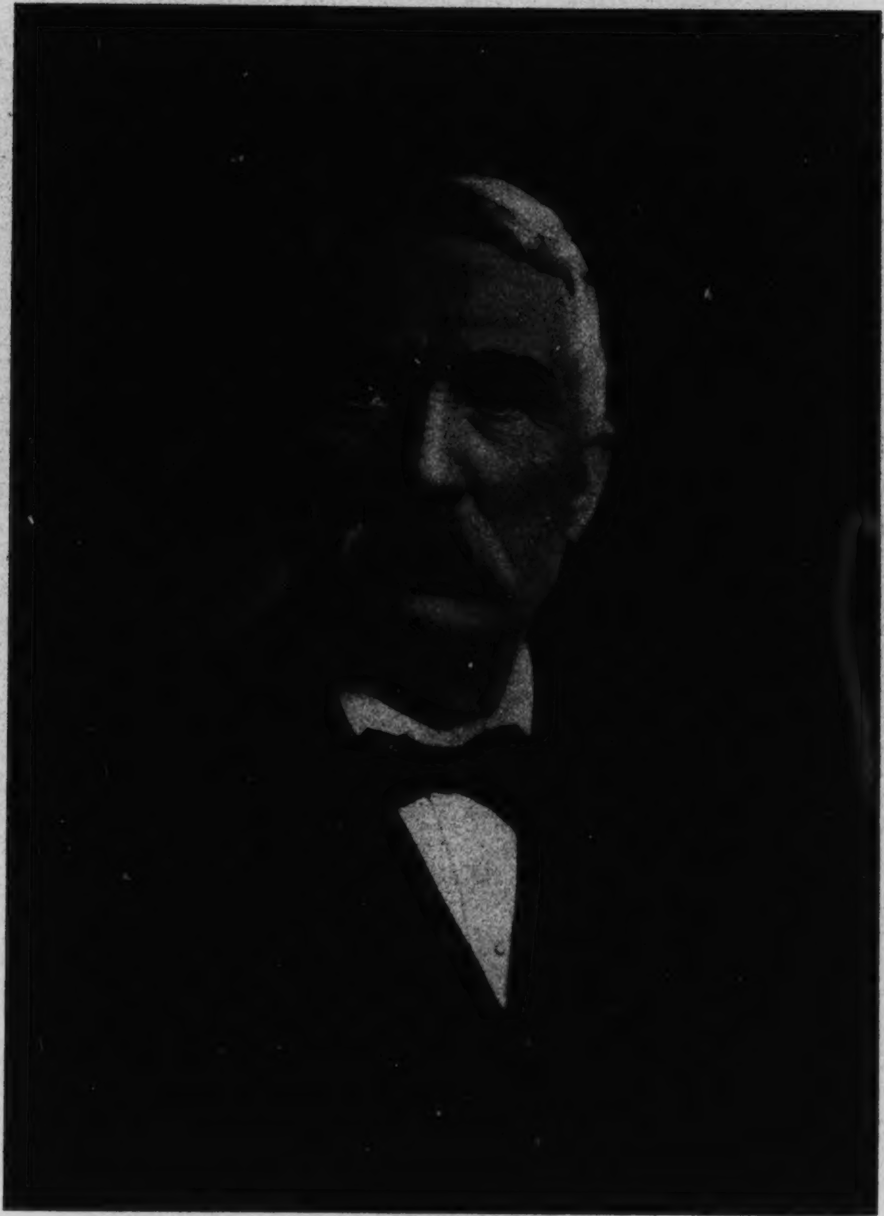
Dennis Sullivan, long a citizen of Denver, and who has in many ways been identified with the city's development since the pioneer era, was born in Renssalaer county, N. Y., in 1837. When a young man, he engaged in railroading in that State and was for several years, a conductor of passenger trains on the New York Central road. Coming to Colorado in 1866, he soon thereafter became interested in mining, and almost continuously since that time has been as a mine operator successfully associated with that great industry of the State. His identification with various undertakings here in the city appears elsewhere in this volume; the more prominent of them being the water company, and the Denver National Bank of which he has long been a Director. Politically a Democrat, he received in January, 1885, the complimentary nomination of his party as its candidate for United States Senator; and in the joint ballot by the General Assembly at that time was given the unanimous vote (twenty) of the Democratic members of that body.—J. C. S.



Dennis Sullivan.

Fifteenth street southward from near Lawrence street, in 1901.

lamity having involved even more loss of life than was later proved to have ensued.

The hotel's register, which was found the morning after the explosion, bore the names of several strangers who were supposed to have lost their lives, but who were later accounted for. The number of victims, as finally determined, and certified in the Coroner's report, was twenty-two, as stated in the following:

Adams, Gen. Charles, Manitou.
Blake, Albert S., Pueblo.
Burt, George, Colorado Springs.
Corson, W. J., Denver.
Dodds, W. D., Albany, N. Y.
French, Ferd, Central City.
Greiner, Robert C., Denver.
Greiner, Mrs. Robt. C., Denver.
Gumry, Peter, Denver.
Hawley, M. E., Denver.
Hubbold, Fred., Lisbon, Iowa.
Laager, Lizzie, Denver.
Lorah, Bela I., Central City.
McCloskey, E. F., Cripple Creek.
Monroe, A. M., Denver.
Muhlethaler, Emma, Denver.
Murphy, James, Denver.
Reinehuber, Louise, Denver.
Richards, Evan W., Denver.
Richards, William, Denver.
Wolfe, Hannah, Lincoln, Neb.
Wolfe, Margaret, Lincoln, Neb.

General Charles Adams was a man of prominence in Colorado and her affairs, and his untimely death was sincerely mourned by many people. Gumry had been a citizen of Denver for about twenty years. He was a contractor and builder, had been one of the contractors for the construction of the Court House, and had later been made superintendent of construction of the Capitol, a work on which he had been engaged from the beginning of operations on that great edifice. After his death a popular story concerning him was to the effect that he had no relatives; that his parents had sailed from Europe with him as an infant; that their ship was lost at sea and they with it; that the child was rescued by some of the crew who escaped in an open boat and were afterward picked up; that his name being unknown, the Captain of the rescuing vessel gave him that of the lost Captain of the lost ship—Peter Gumry. The fact was that he came to America from Sweden in 1860 in company with a brother, the two locating in Minnesota. Peter later moved west and settled in Denver early in the "Seventies." He acquired a considerable estate, and after his death various fraudulent claimants demanded it. Several years of litigation followed, and recently the Minnesota brother, and a brother and two sisters in Sweden received what was left after many claims growing out of the hotel disaster had been adjusted.

The Coroner's inquest had continued several days and until the bodies of all the victims had been taken from the smouldering, steaming ruins. The verdict, after stating that the several persons came to their deaths from injuries received in consequence of the explosion of the steam boiler, followed by fire and the destruction of the building, went on to say:

> "From the testimony submitted, which was conflicting, we are unable to fix the responsibility for the disaster upon any one person, but we believe the owners and managers, Peter Gumry and Robert C. Greiner, were blamable for requiring of the engineer sixteen hours work out of twenty-four, a requirement far beyond the ability of any man to endure and perform good work. Also for employing an engineer whose habits were dissipated and unreliable, and whose experience did not justify them in placing him in such responsible position, all of which were well known to them.
>
> "We find that the engineer, Helmuth Loescher, had been drinking on the night of the disaster, and further that he had not examined the safety-valve to the boiler for two months; proving him to be unfit to occupy any position where security to life and property depends upon the faithful performance of duty."

Loescher, the "engineer," could give no intelligible account of the boiler's condition when he left it to go to the saloon. His ignorance of the duties of an engineer and his total unfitness for his place were clearly brought out in his testimony before the Coroner's jury. It did not appear that he could be held criminally responsible, and as the men who were responsible for the old boiler and for his employment as "engineer" were among the dead, the Coroner's verdict could not have well been other than it was.

It appeared that the city Boiler Inspector had examined the boiler on the previous May 16th, and had ordered some repairs made to it, but had certified it without having known the repairs to have been made. After the disaster the City Council created a licensing Board of Examining Engineers, the Loescher type of "engineer" was eradicated, and a wholesale examination of steam-boilers was made throughout the city. But, a fearful penalty had been paid for the previous lax and inefficient methods out of which the cause of this calamity had arisen.

The Gumry Hotel was not a hotel in the full sense of the term, but a lodging or "rooming" house of the better class. It was a five-story brick structure with a cut-stone front, the fifth story having been of the "mansard" type. The building would seem to have been an ill-fated one from the beginning. It was built in 1887 for commercial purposes, most of its stone front having been that of the Clifford building that stood on the south side of Lawrence street, near Sixteenth, and that was burned out in 1886; its site now being occupied by part of the Daniels & Fisher building. The Gumry building was first occupied by the "Eden Musee," and was burned out in February, 1889; the fire having been a bad and costly one. The building was repaired and next occupied by a furniture establishment; and within a short time burned out again. It was then reconstructed for hotel purposes, and was conducted as a hotel two or three years, when it became a "rooming-house" and continued as such until the great calamity of August 18, 1895, befell it.

The building remained in its ruined condition, most of the front wall and parts of the others still standing, until late in the autumn of 1900, when the premises were sold by order of the Court having charge of the estate, and the purchaser began removing the wreck preparatory to building anew on its site.

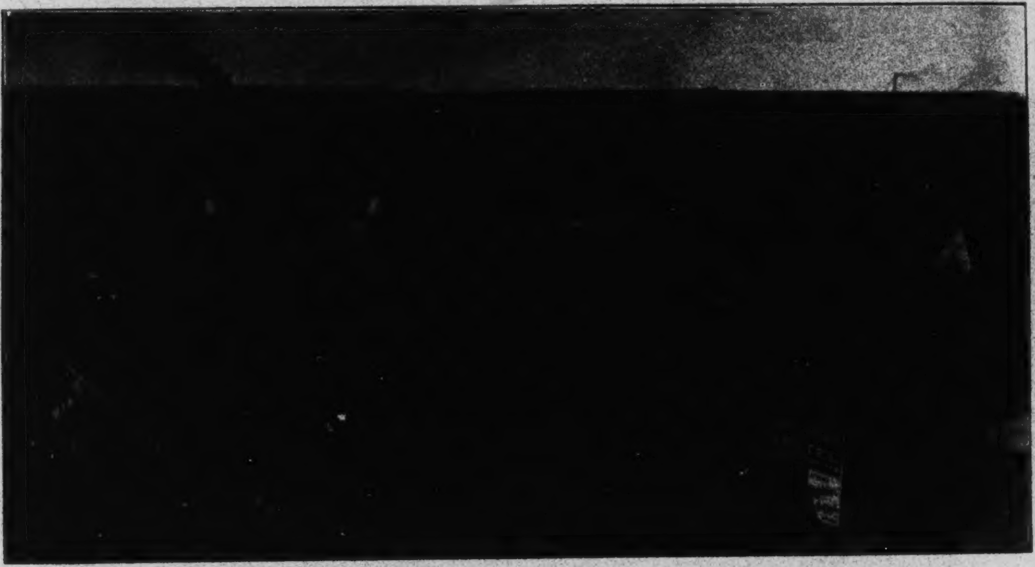
Within a few days after this shocking disaster occurred in Denver, another one happened near Central City in which fourteen men lost their lives by the flooding of the Americus and Sleepy Hollow mines on the old Gregory Lode near Central City. This was the most serious mining accident in the history of mining in the Clear creek districts. The Americus and Sleepy Hollow were adjacent to the Gregory and Fisk workings which were two-thirds filled with water. The Americus and Sleepy Hollow workings were deeper than those of their flooded neighbors and separated from them by a thin wall of rock, the Americus shaft being 700 feet deep and that of the Sleepy Hollow about 600 feet. On the afternoon of August 29th the dividing wall gave way and the water from the others, which had stood 300 feet deep in them, rushed into the Americus and Sleepy Hollow, and in an instant overwhelmed the miners there. But one, Henry Prisk, out of the fifteen men in the two mines, escaped, the others being drowned like rats in a trap. The "accident" was due to bad mining engineering and reckless carelessness.

Of the fourteen victims of this disaster two met death in the Americus mine, and the others in the Sleepy Hollow. Their names were:

Avansinni, Acilo,
Brocklebank, Benjamin,
Carbis, Thomas,
Giovanni, Perger,
Harris, James,
Marietta, Mazirino,
Polernoster, Lui,
Prisk, William,
Prouse, Obed,
Ricona, Martino,
Thomas, William,
Valero, Stephen,
Vigas, Nicholas,
Williams, Thomas.

One-half of these victims were Italians; and the disaster made seven widows, and deprived eighteen children of their fathers.

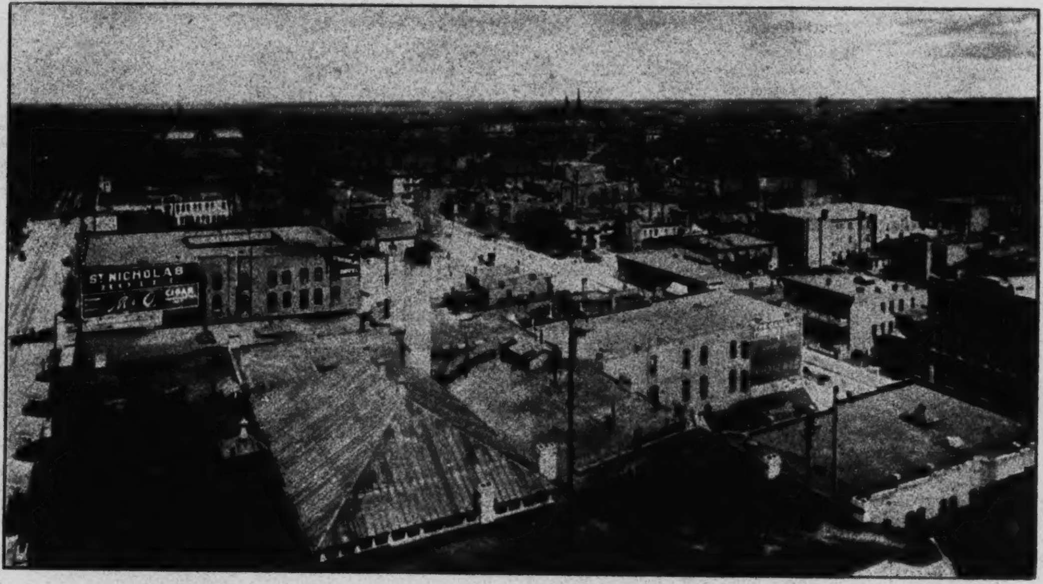
Our Colorado climate, usually amiable and equable, sometimes loads certain sections of the State with great burdens of snow that become a weariness to the flesh of railroad men. Probably the most extraordinary winter experience of any Colorado railroad was that which befell the Colorado Midland in the snowy winter of 1898-99. An unusually large quantity of snow fell that winter, and accumulated to great depths in the mountains. The Midland's mountain division was blockaded early in February, 1899, and remained so continuously until the latter part of the following May. In vain did they open the cuts; the wind drove the dry snow in and filled them again in a few hours. The snow-plows with three or four engines coupled to them could not even take care of themselves, and upon several occasions had to be abandoned. The prolonged blockade was confined to the mountain division. The other mountain lines also suffered severely, and many of the mountain towns were shut off from communications for from one to three weeks. There were apprehensions that their people would suffer for food and from lack of fuel, but there were no serious consequences from such causes. However, the snow made bad work at Silver Plume on the morning of Sunday, February 12th. A great avalanche swept down the mountain side; a cabin occupied by Italian laborers stood in its path, was overwhelmed and crushed, and the lives of seven or eight of its crowded inmates went out. It was not until the spring thaws set in that the bodies of all of them were revealed. During the mountain blockade some hardy people moved from town to town on snow-shoes; and one party, including a young lady, crossed the Divide on them, from Breckenridge, reaching Denver by rail from Georgetown. We have records of few winters in which there was a greater snow-fall than in that of 1898-99, but the season was not an unpleasant one in Denver.


View northward from roof of Equitable Building. One of a series of views embracing Denver's horizon, from photographs, by H. C. Converse in 1901.

Rather late in the spring of 1900 there was another unusual experience with snow; and this time it was not in the mountain recesses, but here along the foot-hills. On Saturday night, April 14th, a furious snowstorm swept in from the northwest and took possession of the country hereabouts. The snow-fall continued without cessation until the following Monday night, reaching its climax on the Arkansas-South Platte divide in the region of Palmer Lake. By Sunday morning the railroads between Denver and Colorado Springs were blockaded, and several passenger trains on the Denver & Rio Grande, the Colorado & Southern, and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroads were caught midway on their journeys, and could not be released until the following Tuesday evening; no trains being able to pass between Denver and Colorado Springs in the meantime. The stalled trains in the Palmer Lake district were buried to the roofs of the cars by the drifting snow. Traffic on the Midland, the South Park, and the Clear Creek division of the Colorado & Southern, was also blockaded. The equivalent of three feet of snow fell in about forty-eight hours, and the wind blew it into enormous drifts. The visitation was wholly unexpected, as the weather had previously been exceptionally fine. Hereafter all snow blockades along the foot-hills will be compared with that of April 15th, 16th and 17th, 1900.

During several years last past the desirability of having in Denver a large public building for political conventions and other assemblages had been discussed by our people and in the city newspapers. In compliance with what appeared to have become an almost unanimous public sentiment in favor of the municipality erecting and owning such a structure, the City Council submitted at the city election held April 4, 1899, a proposition to authorize the issue of $400,000 worth of municipal bonds, the proceeds of which to be used in building a large public Auditorium. At that election the aggregate vote for Mayor was nearly 33,000, but on the Auditorium bond question a total of only 5,328 votes was cast. Of these, 3,690 were affirmative and 1,638 negative; the latter being almost one-third of the small total. Regarding the matter as having been affirmatively settled, the city authorities without delay prepared to issue the bonds, and invited proposals from property-owners for a site for the Auditorium. Many offers at varying prices were made, but the choice finally rested upon the triangular block bounded by Fifteenth street, Colfax Avenue, and Cleveland Place, for which a conditional purchase agreement was made and of which much public disapproval was manifested. The bonds having in the meantime been advertised, were awarded to W. J. Hayes & Company, of Cleveland, Ohio. After the award the successful bidders raised the question, upon various technical points immaterial here, of the validity of the issue, and refused to accept the bonds until their validity had been passed upon by the courts. To bring the question to a judicial determination they instituted suit against the city to recover a certified check for upward of $8,000 payable to the order of the City Treasurer, that had accompanied their bid as a guarantee of good faith and according to conditions upon which bids for the bonds were invited by the city. Late in November, 1900, the State Supreme Court decided that the bonds were invalid because of irregularities in submitting the question of their issue to the people and in the form of ballot used.

Another proposed public enterprise, and one that would involve a vast expenditure of money, also came before the people of Denver in 1899. Under what was, and still is, alleged to be a popular demand for "municipal ownership of public utilities," there had been for some years a persistent agitation, by those favoring "municipal ownership," of the expediency and propriety of the city owning the system of water supply. This crystallized in the autumn of 1899 in legislation by the City Council declaring the city's intention to either acquire by purchase the existing system, or to construct on its own account an entirely new one; and also providing for submitting to a vote on the day of the county election, held November 7, 1899, a proposition to authorize the issue of $4,700,000 worth of city bonds for the purpose of buying or building a waterworks system to be owned and maintained by the city. The vote was not to be a popular one, but restricted to taxpayers; and the election was a special one, held not at the time of a general municipal, but at that of a county, election—as warranted, however, by the constitution. Judging from the small number of votes cast, and considering the magnitude of the proposed enterprise and the unknown extent of expenditure it might entail, the people were rather singularly indifferent. At that November election the city vote and that of the county outside the city were merged in the total; so, for comparative purposes it is better to turn to the vote at the



Eastward view from roof of Equitable Building in 1901; Stout and California streets extending through the picture.

municipal election in the preceding April which, as we have already stated, had a total of nearly 33,000. The total vote on the water-bond proposition was only 8,396, of which 5,420 were affirmative, and 2,976 negative; or, about in the proportion of three-fifths for, to two-fifths against, the issue. However, the city authorities accepted the result as conclusively affirmative, and proceeded to invite proposals for the purchase of an issue of $200,000 worth of the bonds, bearing interest at the rate of three and one-half per cent. Upon the day appointed for opening bids, February 23, 1900, but one bid was at hand, and that was an informal one, conditioned upon a subsequent judicial determination of the bonds' validity. This bid was not considered, and in the following June the entire amount of $4,700,000 was offered for sale with the interest rate increased to four per cent. In response to this invitation the results were no better than those of the previous February; but in September, 1900, the entire proposed issue, to bear interest at four per cent, was sold at par to Denison, Prior & Company, of Boston and Cleveland, deliverable in varying amounts at intervals prior to May 1, 1901. During the discussion of the proposition the extreme difficulty in the way of obtaining an adequate supply of water outside of existing corporate and private ownership of water-rights, and the enormous prospective cost of a duplicate waterworks system were clearly brought to public attention. The city has the privilege of purchasing the existing waterworks system at the expiration of its franchise term, at a valuation to be fixed by appraisers. The water company, during the discussion prior to the vote on the bond issue, and waiving the unexpired part of its franchise term, expressed a willingness to sell its entire property to the city for $9,000,000; or at a price to be fixed by three competent appraisers. In October, 1900, some preliminary negotiations to that end were set on foot, but late in November further proceedings with relation to the bond issue and also with relation to the general proposition, were enjoined by the United States Court upon the petition of a Denver tax-payer resident in southern California. Therefore the ultimate result of this initial movement toward "municipal ownership of public utilities" in Denver will have to be left for some later local historian to record.

The result of the census of 1900, crediting the city with a population of 133,859, an increase of but 27,146, and a percentage gain of but 25.44, was a grievous disappointment to our people. It had been with much confidence anticipated that the enumeration would reach figures somewhere between 160,000 and 175,000; with 160,000 representing the preponderance of opinion. For several days after the result was announced late in August, there were many protests against accepting it, and a vigorous demand for a recounting. It was shown that Denver's per cent. of gain in the school census had been 48.3; that Post Office receipts revealed a gain of 48 per cent; that 6,488 dwellings had been built within the last ten and one-half years—sufficient to house more than 30,000 people, taking the average family as a basis; the city's vote was cited as proof of a far larger population; the scarcity of unoccupied dwellings and the great demand for new ones were pointed out; and the fact that suburban towns annexed since 1890 had by the census of that year an aggregate of about 8,000 people, was held to be additional evidence that the figures for 1900 were seriously deficient. The City Directory for 1900, issued about the first of June, contained 71,196 names; an increase of 3,199 over the number in the Directory for 1899. But these figures included the people of the independent towns and some of the suburban ones. The Directory for 1890, covering the same general area, and when the population within the city, proper, was 106,713 by the census of that year, contained 54,548 names. Misleading estimates based on Directory figures for 1900 placed the population of the city above 160,000. These estimates having been generally accepted, the public was quite unprepared for the census reduction of 25,000 or 30,000.

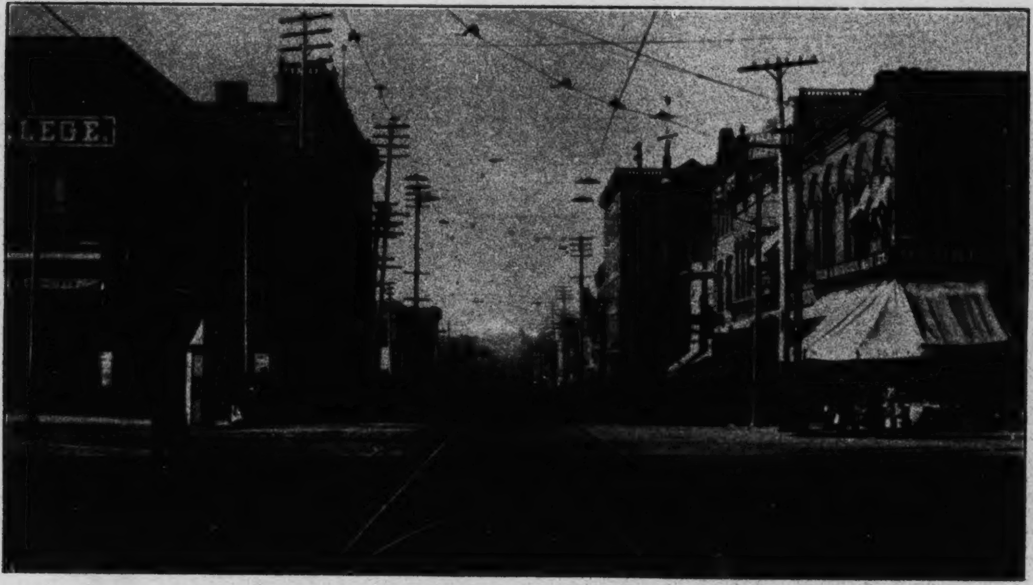
All these circumstances appeared to justify the demand for a recounting, but upon further consideration and an analysis of some of them, public opinion reluctantly adjusted itself to the disappointing result. The increase of 25.44 per cent. was shown to be greater than that in many other cities in the general class to which Denver belongs, and very much greater when considered in connection with the peculiarly adverse conditions that beset Denver from 1893 to 1895. Furthermore, and it is no cause for regret, the ratio of population increase in almost every American city, and especially in the cities of the west, has been materially lessened in the last ten years from that of the decade 1880-1890.

In a preceding chapter we have outlined the conditions existing in Denver from 1890 to the panic time, and also those existing from that time to the summer of 1895. There can be no question about Denver having lost population heavily in 1893 and 1894. It is doubtful if the number of people in Denver at the beginning of 1895 exceeded 90,000. Assuming this to have been the case, the increase since then has been about 44,000, or more than 48 per cent. One proof of reduced population in 1894 is established by the Post Office receipts of that year having been about $9,000 less than in 1890, and about $52,000 less than in 1892. Furthermore the character of the population has changed since then, and this makes the increase of 48 per cent. in the school census misleading. Children now form a much larger proportion of the population than in the period between 1890 and

1893, when the city was crowded with adults who had no families, or did not have them here; people who had only themselves to move, and who did move when the disasters came. The number of children has increased, and will continue to do so, in larger proportion than that of the adults as compared with ante-panic conditions.

The remarkable increase in Denver's population between 1880 and 1890—199.51 per cent.—was due to the extraordinary "boom" that flourished not only in Colorado, but all over the western country. To a very large extent Denver was developed in that decade, and it is to be said that the census of 1890 undoubtedly included a large floating population. The city swarmed with newcomers, thousands of whom were birds of passage making their way to the mountain mining camps. In that year there was a great rivalry among western cities to present large percentages of gain, and many subterfuges were employed to accomplish that purpose. There are no sound reasons for believing Denver's census-men were laggards in that contest.

So long as several independent towns, the people of which are separately enumerated, exist within the city's corporate limits, Denver will be deprived of a considerable population, that practically belongs to her, in every census. Elyria, Globeville and the others are distinct communities only in name; so it is with the fringe of suburban towns hanging to parts of the outer side of the city's boundary line. In the case of most of them there is no line of demarcation, yet the street railway system is fast-increasing their populations. The people here constitute one city in fact, and so long as larger and larger urban population is held to be highly desirable, they should constitute one city in name. The reports of the census of 1900 accord to the still independent suburban towns of Argo, Berkley, Elyria, Fletcher, Globeville, Montclair, Petersburg, Sheridan and Valverde an aggregate population of about 7,000; and to this perhaps 500 should be added to represent the fringing population not included in those towns. Therefore if these various separate communities had been counted with Denver the total would have exceeded 141,000. But even without them the result of Denver's last census compares most favorably with that in many other American cities, not one of which encountered such misfortunes as those that befell Denver seven years ago.



Fifteenth street northward from Lawrence street, in 1901.

Considering the violence of the blow received at that time, and the far-reaching disastrous consequences it entailed not only directly upon the city, but upon the State at large, the regaining of what Denver had lost would have been, alone, a notable achievement. But to have done that and added to it a population gain of more than 25 per cent. over her somewhat uncertain enumeration in the "boom" times of 1890, presents reasons for extreme satisfaction with the present and for the most confident anticipations for the future.

Denver is now fast rising on the fifth tide of prosperity and advancement that has definitely marked her career since the unpromising beginning made in 1858. The first was that of 1859-60 when thousands crossed the plains to the new land of promise, stayed a season or two, after which the vast majority went away again. Ten years of slow headway ensued, and then came the second wave of immigration, following the railroads completed from the Missouri river. It was at this juncture that Denver began to discard some of her pioneer aspects. Through the middle of the eighth decade of that century there was, as we have seen, if not a reaction, a distinct check to the expansion. But in 1880 came the third forward impulse, due largely, as we have stated, to the remarkable developments in silver mining at Leadville and elsewhere in that section of the State. This era of prosperity continued on a substantial basis for three or four years. The slight check it received in 1884-85 had been overcome in the autumn of 1886, when the fourth and most prodigious movement was inaugurated—the greatest, relatively and actually, that the city has yet known, but probably not the greatest she is destined to know. From 1894 to 1897, clearing away the wreckage engaged a large portion of Denver's energies, and the work was one calling for unflinching fortitude and unbounded hope. 1897 brought the beginning of the fifth and present era of development and growth, which has been of sure though deliberate progress, but which bids fair to exceed all previous forward impulses, and to carry the city into an era of fairer prospects, broader and sounder foundations, and relatively a far greater expansion than any she has hitherto known.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

WAR WITH SPAIN—INTEREST EXCITED IN DENVER—CALL TO ARMS—FIRST COLORADO INFANTRY—ITS ORGANIZATION—CAMP ALVA ADAMS—DEPARTURE OF REGIMENT FOR THE ORIENT—ITS SERVICES IN THE PHILIPPINES—REGIMENT ORDERED HOME—ARRIVAL AT SAN FRANCISCO—RECEPTION AT DENVER—REGIMENT'S MORTALITIES—COLORADO CAVALRY ORGANIZATIONS—COLORADO BATTERY—SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE PHILIPPINES—NAVAL VESSELS "DENVER" AND "COLORADO."

In no part of the United States were the international events of the winter of 1897-98 that foreshadowed war between our country and Spain, that made armed conflict between them in consequence of Cuba's condition seem almost inevitable,watched with keener and more absorbing interest than by the people of Denver and of Colorado. As the situation became more acute public interest became more intense, and when tidings came of the frightful and treacherous tragedy in the harbor of Havana on the night of February 15, 1898, causing the destruction of the United States battleship Maine, and the death of 266 American sailors, the war-spirit instantly flamed here, as elsewhere all over this land of ours.

It is not within our province to enter upon any account of the then long-existing friction between the United States and Spain, nor of the immediate events that precipitated that remarkable war. All that properly lies within our domain is to record what was done here in response to the Nation's call to arms.

The people waited patiently, and impatiently, too, for the report of the commission appointed by the President to investigate the Havana harbor tragedy. But the temper of the people everywhere was reflected in the ominous and unanimous action of Congress on March 8th appropriating for the National defense $50,000,000 from the cash in the treasury—a financial transaction that would have staggered any other nation in the world. The report on the destruction of the Maine was sent to Congress by the President on March 28th, and it meant only one thing—that Spain was to be instantly driven out of the western hemisphere; and the determination that she should be, was as strong in Colorado as in New York, or Georgia, or Oregon, or Texas, or Massachusetts. The awe-inspiring spectacle of the most powerful yet the most peaceful Nation in the world drawing the sword unselfishly in behalf of a cruelly oppressed people was one that marked an epoch in the history of the nations of the earth.

War was practically declared by the Joint Resolution of Congress of April 13th recognizing the independence of Cuba, and directing the President to use if necessary the land and the naval forces of the United States to compel Spain to relinquish her authority over the island; it was made inevitable by the ultimatum of the United States on April 20th giving Spain three days within which to comply with the demand for such relinquishment; and on April 25th it was formally declared by Congress.

Under authority given and as directed by an act of Congress approved April 22nd, the day before the formal declaration, the President at noon on the 23rd, at the expiration of the three days of time given Spain, issued his proclamation calling for 125,000 volunteers to serve two years unless sooner discharged. The response was an amazing one. The men of the Nation rushed to arms. The quotas of the several States were relatively small, and there was almost fierce competition among gallant spirits to get into the ranks. Within three weeks the 125,000 were enlisted, and an army of a million others was disappointed, dejected, because its services could not be accepted. On May 25th the President called for 75,000 more volunteers, and it was only a physical matter of mustering them in to comply with that call. With the authorized increase of the regular army that had been made, the Nation, within two months from the first call, had under arms 278,500 of what were probably the best fighting men on the face of the earth.

At the time war was declared the Philippine archipelago constituted a part of the world almost unknown to Americans, and Manila was an oriental city but little more familiar to our people. That city's commercial fame rested chiefly on its large exports of hemp from which a superior quality of heavy cordage is made; but beyond that its name was associated with nothing definite by the vast majority of Americans; and especially so by those of the west. Even after war was declared few thought of the Philippines or of Manila in connection with the conflict. It was supposed by almost everyone that whatever there would be of warfare would occur in the West India archipelago. Yet, it was to that far-off quarter of the globe, half-way around it, that the Colorado organization that saw fighting service, departed from Denver, trained, armed and completely equipped, on the twenty-fourth day after the President issued his first call for volunteers.

The events in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, and their consequences, had been as profound a surprise to the people of our country, though of a quite different kind, as they were to the Spanish nation; and to the rest of the world, for that matter.

Here in our own city and State, as elsewhere, there was but one sentiment—an enthusiastic desire for a vigorous prosecution of the war, not only against Spain, but also against any power that might have the temerity to attempt to interfere in her behalf. Party lines vanished, partisanship disappeared, in the presence of the patriotic spirit that ruled the thoughts of every man. Poor, misguided Spain had aroused and angered the American giant, and under his few but terrific blows that so quickly followed, she was soon prostrate, with the other nations of the earth beholding in amazement her swift, complete undoing.

Colorado's apportionment under the President's calls for volunteers was one regiment of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of artillery; a total of about 1,600 men—a mere handful compared with the military ardor and possibilities of the State. Prior to 1898 the State's military establishment had consisted of two half-strength regiments of infantry, three incomplete troops of cavalry, and the Chaffee Light Artillery; but early in 1898, in anticipation of war with Spain many recruits eagerly enrolled themselves in these organizations in order that they might be in line for service. Governor Alva Adams promptly mobilized the entire force, and on April 29th, the sixth day after the President's call for volunteers, and in less than forty-eight hours after receipt of telegram from Washington announcing Colorado's quota, the Colorado organizations went into camp near our City Park—"Camp Adams," in honor of the Governor. Within one week thereafter a full regiment of infantry, two troops of cavalry, and a battery of artillery—Colorado's full allotment—were practically ready for service.

This rapid and efficient work had been done under the immediate direction of Cassius M. Moses, then Adjutant-General of the State; Irving Hale, then Brigadier-General in command of the National Guard of the State; Henry B. McCoy, then Colonel of the Second Regiment Colorado National Guard; and Charles H. Anderson, then Colonel of the First Regiment Colorado National Guard.

The field and staff officers, appointed by Governor Adams for the First Regiment Colorado Infantry, United States Volunteers, and mustered into the service of the United States on May 1st, were Irving Hale, of Denver, Colonel; Henry B. McCoy, of Pueblo, Lieutenant Colonel; Cassius M. Moses (former Adjutant-General), of Pueblo, and Charles H. Anderson, of Denver, Majors; Dr. Clayton Parkhill, of Denver, Surgeon with rank of Major; Louis H. Kemble, of Denver, Surgeon with rank of Captain; Charles E. Locke, of Denver, Assistant Surgeon with rank of First Lieutenant; Alexander McD. Brooks, of Denver, First Lieutenant and Adjutant; Willian B. Sawyer, of Denver, First Lieutenant and Adjutant; and David L. Fleming, of Leadville, Chaplain with rank of Captain.

The twelve company organizations were designed to be so far as practicable, representative of different sections of the State. As a general rule the National Guardsmen were residents of the cities and towns, and the National Guard companies had been identified with the several town communities. In the organization of the new regiment it was the aim to have this identity continued; although in adding recruits to fill the Guard companies to the war standard the new men were assigned without much regard to their individual local identity. However, when the regimental organization was complete its several companies were in a general way representative of the several cities and towns and their immediate neighborhoods; that is to say, Companies A and C were from Pueblo; Companies B, E, I, and K were from Denver; Company D, from Greeley; Companies F and L from Leadville;

View at Camp Adams early in May, 1898.

Company G from Cripple Creek; Company H from Boulder; and Company M from Colorado Springs. The company officers were as follows:

Company A—John S. Stewart, Captain; William F. Dortenbach, First Lieutenant; Samuel E. Thomas, Second Lieutenant.

Company B—Frank W. Carroll, Captain; Charles B. Lewis, First Lieutenant; Charles E. Hooper, Second Lieutenant.

Company C—Ewing E. Booth, Captain; William H. Sweeney, First Lieutenant; Willard P. Bidwell, Second Lieutenant.

Company D—John A. Taylor, Captain; George Borstadt, First Lieutenant; Albert J. Luther, Second Lieutenant.

Company E—Kyle Rucker, Captain; Clarence W. Lothrop, First Lieutenant; Rice W. Means, Second Lieutenant.

Company F—G. Ralph Cummings, Captain; Charles S. Haughwout, First Lieutenant; Willard G. Riggs, Second Lieutenant.

Company G—David P. Howard, Captain; Thomas C. Brown, First Lieutenant; Walter P. Burke, Second Lieutenant.

Company H—Charles B. Eastman, Captain; Charles H. Wilcox, First Lieutenant; Fred L. Perry, Second Lieutenant.

Company I—William R. Grove, Captain; Charles H. Hilton, Jr., First Lieutenant; Charles O. Zollars, Second Lieutenant.

Company K—William A. Cornell, Captain; William J. Vannice, First Lieutenant; Ralph B. Lister, Second Lieutenant.

Company L—David P. LaSalle, Captain; Cornelius F. O'Keefe, First Lieutenant; Franklin Ballou, Jr., Second Lieutenant.

Company M—Clyde C. Spicer, Captain; Charles H. Sleeper, First Lieutenant; James H. Gowdy, Second Lieutenant.

The First Colorado was a superb regiment; even above the high standard of American volunteer organizations. Men from every walk of western life were in its ranks, and a majority of them had been made familiar with military duties by their training in the National Guard. Every man had passed an unusually rigid physical examination under which many others had failed to be accepted. A considerable number of the men of the two National Guard infantry regiments were rejected under that exacting examination, and hundreds of others also failed to meet its requirements. The result of this was that the regiment included none but picked men, as nearly perfect, physically, as men may be; and a further result of this was seen in the organization's later small loss by disease in a country and under conditions peculiarly favorable to large losses by such cause.

The regiment had hoped to be, as events quickly made it, among the pioneers in foreign service, but the general expectation was that the service would be in Cuba. This soon appeared to be confirmed by orders including it among the regiments that were directed to move to Chickamauga. Within a few days thereafter the Philippine situation caused a change in the programme, and on May 13th the First Colorado was ordered to proceed to San Francisco and thence by sea to Manila. On the 14th the regiment marched into the city in the pride of its strength and was presented by the Sons of the Revolution with a fine national flag; and on the 15th a regimental flag, the gift of Mrs. William Cooke Daniels, was added to the stand of colors. It is hardly necessary to state that those flags never went down.

On the morning of May 17th the splendid regiment of 1,086 officers and men left Camp Adams, and headed by its fine band and escorted by the cavalry troops, marched into Denver, and down Sixteenth street to the Union Passenger Station, whence four trains bore it away to the Pacific coast. That day in Denver will long be remembered. Sixteenth street and the vicinity of the railroad station were packed with people, and the regiment received a patriotic ovation the like of which had never before been witnessed in Denver. The regiment reached San Francisco without mishap, on May 21st, where it received another ovation and where its creature comforts were most lavishly provided for by the patriotic people of that city. No member of the First Colorado will ever forget that reception in San Francisco. The regiment went into camp at Camp Merritt, its own particular part of it being popularly called Camp Hale, in honor of its commander. The period of about three weeks in camp was utilized in thorough training of the regiment in guard duty, drill, parades, target practice, and especially extended order and battle formations on Presidio Hill. On June 4th the first death in the regiment occurred —that of Sergeant Neil Sullivan. About one week afterward preparations were begun for leaving camp and embarking on the long sea voyage to the farther side of the world.

Soon after the regiment arrived at San Francisco the War Department ordered that all volunteer regiments should immediately be recruited up to the new war standard of 104 men to each company. Three officers and a small detail of men were at once sent back to Colorado to obtain about 200 recruits, which was quickly done. These men arrived at San Francisco on June 24th, more than a week after the regiment had sailed for Manila. About one-half of them sailed August 1st and arrived at Manila on September 1st; the remainder did not get started until August 21st, and owing to a prolonged stop at Honolulu, where unassigned private Benoni W. Dawson was left fatally ill, did not reach Manila until November 23rd. The addition of these recruits raised the strength of the regiment to about 1,300 men including its Hospital Corps of twenty-five men beside the officers, and a fine band of about twenty musicians.

The regiment had boarded the steamer China on the afternoon of June 14th and the vessel moved that evening from her dock to an over-night anchorage. Three men, privates Daniels, Hegewer, and Loosa, were left behind in hospital, and all of them subsequently died. On the afternoon of the 15th, in company with three other transports, the Colon, Senator, and Zealandia, the China put out to sea on her long voyage, the expedition being under command of Brigadier General Francis V. Greene. The fleet proceeded to Honolulu where it put in on June 23rd for a three days' stay; thence to Wakes Island where General Greene, Colonel Hale and other officers landed and raised the American flag on July 4th; thence by way of Guam (July 9th) to Manila Bay in which it arrived on July 16th. The voyage was uneventful from a military standpoint, but was one of great novelty and interest to the Colorado boys. The death and burial at sea on July 5th of private Walter W. Wise, had been the only serious happening to the First Colorado during the voyage. The regiment was landed near Paranaque on the 18th and went into camp, with a tropical rain falling, in Camp Dewey. It was the first full regiment in that camp, and its first night on Luzon soil was one of extreme discomfort from the continued down-pour of rain, with only shelter-tents available at that time. After a stay of a week in Camp Dewey the regiment entered, with others, upon the active work of the campaign.

First Colorado Regiment at inspection in Manila.

The officers and men of the regiment took an active and enthusiastic part in landing stores, repairing roads, making reconnoissances and maps of the country and Spanish lines, building and guarding entrenchments and defending them against the night attacks of the enemy. Private Sterling of Company K, was the first American soldier to be wounded in the Manila campaign. While returning from fatigue work on entrenchments in front of the regiment, on July 30th, he received a bullet in one of his arms. During the interval in which the American forces were preparing for the assault on the city of Manila there were frequent skirmishes with Spanish troops, and in one of these, on the night of August 1st, the regiment had one man killed and another wounded. Private Frederick E. Springstead the first Coloradoan killed in that campaign, was shot through the head; and private Zachary, of Company G, was wounded in the right thigh.

About noon of August 12th, Colonel Hale, being notified by General Greene that the Colorado Regiment would have the left of the line, next to the bay, in the attack on Manila next day, took a party of 120 picked men (ten from each company) under Captain John S. Stewart and Lieutenant R. W. Means to the trenches to clear the ground in front, and with Captain Stewart and Lieut. Means carefully reconnoitered the ground to within 200 yards of the Spanish entrenchments, making a sketch showing the location of the paths, obstacles, and the Cingalon river which must be forded in the advance on Fort San Antonio, and which had been explored by Lieutenant Means and Sergeant Clotworthy a few days before. At dark the detail began work and during the night cut passages through the bamboo thickets and fallen brushwood and dug a trench half-way between the American and Spanish lines to be used as cover during the advance. This work greatly facilitated and in part rendered possible the operations of the following day.

The assault upon and the capture of the city of Manila occurred on August 13th, and in that affair the First Colorado, which was assigned to the most important position, bore a brilliant part. About 10:30 A. M., after a short bombardment by the navy and the Utah Battery, General Greene directed Colonel Hale to lead his regiment against the Spanish works and capture Fort San Antonio, giving a flag to Lieutenant Brooks, the Regimental Adjutant, with instructions to raise it in place of the Spanish flag as soon as the fort was taken. Half of the attacking party was thrown forward in extended firing line through the field to cover the advance through the bamboo thicket along the beach of the other half, which forded the Cingalon river neck deep, advanced by alternate rushes up the beach and through the surf, firing to keep the enemy down, swarmed over and around the flank of the parapet between Fort San Antonio and the bay, and captured the fort. While Colonel Hale, assisted by Majors Moses and Anderson, disposed the men in the trenches abandoned by the Spaniards to repel the latter's counter-attack from the buildings and woods of Malate where they had made another temporary stand, at the same time sending Captain Grove with his Company I to take possession of a trench in the south end of Malate, Adjutant Brooks with his flag, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel McCoy and Lieutenant Lister, ran to the top of the stone fort where they hauled down the Spanish flag and raised the stars and stripes—the first American flag that floated over the defenses of Manila. This was about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. A few minutes later, Color Sergeant Richard Holmes and the Color-guard, who accompanied Company I to the trench in the edge of Malate (a suburb of Manila), flung the National and regimental colors from the upper story of the most prominent building in the vicinity—the first American flag raised within the city limits of Manila. It was here that private Charles Phoenix of Company I, was fatally wounded which, excepting a slight wound received by private Frank Smith of Company H, was the regiment's only casualty in the capture of Manila. The band had accompanied the regiment, playing "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night," and later in the day when possession of the city was formally taken, it played the "Star Spangled Banner" as the flag was hoisted in the central part of Manila.

Based on the cabled recommendations of General Merritt and General Greene, immediately after the capture of Manila, Colonel Irving Hale was promoted to Brigadier General by the President. Governor Adams filled the vacancy by advancing Lieutenant Colonel Henry B. McCoy to Colonel, and Major Cassius M. Moses to Lieutenant Colonel, with corresponding promotions all along the line as more fully stated on a subsequent page.

After Manila was taken there ensued a period of nearly six months of garrison, outpost, and camp duty that became extremely irksome, and during a considerable part of which the regiment furnished the guard for Bilibid prison. About the middle of December, 1898, when some of the natives began to be troublesome, it was among the organizations that were placed on outpost duty around the city.

On the night of February 4, 1899, the organized outbreak of the Filipino insurgents under Aguinaldo was inaugurated. At that time the First Colorado was stationed near what were known as block-houses numbers five and six. In repelling the attack on the American troops that night several companies of the regiment were engaged, and it was at the capture of block-house number five on the morning of February 5th (the first insurgent position taken by American troops), that private Carlson was mortally wounded and died within an hour; the two block-houses having been taken with heavy losses to the Filipinos. Part of the Colorado regiment participated in the capture of the Manila water reservoir, on the 5th, and of the pumping station, on the 6th, of which the insurgents had held possession. In these encounters with the Filipinos the regiment lost three men killed, and had five wounded. The dead were privates Charles Carlson, Elmer F. Doran and Cass White; all the wounded speedily recovered. After the capture of the pumping station a detachment of the Colorado men found parts of the pumping machinery that had been removed and buried by the insurgents, put them back in place, and thus enabled the city's water supply to be resumed.

Through February and until late in March the regiment was on guard duty at the waterworks pumping station, and on the firing line, and in frequent brushes with the natives in their guerrilla warfare in the Mariquina valley. In one of these engagements, at the village of Mariquina, on March 6th, private Edward Pynchon was mortally wounded, his death ensuing on the 20th; and Major Charles H. Anderson was shot through the left ankle, and Corporal Charles W. Haskell through the thigh. On March 20th two privates were wounded by Filipino sharpshooters; one of them, A. A. Aldrich, of Company E, dying of blood-poisoning on April 18th.

Companies A, M, and part of E, under Lieutenant Colonel Moses, participated in the advance of the American lines toward Malolos, began on March 25th, and very early in that day was engaged in an ugly fight in the brush. It was while gallantly leading Company A in a charge in that engagement that Captain John Stewart, of Pueblo, was instantly killed. Two men of Company A and one of Company M were severely wounded at the same time. The insurgents paid dearly for the death of Captain Stewart that day, for the spirit of revenge took possession of the Colorado men. After this engagement the companies returned to their station near the waterworks.

On March 31st, Companies C, D, E, and G of the Colorado regiment, which had remained on duty at or near the waterworks, in "Camp Alva," (so named in honor of Governor Adams), took part in a movement against Mariquina and San Mateo. The insurgents were preparing for an attack on the waterworks, and had intrenched themselves near Mariquina. Early in the morning of March 31st the four companies, under command of Colonel McCoy, and acting in co-operation with other troops, set out from Camp Alva to drive the insurgents from their rifle-pits. It was on that march that our men made their famous river-crossing, wading waist-deep in the face of a volley from the Filipinos who then immediately took to their heels. Our troops pushed on up the valley and when within a mile of San Mateo encountered a long line of intrenchments swarming with insurgents. In the assault upon these and the routing of the Filipinos, Corporal Leonard Phillippi was shot through the head, death ensuing the next day; and six men were wounded, two, H. E. Redmond of Company C, and John Dennis, of Company G, very severely.

Through April and May the re-united companies of the First Colorado remained at Camp Alva on guard duty, the tedium of which was broken by frequent expeditions by detachments into the surrounding country after bands of insurgents. Sometimes the latter were encountered and sometimes they were not. On May 1st Sergeant Clifford H. Bowser, of Company K, walked into a nest of them. With six men of his company he had gone on a reconnoissance in the direction of San Mateo. About five miles out he halted and ambushed his men, and went ahead alone to see what he could find. He found five Filipinos, all of whom shot at him, one sending a bullet through his left arm and shoulder. The Sergeant retreated with the five Filipinos after him. They followed to within close range of his concealed men who fired on them, killing three, and wounding the other two who made off. The squad then returned to Camp Alva and the wounded Sergeant was sent to hospital. He did not survive the later amputation of his arm, his death occurring on June 9th.

Another squad which went scouting toward Mariquina on May 23rd was equally unfortunate. Sergeant C. B. Clark and four men of Company C, constituted the force. In his zeal, private Harry L. Doxsee pushed ahead of the others, was fired upon by some insurgents and mortally wounded. The others were driven back and forced to leave Doxsee behind. The next day Companies A, B, C, and D attacked the band of Filipinos which numbered about fifty, dispersed them, and recovered Doxsee's body which was buried in the National Cemetery at Manila on the 24th.

Late in May General Lawton had decided upon a movement in considerable force against Antipolo, a Filipino fastness and refuge in the mountains to the northward of Pasig City. An effort in that direction by General Wheaton's troops had been made about the middle of March, but it had not accomplished all that had been desired. In the morning of June 3rd a force of 2,500 men under command of General Robert H. Hall started across the Mariquina valley toward the mountains. In this expedition, the Colorado regiment was represented by Companies A, C, F, G, K, and L. The mountains were reached after noon, and the advance into them was resisted by swarms of insurgents hidden in the undergrowth upon their slopes. Great difficulty was experienced in moving the battery of small guns and the wagons after the mountains were reached, and the toil and heat and guerrilla fighting made the day a hard one on the men.

The force was about three miles from Antipolo when it went into camp for the night. The Colorado men were placed on the skirmish line next morning, and while on that duty Charles T. Hickman, of Company A, was wounded. Another column, under General Lawton, had moved upon Antipolo by a different route, the plan having been to attack the place by front and rear. General Hall's force advanced early on the morning of June 4th, and the Colorado men surrounded Anti-

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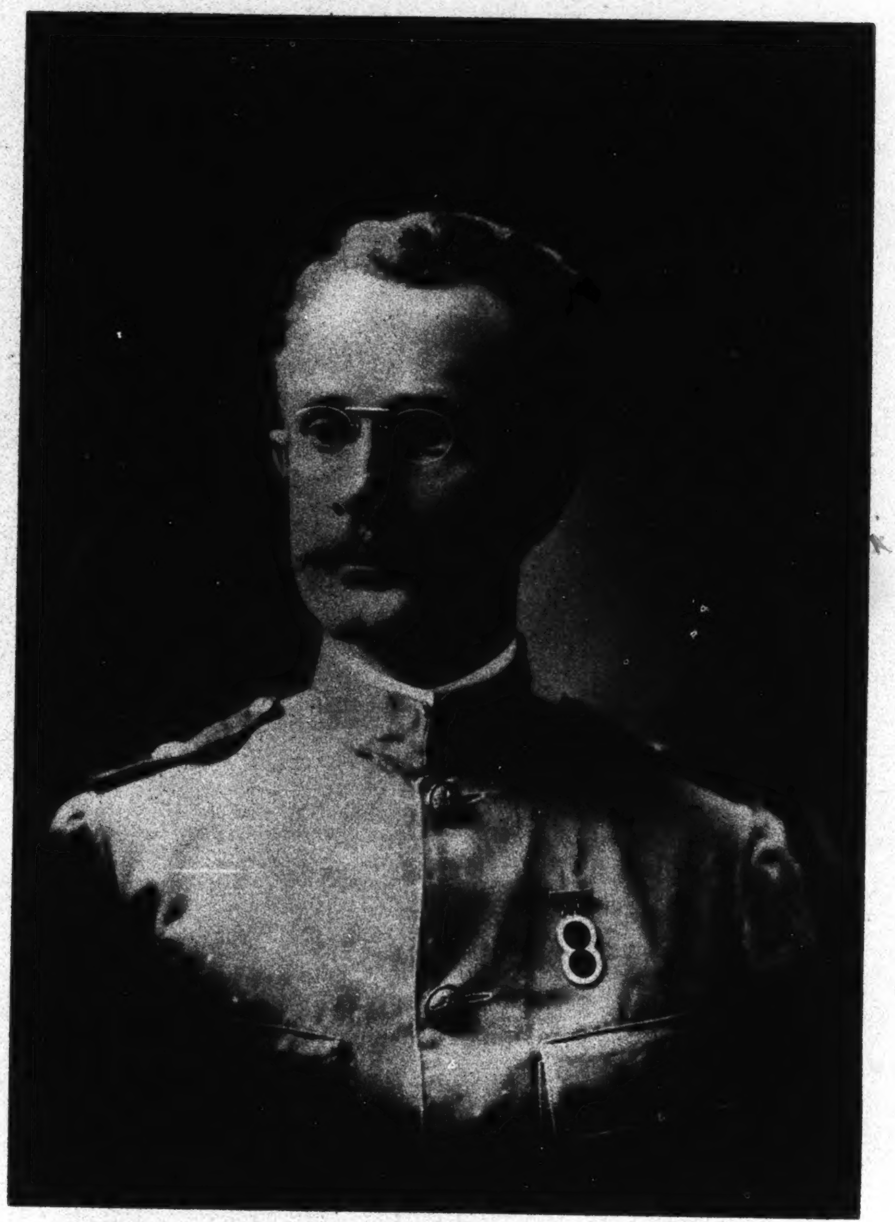
Irving Hale, son of Horace Morrison and Eliza (Huntington) Hale, was born at North Bloomfield, N. Y., August 28, 1861. His great-great-grandfather, Col. John Hale, was a surgeon on the staff of Gen. Prescott in the Revolutionary army; his great-grandfather, David Hale, while still a boy, was a patriot soldier in the battle of Bunker Hill; and his father, whose life has been devoted to educational work, was long and until recently President of the State University of Colorado.

Irving Hale removed with his parents to Colorado in 1865, the "prairie schooner" in which they traveled having been forty days on the voyage across the plains from St. Joseph, Mo., to Denver. The family proceeded to Central City where the father became Principal of the public school. In 1873 the family removed to Denver, and after five years' residence here returned to Central City in 1878.

General Hale's earlier schooling was under his father at Central City. In Denver he entered the "East Denver" High School in the old Arapahoe street building, and in 1877 was graduated at the head of the first class which left that institution.

His experience in the summer of 1878, which was spent in Middle Park, hunting, fishing, and "roughing it," suggested the idea of operating an express and passenger wagon between Central City and Grand Lake, a distance of seventy-five miles. In 1878 he provided himself with a covered wagon and a mule team, and started his express; and through the summer and autumn of that year made regular trips between the two places, frequently alone, through what was then an almost uninhabited country, and traveling one of the roughest of mountain roads, or trails. On those trips he studied, when he could as he drove along, in preparation for the competitive examination for appointment to the United States Military Academy at West Point. This examination he was almost prevented from attending by forest fires which made the regular Berthoud Pass road impassable, and necessitated a difficult and dangerous trip over the abandoned and practically destroyed Boulder Pass road. He won in the examination and received the appointment.

Entering the Academy June 14, 1880, he was graduated at the head of his class in 1884; his total standing having been 2070.4 out of a possible 2075—the highest record made in the history of the Academy to the present time. He was commissioned Second Lieutenant of Engineers June 15, 1884, and was stationed at Willets Point, Long Island, N. Y., taking the post graduate course in engineering and torpedo service. He was promoted to be First Lieutenant of Engineers Sep-



Irving Hale.

polo about nine o'clock and found the town deserted; the inhabitants having fled with the insurgents to Morong, when it was discovered that the Americans were coming from both directions. Lawton's force had captured a couple of other villages, and late in the evening of June 4th part of it reached Morong by water and was soon in possession of the town, though most of the insurgents had again fled. Hall's column moving down the mountains reached Morong, on the shore of Laguna de Bay, in the morning of the 5th. In the afternoon of the 6th Hall's force took up the march along the shore of the Laguna back to the Manila waterworks, arriving there on June 7th after a very rough and toilsome footing of about fifty miles under most exhausting climatic conditions. The only casualty in the Colorado companies on that expedition was the one already mentioned.

The next expedition against the insurgents in which the Colorado men took part, was that of General Lawton to capture or disperse a large force, supposed to number between 7,000 and 8,000 Filipinos at and near Paranaque and Las Pinas, where they had been assembling for several months. The American force consisted of 5,000 men, all of whom were regulars except one Troop of Nevada Cavalry and Companies B, D, E, F, I, and M, of the First Colorado under Colonel McCoy and divided into two battalions, one of which was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Moses and the other by Major W. R. Grove. The force rendezvoused at San Pedro Macati, and before dawn in the morning of June 10th it moved out, with the Colorado companies at the head of General Wheaton's brigade which led the way into a hilly, rocky and jungle-grown district. Soon after daybreak the insurgents were encountered and the fighting began, with the Colorado men on the skirmish line. A large body of insurgents were intrenched on a thicket-covered hill, and in the advance upon them Lieutenant Colonel Moses was shot in the left forearm, an artery being severed; Corporal Frederick Reed and private W. J. Currier, both of Company E, were severely wounded by one bullet; private Hegewer was struck in the neck, private Macklem in the temple, private Morrill through the neck, private Henry in the right arm, Sergeant LaShell in the left arm, private Young in the knee, and private Duval had one of his legs broken. The latter died of his injury a few weeks later.

But the hill was taken all right enough, and its defenders scattered over the adjacent country, hiding in thickets and in the high grass and bamboo-brakes. Their pursuit was continued throughout the day which was fearfully hot, and the troops actually suffered from lack of water. The Filipinos hid with the cunning of foxes and the search for them became an aimless wandering. Late in the day a small body of troops of which Company E was a part, came upon a nest of them in some timber, and was soon so warmly engaged that help was needed, as the insurgents had managed to get around on the flank and were threatening serious trouble. The other Colorado companies with a regiment of regulars, after fording several streams waist-deep, came up and the band of Filipinos numbering several hundred were soon scattered. It was in this affair that Joseph Kearns, of Company M, was shot through one of his legs. The little army moved on until darkness overtook it, and

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tember 16, 1886, and was appointed Instructor in electricity, and torpedo service. In 1887 he served as Quartermaster and Commissary of the Battalion of Engineers and as a member of several Boards, including those dealing with the Patrick Automobile Torpedo and the Washington Aqueduct Bridge. While stationed at Willets Point he married in June, 1887, Mary Virginia King, daughter of Lieutenant Colonel William R. King, United States Engineers. In 1888 he represented the Battalion of Engineers in the Division of the Atlantic rifle competition at Fort Niagara, winning first skirmish medal and first gold medal for the highest total in known distance and skirmish firing. In September, 1888, he was ordered to West Point to be Instructor in Civil and Military Engineering.

Having looked forward to a return to Colorado, and having made a special study of electricity, Lieutenant Hale obtained leave of absence in 1889, came to Denver, and superintended the construction of the South Broadway line of electric street railway which was completed and started on Christmas day of that year. In April, 1890, he resigned from the army and became associated with the Edison General Electric Company (later merged into the General Electric Company), of which he is Manager of the Rocky Mountain District comprising Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico; a position he was filling when war with Spain was declared, and which he resumed upon his return from the Philippines.

On May 4, 1897, he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the First Regiment Infantry, Colorado National Guard; on October 23, 1897, was promoted Colonel of that regiment; on December 18, 1897, was made Brigadier General, Colorado National Guard; and at the outbreak of the war with Spain was commissioned Colonel of the First Regiment, Colorado Infantry, United States Volunteers, May 1, 1898. The record of his brilliant services in that war that resulted in his promotion to Brigadier General of United States Volunteers is outlined in this chapter of our History of Denver. He was honorably discharged from the volunteer service at Denver October 1, 1899.

General Hale received from the University of Colorado the Degree of LL. D., and from the Colorado State School of Mines the Honorary Degree of Electrical Engineer. He is a member of the University Club, Colorado Scientific Society, American Institute of Mining Engineers, Denver Athletic and Artists' Clubs, Civil Service Reform Association, President of the Colorado Society Sons of the American Revolution and of the National Society Army of the Philippines.—J. C. S.

then put in the night without shelter and in dribbling rain as best it could. The next day the American forces occupied the town of Las Pinas without resistance, the fighting Filipinos having disappeared.

This was the last field service in which the Colorado regiment or any part of it was engaged. Late in the afternoon of June 11th the Colorado companies started from Las Pinas on their march of ten miles back to Manila, going by the way of Paranaque. They went into quarters in Manila that night, and on the 12th resumed their station at the waterworks, where the greater part of the regiment remained until it embarked for home. On June 12th, while lying in his tent, private Edgar Pate, of Company H, was wounded in one of his knees by a Filipino bullet; the last casualty that befell any member of the regiment.

General Hale's services in the Philippines were exceptionally brilliant. After his promotion he succeeded General Greene September 7, 1898, in command of the Second Brigade, Second Division, Eighth Army Corps, which was quartered in and guarded the northwestern part of Manila. At the outbreak of the Filipino insurrection, February 4, 1899, this brigade consisted of the First Colorado, First Nebraska, and First South Dakota Volunteers, and maintained a line of outposts from Blockhouse No. 4 near La Loma church, southeasterly past Blockhouses Nos. 5, 6, and 7, Santa Mesa and San Juan bridge, to the junction of the San Juan and Pasig rivers.

It was on the Nebraska front opposite Blockhouse No. 7 that the attack occurred. After weeks of encroachment on our lines by the Filipinos, and frequent insults and threats to our outposts, a party of armed insurgents advanced on a Nebraska outpost about 8:30 p. m. on February 4th and, refusing to halt when repeatedly challenged, the sentinel was obliged to fire. The insurgents returned the fire which, in accordance with their prearranged plan, was taken up by their lines all around the city—and the Filipino war was on.

The American troops were rushed out to their assigned positions on the line which was held during the night, returning the enemy's fire at intervals. The next morning the Utah Battery stationed with the Colorados at the Sampaloc Cemetery in the center of the brigade, opened fire on Blockhouse No. 5 and trenches. After a lively bombardment General Hale having decided that the Filipinos were sufficiently shaken to justify an assault, ordered Colonel McCoy to send Major Anderson's battalion of the First Colorado against Blockhouse No. 5 and to take it; which was immediately done—the first assault and capture in the Filipino war. Orders were then sent to Colonel Frost, of the South Dakotas, to take Blockhouse No. 4 on the left; to Colonel Moses, commanding the right wing of the Colorado regiment, to charge Blockhouse No. 6; and to Colonel Stotzenburg, of the Nebraskas, on the extreme right (reinforced by Colorado Companies D and E under Major Grove) to capture Blockhouse No. 7, the San Juan bridge, and the Deposito (reservoir). All of these positions were gallantly taken, and before noon the Second Brigade was in possession of the entire insurgent line in its front, and the Filipinos were in wild retreat.

Captain John S. Stewart.

On February 6th General Hale with part of his brigade (the Nebraskas; Major Grove's two companies D and I; a battalion of Tennesseeans; and a battalion of the Twenty-third United States Infantry) moved against the waterworks pumping station seven miles east of Manila, and after a cross-country fight routed the insurgents and took possession of the pumping station and pipe line; thus assuring the safety of the city of Manila's water supply. The Colorado companies then returned to their regiment which occupied an intrenched line from near Blockhouse No. 4 to Blockhouse No. 7 near San Juan bridge. The Nebraska regiment guarded the water pipe line and reservoir until March 14th, when it changed places with the Colorado regiment more or less companies of which held the waterworks station from that time until the regiment's departure for home.

When General MacArthur's northern campaign began, March 25th, the Colorado regiment was taken from General Hale's brigade, to his and the men's great regret, as General Otis deemed it unwise to put a new regiment in the important position at the waterworks. After this change the brigade consisted of the First Nebraska, First South Dakota, and Tenth Pennsylvania; the latter having been substituted for the Colorado regiment.

The campaign against Malolos, the Filipino capital, began on March 25th, and after seven days of marching and fighting, driving the insurgents from intrenchment after intrenchment, ended with the capture of Malolos on March 31st. The

Second Brigade had been engaged on March 25th at San Francisco del Morte, Banlae, and Tuliahan river; on the 26th at Meycauayan (near Polo) where General Hale was slightly wounded but remained in action, and his Aide, Captain Krayenbuhl, was killed; on the 27th at Tigogon Arroya, Bocave river, Santa Maria, and Guiginto where Lieutenant F. L. Perry of the First Colorado and Aide to General Hale was slightly wounded; on the 29th at Marilas where private H. B. Kerr of Company H, First Colorado, serving as Perry's orderly, was dangerously wounded in the chest; on the 30th north of Guiginto; and on the 31st in the capture of Malolos. The brigade remained at Malolos about three weeks, during which time the Tenth Pennsylvania was relieved by the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteers.

Brown Palace Hotel. State Capitol in distance.
View southward from roof of Equitable Building, in 1901. Seventeenth street in middle part of picture.

On April 23rd General MacArthur's Division began the campaign against Calumpit, the new Filipino capital which the insurgents considered impregnable. The Second Brigade executed a turning movement to the north and then to the west, and was heavily engaged on April 23rd at Quingua where Colonel Stotzenburg of the First Nebraska was killed in a charge in which the killed and wounded of his firing line aggregated twenty per cent. of those engaged; on April 24th at the crossing of the Quingua river, Pulilan, and again west of Pulilan; and on April 25th at the Calumpit river where, after a hot fight across the river which was not more than fifty yards wide, General Hale and Major Mulford who then commanded the First Nebraska, took a party across the junction of the Calumpit and Baglag rivers just above the broken Baglag bridge where the water was up to their necks, flanked the insurgents from their trenches and captured the town of Calumpit; the Filipinos retreating across the Rio Grande Paupauga, from which position they were driven two days later by General Wheaton's brigade.

On May 2nd General Hale took part of his brigade back to Pulilan to support General Lawton's movement against Baliuag, returning to Calumpit on May 3rd.

Aguinaldo having set up his movable capital at San Fernando, General MacArthur's Division moved against that place on May 4th; General Wheaton's brigade marching up the railroad and General Hale's along the wagon road farther east. The insurgents were encountered south of Santo Towas, and after an advance of two miles through waist-deep swamp and wading eleven streams, the American troops drove them from their trenches and back to San Fernando. Next day, under orders from General MacArthur, General Hale took the Fifty-first Iowa and by a turning movement forded the San Fernando river and captured the town. MacArthur's Division established headquarters at San Fernando, and during the next two months had numerous engagements with the Filipinos in that vicinity.

General Hale was relieved from command of the Second Brigade, Second Division, Eighth Army

Corps, on July 5, 1899, to return to the United States with his former regiment, and sailed from Manila on the transport Warren accompanied by Mrs. Hale who had been in Manila since February 9th.

Orders for the First Colorado to prepare for embarkation were issued on July 4th, and camp at the waterworks was broken next day. On July 6th the regiment marched into Manila where final preparations for its homeward voyage were made. After a stay of a little more than a week in Manila the regiment boarded the transport Warren on July 15th, and on the 18th she sailed away—exactly one year from the day the First Colorado had first set foot on Luzon soil. Within that year and aside from the fighting it had done, the regiment had had experience with all the varied and trying phases of climatic conditions and consequences of which the tropical Philippines are capable.

The Warren proceeded to Nagasaki, Japan, where she arrived on July 25th. After replenishing fuel and stores, the transport put out for Yokohama, arriving there July 30th. After a stop of three days, the Warren sailed from Yokohama for San Francisco, and entered the home port on August 16th. On the homeward voyage two deaths occurred—privates Frank B. Lindsey, of Company L, and Ivan Tinnerholm, of Company H. Frank Neptune, of Company H, died soon after reaching San Francisco.

About ten per cent. of the regiment had asked and received discharges at Manila, having decided to remain in the Philippines. At that time the Thirty-sixth Regiment of United States Volunteers was being formed there, and thirty of the discharged Colorado men at once enlisted in it. Several officers of the First Colorado resigned at Manila to take commissions in the Thirty-sixth. These were Major W. R. Grove, who became Lieutenant Colonel, and later Colonel, of the Thirty-sixth; Captain E. E. Booth, and Lieutenants C. H. Sleeper, C. F. O'Keefe, and Benjamin Lear.

During the sixteen months of the regiment's service to the United States many promotions and changes had been made among the officers, as has been indicated in the foregoing accounts, and several men from the ranks had received well-earned commissions. The first of these occurred in the Hospital Corps. Soon after the regiment reached San Francisco in May, 1898, Surgeon Clayton Parkhill was called from it and attached to the Department of the Pacific. Later he was transferred to service in Cuba. His position was filled by the advancement of Captain Louis H. Kemble. Lieutenant C. E. Locke moved into Captain Kemble's place, and private David D. Thornton became Lieutenant Surgeon.

Colonel Hale, as the reader has seen, was not long at the head of the regiment in the Philippines. On September 3rd he received information that he had been appointed Brigadier General of United States Volunteers, to date from the capture of Manila, and on the 7th he relinquished command of the First Colorado. Lieutenant Colonel Henry B. McCoy then became Colonel, Major Cassius M. Moses Lieutenant Colonel, Major Charles H. Anderson Senior Major, and Captain W. R. Grove Major. Lieutenant Alexander McD. Brooks was advanced to Captain and later attached to General Hale's staff as Adjutant General of the Second Brigade, together with Second Lieutenant Fred L. Perry as Aide. Second Lieutenant R. W. Means was promoted First Lieutenant, and Sergeant Henry L. Clotworthy Second Lieutenant for gallantry in daring reconnoissance work. Later promotions made Lieutenant Hilton a Captain, Second Lieutenant Fred. L. Perry a First Lieutenant, and First Sergeant Benjamin Lear a Second Lieutenant. Still later Sergeant Major Tingley C. Wood was appointed Second Lieutenant to succeed Charles E. Hooper, resigned; and First Sergeant Cecil B. West to be Second Lieutenant, succeeding Franklin Ballou, Jr., resigned.

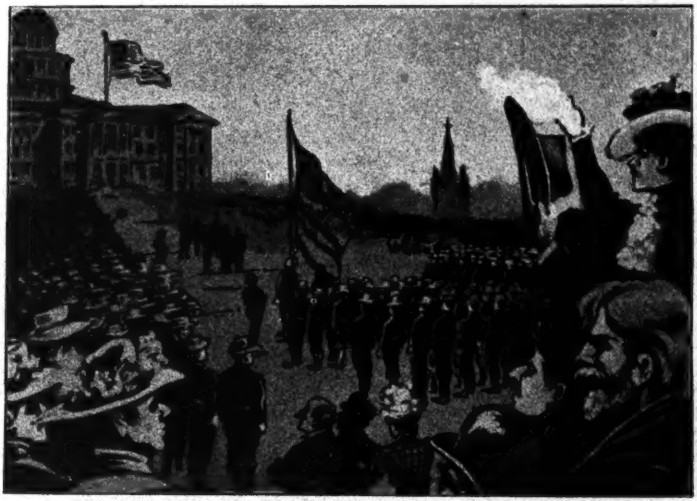
About the time the regiment was engaged in its last field service (June, 1899,) there were several promotions and changes. Second Lieutenant Albert J. Luther, of Company D, succeeded First Lieutenant W. J. Vannice, of Company K, who had resigned on account of broken health; Sergeant Frank DeVotie, of Company D, and Sergeant Jud Palmer, of Company G, were made Second Lieutenants. Lieutenant Borstadt was transferred to Company K, and Lieutenant West to Company E in place of Charles O. Zollars who had resigned.

In consequence of the resignation of several officers at Manila just before the regiment sailed for home, as we have already stated, there were several vacancies to be filled, and occupied until the regiment should be mustered out of service. The appointments to these, which were cabled to Manila and received the day the regiment went on board the Warren, made Captain David P. LaSalle a Major; Lieutenants W. T. Dortenbach and George Borstadt, Captains; Second Lieutenants James A. Gowdy, Walter P. Burke, Ralph B. Lister, and Samuel E. Thomas, First Lieutenants. The vacancies caused by these advancements of Second Lieutenants were filled from the ranks by the promotion of Sergeant-Major Frederick Gross, First Sergeants A. B. Teal and Russell H. Ingersoll, and Sergeants A. L. Bing, Alexander Shaw and H. I. Lawrence.

In addition to the promotions and changes stated in the foregoing, various other officers had been transferred from one company to another, the details of which are not essential here.

The regiment was one of the Second Brigade—at first under General Francis V. Greene and later under General Irving Hale—Second Division, Eighth Army Corps. In March, 1899, it was transferred to the Third Brigade, under General Robert H. Hall, Second Division.

The other volunteer organizations that served in the Philippines contemporaneously with the First Colorado were the First California, First Idaho, Fifty-first Iowa, Twentieth Kansas, Thirteenth Minnesota, First Montana, First Nebraska, First North Dakota, Second Oregon, Tenth Pennsylvania, First South Dakota, First Tennessee, First Washington, First Wyoming, and the Utah Light Artillery. Not one of these organizations proved itself superior to the First Colorado. After the capture of Manila General Greene declared that the latter had been the back-bone of his brigade.



Scene at the Capitol upon return of the First Colorado—Delivering the Regiment's Battle Flag to the Governor. From a sketch in the Denver Times.

The regiment was met at San Francisco by Governor Charles S. Thomas, Adjutant General J. C. Overmeyer and a party of Denver citizens including representatives of the Denver newspapers. On the march from the Warren's dock to the Presidio it received its second ovation from the people of San Francisco that was not less enthusiastic than the first when it arrived there on its way to the Orient. The regiment was mustered out at the Presidio on September 8th, and arrived at Denver in the morning of September 14th.

Under army regulations the men were entitled to receive from the government transportation to the place of their enlistment, or "travel pay" in lieu thereof. In order that they might receive and keep their travel pay a fund of about $35,000 was raised in Denver by popular subscriptions to pay for transporting the men home by special trains. The day of their arrival was a holiday in Denver, and the town had on its most patriotic attire. The homeward route of travel had been by way of the Rio Grande Western, and the Denver & Rio Grande railways, and several of the companies were left at their home towns before the trains reached Denver. However, a majority of the men came through to this city and received a royal welcome.

The regiment marched up Sixteenth street on the way to the Capitol through a mass of cheering humanity. The Capitol Park was occupied by an immense congregation of men, women and children—probably 25,000 of them. There, at the west front of the Capitol, with appropriate addresses and ceremonies, the stained and torn colors of the regiment were delivered to the Governor of the State, while an artillery salute was fired by the Chaffee Light Artillery. When the returning men had reached the line between Colorado and Utah they had been presented with a fine new silk flag, which was included in the standards delivered to Governor Thomas. The Color Sergeant of the regiment, Richard Holmes, was a young giant standing about six and one-half feet in height.

Upon the conclusion of these ceremonies the men were called to a feast spread for them in the Tramway Company's building at Colfax Avenue and Broadway. When the feasting was over the men of that regiment of superb citizen-soldiers, after the American way quietly returned to the walks of civil life, and within a few days were blended in the ranks of the great army engaged in the pursuits of peace.

By popular subscriptions a fund was easily raised to provide a suitable certificate of service and a bronze medal commemorative of patriotism and gallantry for each man who enlisted from the State of Colorado in the service of the United States during the war with Spain, which were presented to the men soon after the organizations were mustered out.

During its term of service the First Colorado lost forty men, of whom one was a commissioned officer, one a musician, and the others non-commissioned officers and privates. The battle-losses were comparatively light. Six men, including the commissioned officer, were killed in action; six died of wounds—in one or two cases very soon after being struck; one committed suicide; one was drowned; and twenty-six died of disease. In a few instances the type of disease is not stated. In making up the record of the regiment each man was taken into account, but in the few instances referred to the particulars of disease are not available. Considering that the regiment numbered about 1,300 officers and men, and that it served more than a year in a tropical country under climatic conditions to which the men were strangers, the small number of deaths by disease proves not only the remarkable physical excellence of the men, but also indicates careful attention to sanitary precautions and an unusually efficient hospital corps and service. The following is the mortality list between muster-in and muster-out.

Aldrich, Archie A., Company E, died of wound, at Manila, April 18, 1899.

Bell, William H., Company C, small-pox, January 11, 1899.

Bowser, Clifford H., Company K, of wounds, June 9, 1899.

Bryant, R. M., Company K., variola, February 25, 1899.

Bush, W. H., Company I, dysentery, March 24, 1899.

Carlson, Charles, Company L, killed in action, February 5, 1899.

Daniel, Elmer E., unassigned, septicaemia, at San Francisco, August 1, 1898.

Dawson, B. W., unassigned, remittent malarial fever, October 24, 1898, at Honolulu.

Donahue, W. J., Company F, variola, February 26, 1899.

Doran, Elmer F., Company I, killed in action, February 5, 1899.

Downing, Walter, Company L, acute dysentery, November 22, 1898.

Doxsee, Harry L., Company C, killed in action, May 23, 1899.

Duval, Frank A., Company F, died of wound, June 28, 1899.

Falkenburg, Harry C., musician, small-pox, January 20, 1899.

Haviland, Albert, Company F, variola, February 24, 1899.

Hegewer, Bert C., unassigned, spinal meningitis, at San Francisco, August 15, 1898.

Jefferson, W. S., Company G, typhoid fever, at San Francisco, November 20, 1898.

Lillie, Charles, Company I, acute diarrhoea, February 10, 1899.

Lindsey, Frank B., Company L, died at sea on homeward voyage, August 8, 1899.

Loosa, August H., unassigned, septicaemia, at San Francisco, August 5, 1898.

McDowell, Harry A., Company M, suicide, December 4, 1898.

McMurray, William S., Company C., accidentally drowned, November 2, 1898.

Neptune, Frank D., Company H, died in San Francisco upon return, August 22, 1899.

Phillippi, Leonard E., Company G., died of wound, April 1, 1899.

Phoenix, Charles, Company I, died of wound, August 18, 1898.

Pynchon, Edward R., Company K, died of wound, March 20, 1899.

Ramsay, Arthur, Company F, spinal meningitis, February 20, 1899.

Reisig, Harry J., Company M, July 14, 1899, of disease.

Sarazin, Norbert, Company B, typhoid fever, October 4, 1898.

Saunders, David I., Company I, small-pox, December 20, 1898.

Scroggs, John A., Company A, acute malaria, October 4, 1898.

Smith, Bernard J., Company B, variola, March 18, 1899.

Springstead, F. E., killed in action, August 1, 1898.

Stewart, Captain John S., Company A, killed in action, March 25, 1899.

Sullivan, Neil C., Company H, spinal meningitis, June 4, 1898.

Tinnerholm, Ivan, Company H, died at sea on homeward voyage, August 2, 1899, of consumption.

Warrington, George W., Company F, July 8, 1899, of dysentery.

White, Cass, Company D, killed in action, February 5, 1899.

Whiteside, Thomas F., Company M, died at Manila, March 23, 1899, of disease.

Wise, Walter W., Company I, spinal meningitis, at sea, July 5, 1898.

The statement has been officially made that the percentage of mortality by disease in the First Colorado was less than in any other regiment of equal numerical strength engaged in the foreign service of the United States during the war with Spain; a fact that tells its own eloquent story of the character and quality of its officers and men.

The two Troops of Cavalry and the Battery of Artillery which constituted the remainder of Colorado's apportionment of soldiers for the Spanish war had, as we have mentioned, been promptly organized. At that time Colorado had three skeleton Troops of Cavalry in her National Guard—A at Leadville, and B and C at Denver. As A and B were the ranking Troops, C had to withdraw from the contest for a place in the army, although it was among the organizations rendezvoused at Camp Adams. Troops A and B were actually mustered into United States service on May 6th, but the date was, for reasons not important here, officially made as of May 1st; and they were the only cavalry organizations Colorado could get into the service during that war, because of the clamor for recognition that was heard in every State of the Union. The three cavalry Troops had arrived at Camp Adams on April 29th, and Troop B was first of any branch of the service to be mustered in, and was actually the first Colorado organization placed in the service of the United States for the Spanish war; although in being so it was ahead of the First Colorado Infantry only a small part of a day. As Leadville was the headquarters of Troop A, and Denver of Troop B, the two were generally regarded as representing, respectively, the two cities; but the facts were that in raising the two Troops from their skeleton form to the full strength of eighty-four enlisted men, recruits were received from various places in the State; yet probably a majority in each command was from the city represented by it, or from the immediate vicinity thereof. The Leadville company had come to Camp Adams with its complement nearly filled, but the Denver company was of less than half-strength. Both were quickly brought to full-strength, for there was a great scramble to get in.

The officers of Troop A, as mustered into United States service, were Charles A. McNutt, Captain; John Harvey, Jr., First Lieutenant; Frederick A. Follett, Second Lieutenant. Of Troop B, William G. Wheeler, Captain; Arthur L. B. Davies, First Lieutenant; Francis A. Perry, Second Lieutenant. All of these had been the respective officers of the two companies as organizations in the National Guard. The two Troops were assigned to the Second Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, under command of Colonel Jay L. Torrey, who was the originator of the "Rough Rider" idea of cavalry organizations for the Spanish war, and who was chiefly instrumental in having it approved at Washington. The two Troops left Denver May 30th and proceeded to Fort D. A. Russell, near Cheyenne, Wyoming, where the regiment was organized, and where, retaining their letter designations, they became the ranking Troops of "Torrey's Rough Riders." Of the remainder of the regiment, seven Troops were from Wyoming, and one each from Nevada, Utah, and Idaho; its strength having been 1,028 picked men, finely equipped and superbly mounted. Many men from northern Colorado joined the Wyoming Troop organizations, but they had no identity as soldiers from our State.

The regiment left Fort Russell June 22nd under orders to join the Seventh Army Corps, under Fitzhugh Lee, at Jacksonville, Florida, where it arrived June 28th, and went into camp at Panama Park, seven miles from that city. On the way, a Trooper was killed at St. Louis by falling under the wheels of his train; and in a collision between two sections of the train at Tupelo, Mississippi, six more were killed, and many injured; among the latter having been the Colonel, whose feet were crushed. But none of the Colorado men were among the victims of that disaster, though two were slightly hurt.

The regiment had been organized in anticipation of immediate service in Cuba, and the Seventh Corps was selected as the one to lead in the contemplated attack on Havana. But the course of events was so swift that the Corps did not get away from Florida, and the Second Regiment, which physically and morally and in equipment, was probably the finest body of cavalry ever organized in any country, saw no fighting service, but remained in camp near Jacksonville until mustered out October 24, 1898.

Before the regiment left Fort Russell, Captain Wheeler of Troop B, had been promoted to be Major; Lieutenant Davies had been advanced to the Captaincy; and Sergeant Cyrus E. Mead had been made Second Lieutenant. While in camp near Jacksonville five of the Colorado men fell victims to fever; four of them having been members of Troop B. Ralph S. Johnson died September 10th; William J. O'Brien, September 13th;

Seventeenth street northward from Arapahoe street, in 1901.

Peter E. Moss and George G. Nellis, September 15th. The fifth man was Sergeant Thomas A. Woodhall, of Denver, serving on Colonel Torrey's staff, and who died October 2nd. No deaths occurred in Troop A.

As one of the Denver men who served in the regiment remarked to the writer, "if its career was not a glorious one from a military standpoint, it was for the simple reason that the regiment had no opportunities. Certainly, however, the deaths of thirty of its men in the short period of six months were just as heroic as those of the forty or forty-two of the First Colorado in about eighteen months and in actual hostilities."

The Chaffee Light Artillery was in one sense the basis upon which the Colorado Battery was organized, though the latter was made up almost wholly of new men nearly all of whom were from Denver and immediate vicinity. The Battery was not mustered into United States service until July 1, 1898. On July 2nd it was transferred to Fort Logan where it remained in camp until August 12th when it proceeded by rail to Fort Hancock, New Jersey, where it arrived August 16th. Its officers were Harry J. Parks, Captain; John G. Locke, First Lieutenant; John C. Exline, Second Lieutenant; all of Denver. The organization was designated as Battery A, First Colorado Volunteer Artillery, but as the regimental organization had no existence, and as the Battery was not attached to any other, it was really an independent battery during its term of service. It remained at Fort Hancock until mustered out November 7, 1898, and without having had a death among its members. It saw no fighting service and, as in the case of the two Troops of Cavalry, made no war record for the sole reason that it was given no opportunity to do so.

Two young men of Denver, Herbert A. Lafferty and Thomas R. Sullivan, who received commissions in the United States service early in 1898, died in service before the close of that year. After having completed the course in the "East Denver" High School, Lafferty had entered the West Point Military Academy where he was graduated in February, 1898, and immediately assigned to the Seventh Regiment United States Infantry (regular) as a Second Lieutenant. He served in Cuba with his regiment, and died at Montauk Point, New York, September 17, 1898, in consequence of a wound received at Santiago. Sullivan, who was a son of Dennis Sullivan, an old citizen of Denver, had been a member of Cavalry Troop B, National Guard of Colorado, from which he was honorably discharged by a special order from the State Adjutant General, on March 9, 1898, to enable him to accept a commission as First Lieutenant in one of the United States volunteer organizations. Assigned to Company I, First Regiment United States Volunteer Engineers, he served with it in Porto Rico where he contracted fever which caused his death in hospital at New York on November 3, 1898.

During the rather brief period of the war with Spain and for several months after the fall of Santiago had practically ended it, Fort Logan was the scene of much military activity. In the spring and summer of 1898 the scattered companies of several of the regular regiments rendezvoused there, and thence proceeded to their new fields of activity. After Spain asked for peace, troops were returning to Fort Logan; and then, again, after the Filipino insurrection of February, 1899, they were going forth on their way to the Orient to sustain the authority of the Nation. So it was, that with the going and coming of volunteers and of regulars, through that period of about eighteen months, at least one phase of War was brought very near to all our Denver people.

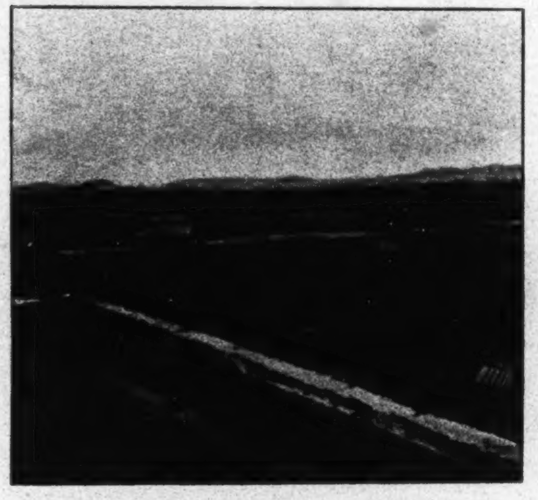
On August 13th, 14th and 15th, 1900, a reunion of the troops who had served in Luzon in the Eighth Army Corps, was held in Denver, representatives of the regular army and of nearly all the volunteer regiments mentioned on a preceding page having been present. The first day of the meeting was the anniversary of the assault upon and capture of Manila. The reunion was held at the instance of General Hale, the principal object having been to form a permanent organization. The "Society of the Army of the Philippines" was organized with the intention of having annual reunions hereafter, and it is hoped that the years will be many before the last one shall have been held.

This brief story of Denver and Colorado in the war with Spain may fittingly close with a reference to two fine war-ships now building for the United States navy. One of them, approaching completion, is to be a great cruiser of high speed, ranking next to battleships and armored cruisers in naval classification. Its construction was begun during the year of the Spanish war, and before its keel-plates were laid, the name selected for it was that of "Denver." The other, a huge battleship of the latest type, recently authorized by Congress and upon which construction has begun, is to bear the name "Colorado."

CHAPTER LXXIV.

DENVER'S PROMINENT BUILDINGS—DATES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR ERECTION—PIONEER STRUCTURES PREVIOUSLY OCCUPYING THEIR SITES—CHANGES WITHIN FORTY YEARS—COST OF CONSPICUOUS PRESENT EDIFICES—SURVIVING OLD-TIME BUILDINGS.

Although Denver is but little more than forty years old, nearly all the buildings that constituted the pioneer town have disappeared; and a large proportion of those erected between 1860 and 1870 in what is now the general business section of "East Denver," are likewise things of the past. In the "West Denver" business section the later changes have not been so great. In 1870 the business district on both sides of the creek was practically confined to the area bounded by Seventeenth, Lawrence, and Ninth streets and the Platte river; but within that area were many dwellings and much vacant ground.



An unidentified view from an old photograph indorsed "View in Denver, 1871."

In the "East Denver" part of the district thus defined, many of the present buildings are the third structures erected on their sites; and in some instances present buildings are of the fourth series. Between Lawrence street and Broadway, Fourteenth and Eighteenth streets, a locality that was part of the favorite residence district between 1870 and 1885, the dwellings were, as a rule, the first structures on the ground; but nearly all of them have now given way to the encroachments of business buildings.

In "West Denver," outside the old business district to which we have referred, business structures have not, to any great extent, succeeded dwellings of the period between 1870 and 1885; but many of the domiciles now there are second constructions on the ground, and in not a few instances, the third. In "North Denver" the changes have been comparatively unimportant, as that division of the city is almost wholly a development of the last twenty years.

The American Hotel on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets was one of the early large brick buildings, and the first hotel in Denver constructed on what may be termed "modern" lines. On September 18, 1867, the late John W. Smith, one of Denver's progressive and public-spirited citizens in those times, began removing the old buildings of the pioneer era that stood on the site, which had at an earlier time belonged to Thomas J. Bayaud. The house was finished and opened in 1868, and was the leading hotel until the Windsor was erected. In a later year an addition to it was built on Blake street.

The Albany Hotel, on the southeast corner of Seventeenth and Stout streets, was built in 1884-85 by C. H. Nix & Co., on land which theretofore had been unoccupied. The house was opened in July, 1885, by the builders and owners, and was then regarded as one of the finest hotels in the west. It was remodelled in 1893.

The Appel Building on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, stands on ground that was unoccupied until the spring of 1860, and which has been used for business purposes since that time. In April of that year a small frame building which had stood at the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets was moved to this location where it later served as the office of the Clerk and Recorder of Arapahoe county, and incidentally of the Denver Town Company. Several years afterward the ground was leased by George E. Roper who built a two-story brick building on it. In 1892 M. S. Appel bought the site and erected the present building.

The Arapahoe Building on the south side of Arapahoe street, between Sixteenth and Seventeenth, the present numbers 1616 to 1622, was built in 1891, by Charles G. Chever. The original building on the site was the dwelling of Mr. Chever who was Clerk of Arapahoe county six years from 1861 to 1868.

The Bancroft Building on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Stout streets, and the one adjoining it—808 to 818 Sixteenth, succeeded a handsome one-story brick residence built and first occupied by D. Tom Smith. It had a fine large yard around it and fronted on Stout street. Later it became the home of Dr. F. J. Bancroft whose wife received it as a wedding gift from her father. Dr. Bancroft built the corner building in 1881, and the other was erected several years later.

Dr. F. J. Bancroft's residence on site of Bancroft building.

The Bank Building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Arapahoe streets, constructed of Colorado red sandstone, and red pressed brick, five stories in height, was built in 1892 by George Tritch. On its site formerly stood the residence of Julius Mitchell, a well-known citizen of Denver for many years. The Tritch Building on Arapahoe street, next to the Bank Building was erected by Tritch in 1884, on the site of a cabin he owned and in which he lived in early times.

The Barclay Building, the fine structure on the northwest corner of Eighteenth and Larimer streets, was erected by the late James Duff, of London, in 1884. That corner had previously been occupied by several small buildings of the ante-railroad era. The State Executive offices were for several years in the Barclay Building, and it was the last of the private buildings occupied by the State Legislature; and therefore was one of the several temporary "Capitols" prior to the completion of the State Capitol.

The Barth Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Stout streets was built by William Barth in 1887. It is a fine, four-story structure of dressed sandstone, and occupied the premises on which its builder's residence was built in 1869.

The Boston Building, a fine one of Colorado red sandstone, nine stories high, on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Champa streets, was built by the "Boston Building Company," in 1889, and was the first of the strictly modern office buildings. The ground was originally occupied by the first Wolfe Hall, a seminary for young women, and was on the outskirts of town when that building was erected.

The Brown Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market streets, now known as the Metropolitan Hotel was, when its owner built it in 1868, the first brick building fronting on Sixteenth street. Its site was previously a vacant lot owned by the Bayaud estate, from which Mr. Brown bought it. But in early times a group of one-story log and frame structures stood on and adjacent to that corner.

The Brown Palace Hotel covering the triangular block bounded by Broadway, Seventeenth and Tremont streets is, aside from the State Capitol and, possibly, the Equitable Building, the finest and costliest structure in Colorado or elsewhere in the central region between the Missouri river and San Francisco. Its site had previously been unimproved; a strip along the Broadway side, twenty feet wide, was part of Henry C. Brown's land entry; the remainder consisted of fractional lots bought by him at various times until he had acquired the entire block which, before the hotel building was begun, was valued at three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Mr. Brown, builder and owner of the magnificent hotel; did not acquire those relations to it by first intention. In the late "Eighties" the enterprise was conceived by the late William H. Bush, of Denver; and the late James Duff, of London, England. They sought and were promised English capital for it, a small portion of which they received. With this for a start they procured from Mr. Brown a provisional contract for the transfer of the land, and then made the great excavation

Night view of the Brown Palace Hotel.

for the structure's foundations. The English support then failed to further sustain the undertaking, and work stopped. After some delay, and in anticipation of the original projectors arranging for the hotel's erection and completion, Mr. Brown was induced to put in the foundations and erect the first three stories of the building, when operations were again suspended. It was at that juncture that Mr. Brown decided to take the enterprise off the hands of its projectors and complete the building himself. Extensive and costly alterations were made in what had already been built; chiefly in the interior arrangement which gives its great rotunda the present unique and commanding aspect. The house is a magnificent monument to the broad views and lavish enterprise of its builder. It stands in the geographical center of the city, is constructed of granite, and Flagstaff, Arizona, sandstone of a rich, dark reddish-brown color unusually pleasing to the eye. Its three fronts are almost alike, there being a slight exception in favor of the Broadway side. Architecturally it is a splendid example of dignified simplicity and exquisite taste. It is fittingly named, for it is, exteriorly and interiorly, a magnificent palace in the erection of which fifteen hundred thousand dollars were expended; adding to this the value of the land, and the cost of furnishing, the hotel represents an investment of nearly two millions of dollars. Its interior arrangement is most admirable, and in its finish presents a wealth of Mexican onyx, and bronze. The building contains no wood except that used for doors and window-frames, all the floors and partitions being of tile and cement supported by steel beams. Aside from its furniture and the doors and window-frames, the house contains nothing that will burn. It was begun in 1888, and completed and opened August 1, 1892.

The Byers Building on the south side of Arapahoe street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, stands on ground that was first occupied by a frame dwelling built in 1860 by Cooper & Wyatt, the pioneer saw-mill men. It was purchased by Joseph B. Cass who lived in it until 1864, when it was bought by Mr. W. N. Byers who made it his residence until 1879, when he removed to a new one "out in the country" at the northeast corner of Colfax and Sherman Avenues. Mr. Byers removed the old dwelling in 1882 to make place for the present business block. Nearly opposite the Byers Building, in 1868, was the brick residence of Mayor M. M. Delano, where Generals Grant, Sherman and Sheridan were entertained when they visited Denver in 1868. Mayor DeLano subsequently became United States Consul at Foo Chow, China, and served there several years. The DeLano residence was later owned by W. H. Pierce. Between it and the Sixteenth street corner was the dwelling of Mrs. J. H. Fillmore which in 1866 was occupied by Governor Alexander Cummings.

The California Building on the northwest corner of Seventeenth and California streets was built in 1892 by Dr. J. C. Blickensderfer. It is of granite and red pressed brick, seven stories high, and cost $100,000. On that corner formerly stood the residence of James W. Hanna, and the remainder of the present building's site is of the old residence premises of E. P. Jacobson whose dwelling still stands wedged in between the Cali-

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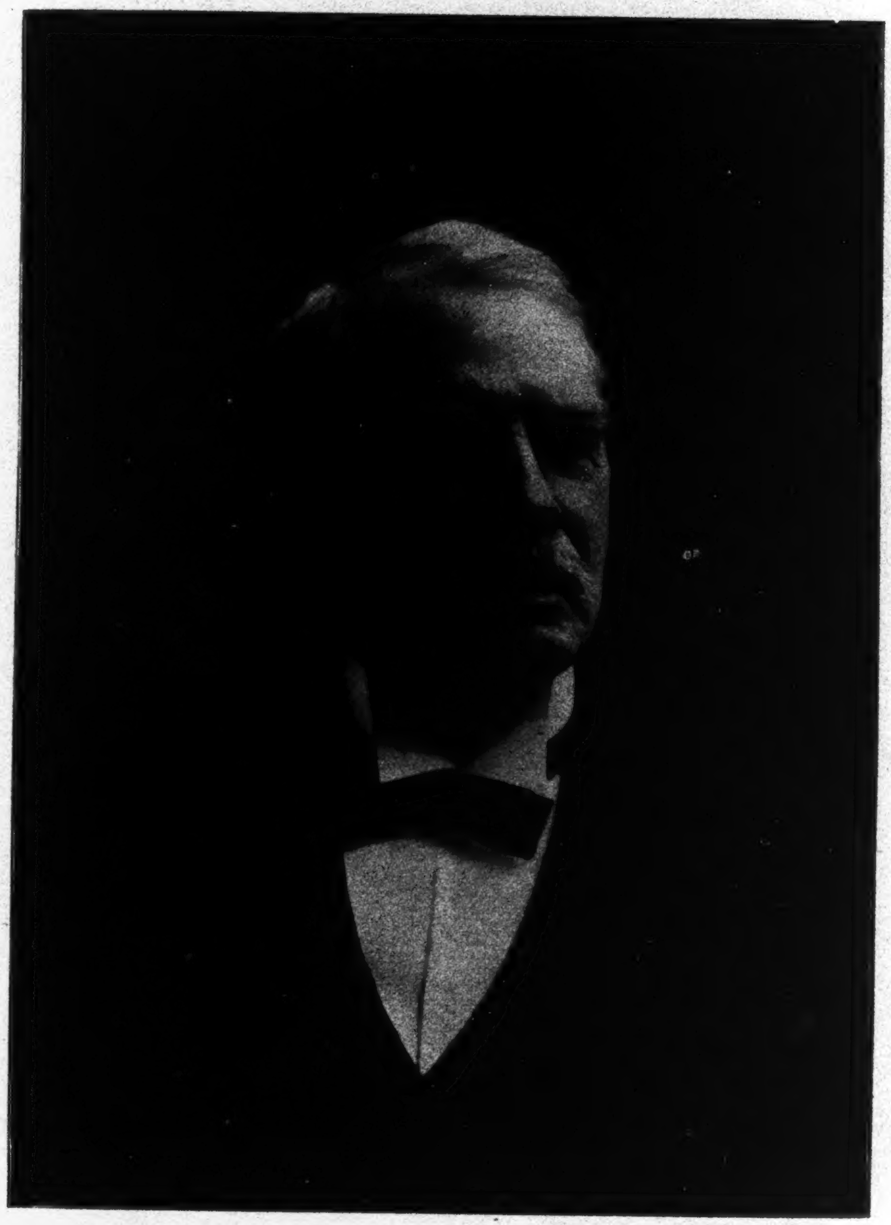
Henry C. Brown, who has so long been identified with the development of the city, was born near St. Clairsville, Belmont county, Ohio, November 12, 1820. When he was two years old his mother died, and when he was seven his father followed her. The orphan boy was "bound out" to a Belmont county farmer, his apprenticeship to continue until he was sixteen. During those years he attended the country district schools when they were in session, and toward the close of his service he for a short time attended the Brooks Academy, at St. Clairsville. After his farm service ended he went to Wheeling, W. Va., and learned the trade of a carpenter, and in 1844 located in St. Louis where he worked until 1852. In the spring of that year he joined a party to go to California, and drove an ox-team from the Missouri river, the journey occupying 110 days. After a short stay in San Francisco, he went to Portland, Ore., then a mere hamlet, and from there to Olympia, now in the State of Washington, where he formed a partnership with two other pioneers, and the three built a large saw-mill at the mouth of Whatcom river. After a sojourn there of eight months he traded his interest in the saw-mill for a ranche near Forbestown, California, which he at once sold and again went to San Francisco. There he engaged in contracting and building and was soon doing an extensive business in which he continued until the autumn of 1856 when he removed to the interior of the State where he remained until the spring of 1857, and then sailed for Callao, Peru. After a stay of several months in Callao he set out for the United States in a sailing vessel bound, by way of Cape Horn, for Hampton Roads, Virginia, where he arrived early in the spring of 1858. From Hampton he immediately proceeded to St. Louis, which he reached in May, 1858, after six years of varied and picturesque experience. In St. Louis he worked at his trade a few months, and then moved on to Sioux City, Iowa, where he fell in with a party which was organizing the Decatur, Neb., Town Company. The men were inexperienced, and Mr. Brown entered the land for them on which they located their town, acted as their counsellor and guardian, and accepted their proposition to build for them a hotel in their embryo city. The Decatur Town Company failed, the hotel was left unfinished, and its builder much lighter in pocket, located in St. Joseph, Mo., where he resumed work as a contracting carpenter.

Early in 1860 Mr. Brown resolved to cast his fortunes with Denver, and in the spring of that year left St. Joseph with his belongings loaded in



Henry C. Brown.

fornia and an adjacent business structure on California street.

The Cass & Graham Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets was built in 1881 by Dr. O. D. Cass and William Graham. The corner portion of the site was occupied by a frame residence built by Richard E. Whitsitt in 1860, and which was his home for several years. Dr. Cass bought it from Whitsitt and resided in it for a time, when it was rented by Warren Hussey. The adjacent ground on the Curtis street side was owned by Jonas Deitsch and F. A. Clark, and next to it stood the frame dwelling of Redwood Fisher.

William Barth's residence on site of Barth Building.

The Charles Building on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Curtis streets was built in 1889 by John Q. Charles, a pioneer citizen and prominent lawyer. It is of Colorado sandstone, six stories high. The ground was previously occupied by the builder's frame residence.

The Cheesman Building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Larimer streets was built in 1881 by Walter S. Cheesman. Several small buildings were the original occupants of the ground, and in one of them fronting on Larimer street Major Jacob Downing, the well-known old-time soldier, lawyer and real estate operator, had his office.

The City Building erected in 1883 on the northwest corner of Fourteenth and Larimer streets, stands on land built on in the beginning of things here. On the corner part of it E. P. Stout, President of the Denver Town Company, built a log cabin, with canvas roof and floor of earth, in December, 1858. The cabin was afterwards occupied by Charles Page, and still later by J. P. Sears. Between the Stout house and the bank of Cherry creek, D. C. Collier and William Clancy built in 1859 a small two-story frame building in the lower part of which those pioneer lawyers of Colorado had their office.

The Clayton Building on the southeast corner of Seventeenth and Lawrence streets was built by George W. Clayton in 1885-86 on ground on which his residence had stood.

The Cooper Building on the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets, one of the fine modern office buildings, was erected by the late Governor Job A. Cooper in 1892-93. It is eight stories in height, the first two being of granite and the others of pressed red brick, the building being one of the more prominent structures in the city. Governor Cooper had long owned the two lots of the corner part of the site, on which he had built a small two-story brick business house; the remainder of those lots were occupied by small boxes of buildings. On the third lot stood the

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a heavy wagon drawn by two yoke of oxen, and set out across the plains. At that time his worldly possessions, including his resources in cash, aggregated about $2,500. After a journey of forty-five days he arrived here on June 9th. He lost no time in getting work at his trade, and soon became known as one of the most industrious men in the town; and also as a most excellent, painstaking, and reliable man in his business. In those early days in Denver this quiet, persevering pioneer was often seen carrying on his shoulders odds and ends of material for his work, and later trundling his provisions out from town in a wheelbarrow and up the side of Capitol Hill to his little pre-emption house near the present intersection of Twelfth and Sherman Avenues.

Outlines of his subsequent career as one of the builders of Denver appear elsewhere in this volume. His faith in the city was always strong; and was not shaken by any of the ups and downs through which it has passed. We have told of his pre-emption of land which became his familiarly known addition to the town; of his donation of two-thirds of the magnificent site of the State's splendid Capitol; of his improvements elsewhere in the city made at times when less courageous men hesitated, and timid ones took flight; and of his crowning achievement in the construction of the palatial hotel which bears his name and will be a monument to his enterprises and liberality while the city of Denver exists.

Mr. Brown's long and interesting career has been an unusual one, and one in which industry at hard work occupied most of its years. From the beginning, he believed that his pre-emption quarter-section of land was destined to become what it has become—the choice part of Denver, and nothing could shake that belief. In many other years he had to sacrifice groups of lots here and there to get money enough to pay taxes on the remainder. In one year and for that purpose he sold twenty of them lying side by side for seventeen hundred dollars; and that twenty are now worth five times seventeen thousand. Eventually the increase in value of the remainder and of other holdings, and results of various business undertakings, represented a large fortune. But the consequences of 1893 entailed upon him most severe reverses, though they have not disturbed his belief that it is Denver's destiny to become a great mid-continent city of the United States.—J. C. S.

Site of the Equitable Building. Removing old structures in preparation for the present edifice.

dwelling of Dr. L. E. Lemen, fronting on Curtis street, which was moved off the ground to make way for the present structure. In earlier times that corner was occupied by the one-story frame cottage home of Dr. S. W. Treat, a physician who is most pleasantly remembered by many of our older citizens.

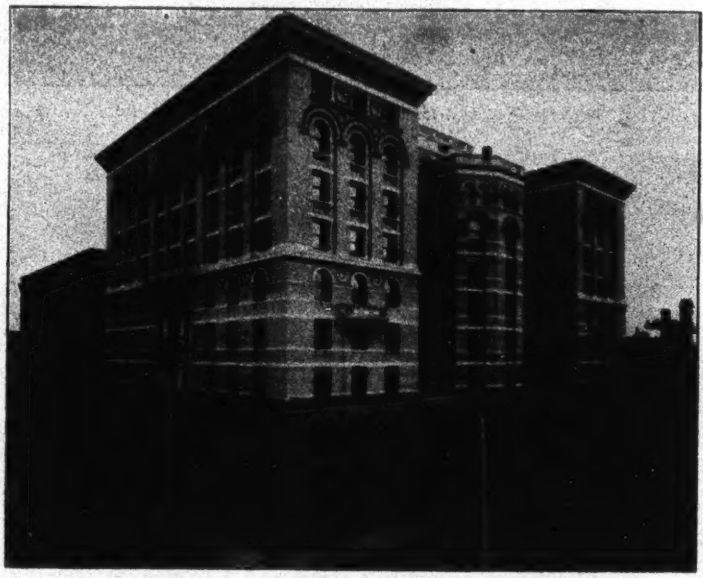
The Crandall Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Welton streets was built in 1881 by Mrs. L. A. Crandall whose residence had occupied the site. The Crandall Building was one of the pioneers among business structures on upper Sixteenth street.

The Daniels Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets was built in 1879 by the late W. B. Daniels, but not then of its present large proportions, as the upper story and an extension on Lawrence street were subsequently added. In 1876 Mr. Daniels built a two-story brick building on the corner, but this was removed when work on the larger building began in 1879. The corner part of the present large building's site was vacant prior to 1876, but an old and eccentric negro, "Old Lije," then a well-known town character, occupied a little box of a house which stood on part of the ground and fronted on Lawrence street. "Old Lije" was long since gathered to his fathers.

The Denver Dry Goods Company's Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and California streets was erected in 1888-89 by John J. Riethmann, who had owned the ground for several years. The site was first occupied by a florist, and later by a skating rink which, during the short career of that kind of amusement, was a popular establishment. In 1898 the addition of another story, and a large extension in the rear gave the building its present dimensions. The lots originally belonged to L. F. Bartels.

The Equitable Building on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Stout streets is the largest and most stately business structure in the city. It was built in 1890-92 by the life insurance association whose name it bears, at a cost of one and one-half million dollars, exclusive of the amount paid for the land. It is nine stories high and constructed of native granite and light-colored pressed brick. The corner part of its site was occupied by a one story building that was removed to a new location. On the Stout street side stood the brick residence which in 1881 was the scene of the locally famous tragedy in which Charles F. Stickney killed a young man named Montgomery T. Campau, and a young woman named Devereaux. That house was afterward occupied by the old Union League Club. On the Seventeenth street side stood the small brick church building of the "Seventeenth street Presbyterian" congregation, the remainder of the site having been occupied by structures to which no special interest attached. In 1893-94 the State Executive offices were in the Equitable, and were removed thence to the new State Capitol in the autumn of 1894.

The Ernest and Cranmer Building on the south-



Equitable Building.

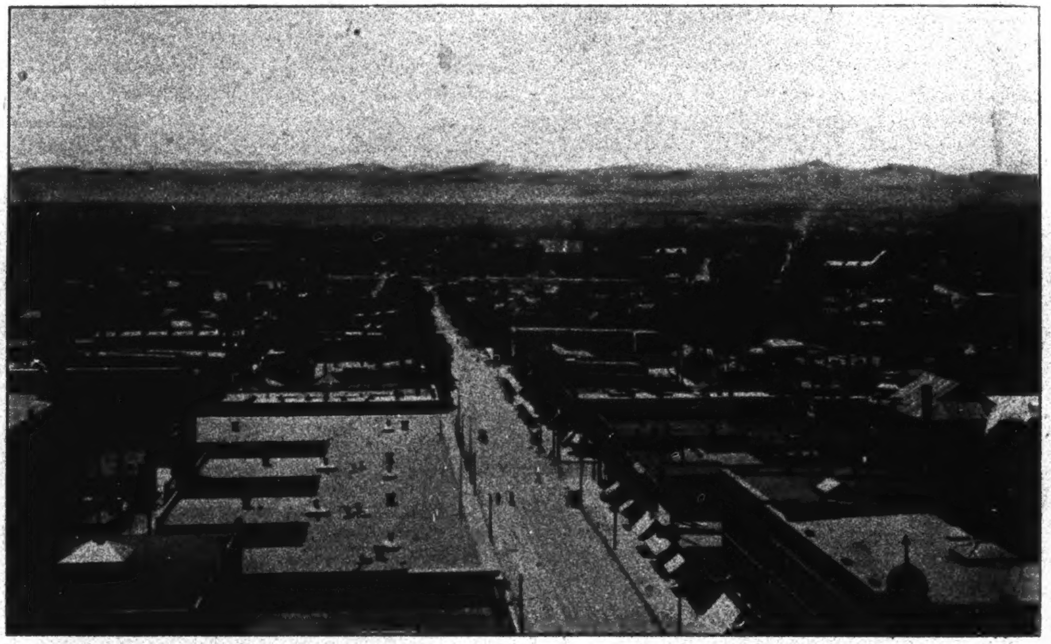
west corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets stands on the site of Judge Amos Steck's old homestead, one of the handsome dwellings of its time. The present building, which is a conspicuous one, was built in 1890-91 by Finis P. Ernest and William H. H. Cranmer. The first two of its eight stories are of Colorado red sandstone; the other five of pressed brown brick.

The Essex Building on the north side of Lawrence street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth streets—street numbers 1617 to 1623, inclusive, was built by Charles G. Chever in 1887. On the rear of the site stood the little frame building long used in early times as the office of the Clerk and Recorder of Arapahoe county, and which was removed thither in the "Sixties" from the site of the Appel Building.

The Evans Building on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets was built by Governor John Evans in 1872. It was one of the early Denver buildings of more than two stories, and was pointed to with much pride by all the citizens. The ground had been used from 1864 as a lumber yard by M. M. Delano who had a little office building on the corner; and in its rear on the Lawrence street side E. A. Willoughby then had his carpenter shop there.

The Fink Building on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Market streets was built by J. P. Fink in 1873 and was considered an extravagantly fine building at that time, as it was three stories high and had a dressed sandstone front on Fifteenth street. In 1860 the French trader, G. Guiraud, put up a small frame building there which afterward was occupied by Fred Charpiot as a restaurant. After the Fink building was finished the Masonic order leased the upper floor and occupied it for lodge room purposes for many years.

The Gallup and Stansbury Building on the north side of Larimer street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets—numbers 1445 to 1451—was built by Avery Gallup and A. M. Stansbury. It stands on the site of Stansbury's old "Tambien" saloon, one of the most noted drinking resorts of the "Sixties," and a place in which much of the seamy side of frontier life was exhibited.



View southwest from roof of Equitable Building, in 1901; Stout street in middle part of picture.

The Good Building on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets is the second of that name and by the same builder that has stood on that corner. The first was a small brick structure built by John Good in the middle "Sixties" on the corner part of the site of the present building. The ground had theretofore been owned by Henry Fuerstein and was vacant. Next to the original Good Building, on the west, stood the two-story brick building put up in 1866 by Byers & Dailey, and in which for many years thereafter was published the Rocky Mountain News. Next to the News' office lot Wallingford & Murphy's log store-building had been built in 1859, and was the first building on the east side of the creek to have a plank floor. It was over this Wallingford & Murphy building that a Confederate flag floated for a few hours one day in the spring of 1861. The Wallingford & Murphy site was subsequently occupied by a building in which Major John S. Fillmore kept the Post Office. The present Good Building covering most of the ground designated in the foregoing, was erected in 1888.

The Granite Building on the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, was built by W. M. and G. W. Clayton in 1881-82. The ground on which it stands was first built on late in the autumn of 1858, by General William Larimer, who put up his cabin near the alley on the Fifteenth street side, which he occupied, and in which A. O. McGrew, who brought his belongings across the plains in a wheelbarrow, was later a tenant. Directly on the corner a frame building was subsequently built by P. G. Lowe & Co., from Leavenworth, for their dry goods store. These buildings gave way to a two-story brick built by G. W. and W. M. Clayton who opened a general merchandise store in it. The brick structure was succeeded by the present building.

The Haish Manual Training School of the Denver University, on the southeast corner of Arapahoe and Fourteenth streets, built in 1887, occupies the site of St. John's Church in the Wilderness (Episcopalian), which was incorporated under that name by the Territorial Legislature in 1865. The original church building was a small brick structure standing on the corner, and with its later addition occupied the site until removed to make place for the Training School.

The "H. D. and F. Building" on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and California streets was built in 1893 by Hayden, Dickinson and Feldhauser. It is of five stories, of red sandstone, pressed brick, and steel, and cost $150,000. Before this building's erection the home of General W. H. Lessig was on that corner—a handsome residence standing in a large yard well shaded and beautifully adorned.

The Hughes & Bissell building on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets was built in 1873 by John Hughes and Amos Bissell, the site having earlier been occupied by the barn and sheds of the Overland Stage and Express Company. The upper floors of the present building were rented by the county for the District Court, and county offices, thus making the building the county Court House for a time. The corner room on the ground floor was for several years occupied by the Post Office.

The Jacobson Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets was built in 1888 by the estate of Colonel E. P. Jacobson who died in April, 1881. The two-story brick residence of Luke Dubois, and his livery stable, previously occupied the premises. The stable stood next the alley, on the Sixteenth street side, and was bought from Dubois by George H. Estabrook who kept it a while, and then disposed of it to B. D. Spencer some time before the new building was erected.

The King Building on the north side of Lawrence street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth—the present numbers 1625 to 1645—was built in 1880 by Henry King, of Pittsburg, on the site of the dwelling of John Hughes, which first occupied the ground.

The Kistler Building on the north side of Lawrence street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth, was built by Jerome Riche in 1880. On its site was the white frame cottage residence of R. R. McCormick and his father-in-law, Major W. F. Johnson. Miss Emma Abbott, the opera singer, afterward bought the present property and the building was known by her name until it recently received the one it now bears. The street numbers are 1537-1543, inclusive.

The Kittredge Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Glenarm streets shoulders the Masonic Temple, to which it is a becoming companion structure. Its site was occupied by the residence of Judge D. B. Graham, and by two or three smaller dwellings. The building rises seven stories and is built of granite and lava rock. It was erected by C. M. Kittredge in 1890.

Residence of John Evans at Fourteenth and Arapahoe streets as it appeared in 1880.

The Lothrop Building on the northwest corner of Eighteenth and Lawrence streets, was built in 1883 by Wilbur C. Lothrop, long County Superintendent of Schools, whose residence stood on the ground and which was torn down to make place for the present structure.

The Mack Block on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and California streets, is one of the fine modern structures on Sixteenth. It was built in 1890 by Louis Mack, its material being granite and red sandstone. The former residence of John J. Riethmann, a fine one, built in 1874, stood there before Mr. Mack acquired the property for the present building.

The Markham Hotel on the southwest corner of Seventeenth and Lawrence streets, in the corner of which is located the business office of the Rocky Mountain News, was built in 1872 by J. W. Munger, and for ten years thereafter was called the

Grand Central Hotel. In 1882 or 1883 it was acquired by V. D. Markham, Thomas M. Patterson and Charles S. Thomas who made extensive additions and alterations to and in it, practically rebuilding it, and gave it the name it now bears. Its site was originally occupied by the dwellings of Charles Lerchen and J. H. Eames. When General Denver made his first and only visit to the city, in 1882, he was a guest at that house.

The Masonic Building—the Masonic Temple—a conspicuously fine structure, six stories high, of granite and native red sandstone, on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Welton streets,was built in 1890 by the secret order the name of which it bears, and was dedicated on July 3rd of that year. It is one of the architectural ornaments of the city, and is built on land that previously was occupied by the attractive residence of A. Jacobs, which was built by Henry Fuerstein in the "Seventies."

The McClelland Building on the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Lawrence streets was originally built by Dr. W. F. McClelland about 1873, and in 1881 by remodelling and additions was given its present size and appearance. In early times its site was occupied by a couple of small frame cottages and a brick dwelling; the latter, standing on the corner, having been built by William Graham, and long used as a boarding house. In the pioneer days that corner lot was traded for a wagon-load of bacon brought out from the Missouri river.

The McClintock Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets, stands on two lots that early in the spring of 1859 were refused by the owner of a yoke of sturdy oxen, in a proposed even trade. In 1860 a frame building was built there and long used as a saloon and billiard room. Later in the "Sixties" Richard E. Whitsitt built directly on the corner a one-story frame building in which for several years he transacted his real estate business. The present building was erected in 1875 by Washington McClintock who, in 1886, erected the other McClintock Building now occupying the southwest corner of Sixteenth and California streets.

The McMurtrie (unfinished) Building, one of the conspicuously fine edifices in the city, at Sixteenth street, Cleveland Place and Broadway, was erected in 1896-97 by the late John A. McMurtrie, on ground theretofore unoccupied. In the spring of 1900 the property was acquired by the Majestic Improvement Company, which also purchased the premises of the Central Christian church adjoining, on the Broadway side. The church has been torn down, and the intention, of the Majestic Company,

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Charles G. Chever, who was, through so many years, identified with the history and with the growth of Denver, came of an old Massachusetts sea-faring family; his father, James W. Chever, having been a ship Captain and who commanded the American privateer "America" in the war of 1812 with England.

Charles G. Chever was born in Salem, Mass., September 17, 1827, and was educated in the schools of that city. During his boyhood he voyaged around the world on a ship commanded by his father. In 1849 he went to the then newly discovered gold-fields of California and remained there ten years, engaging in mining during the greater part of that period. Late in the spring of 1859, having learned of the discoveries of gold in the Pike's Peak country, he decided to leave that State; and doing so soon afterward, he reached Denver from Oroville, Cal., August 18, 1859.

Thereafter, his life was one of identification with the fortunes and development of Denver. In December, 1861, as related in our historical account of Arapahoe county, he was elected the first Clerk and Recorder of the county when the government of the Territory of Colorado was instituted. Serving, by successive re-elections, six years in that office, he inaugurated and continued systematic records of real estate, and was efficient in bringing order out of the previously chaotic conditions into which land-titles had fallen, and of which we have given full accounts elsewhere in this volume. After his retirement from that office he engaged in real estate operations, acting on his own account and also for others, and in subsequent years acquired much valuable property in the city. In these transactions he laid the foundations of his fortune. He was a leader in improving city property. In 1887 he built the fine Essex Building at numbers 1617 to 1623 Lawrence street, and which was rather in advance of then existing conditions; and in 1891 erected the equally fine Arapahoe Building at numbers 1616 to 1622 Arapahoe street. Notwithstanding the many later constructions, these two edifices still remain conspicuous among the city's fine buildings.

Few men in Denver in the earlier periods were better known than Charles G. Chever. His long service as the county's first Recorder, and his later extended transactions in city property, made him an authority upon almost everything pertaining to real estate. He was, also, one of the men who steadfastly held to their faith in the city's future through the earlier times of more or less uncertainty, and in much of what was done by those steadfast men to remove the uncertainties, he bore a brave and useful leader's part in union of action to that end. One of the Old Guard, the services and influence of this pioneer were closely identified with many things that stood for the rise and progress of Denver as recounted and pictured upon the broad pages of this volume.

In late years it had been Mr. Chever's custom to spend a good portion of his time at his old home in Massachusetts, usually returning to Denver to remain through part of the summer and autumn. His last return to the city was in the autumn of 1900, and he prolonged his stay through the following winter. While here during that time he gave the writer much important information that is embodied in this History, and aided in making clear many theretofore confused details. In February, 1901, falling a victim to "la grippe" which was later complicated by other disorders, he died here on March 13, 1901, and was buried at Salem, Mass. —J. C. S.

Charles G. Chever.

as announced, is to extend the McMurtrie building over the church site and to finish it for the purposes of a fine, uptown, office building. At the close of our record work to that end was in progress.

Charles McEwen's residence on site of McPhee building.

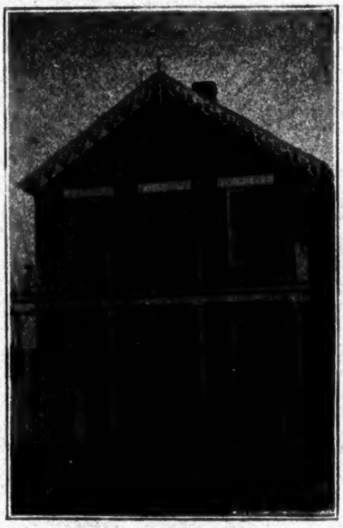
The McPhee Building on the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Glenarm streets, six stories high, of light-colored dressed sandstone, was built by C. D. McPhee in 1890. At that time the building was on the outskirts of the business section, and its site had been occupied by dwellings fronting on Glenarm street. On the corner stood the handsome brick residence of Charles McEwen who was extensively engaged in stock-raising in Colorado.

The Moffat and Kassler Building on the north side of Lawrence street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, covering numbers 1525 to 1533, inclusive, was built in 1880, by D. H. Moffat and George W. Kassler. The westward part of the site was occupied by a two-story brick dwelling in which Mr. Moffat lived for several years after his marriage.

The People's Bank Building on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets was begun and completed in the year 1890. It is a massive structure of Colorado red sandstone and dark red pressed brick, nine stories high, and stands on ground leased from George C. Schleier for ninety-nine years with the privilege of re-leasing for fifty years longer. It was built by the People's National Bank as an investment for part of that extinct corporation's capital, and its site was cleared of a motley collection of small frame structures of little historical interest and less value.

The Pioneer Building on the northeast corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, a fine five-story stone structure, was built in 1887-88 by C. B. Patterson. The pioneer cabin of Folsom Dorsett and Charles A. Lawrence first occupied the site. In 1859 Lawrence built several small, one-story frame buildings there. Most of them were occupied by drinking and gambling saloons for several years. In one of them Julius Mitchell had a grocery which was succeeded in 1866 by that of Rodney Curtis and C. C. Davis. Later and until the frame buildings were torn away, the old grocery stand was occupied by J. G. Hoffer's meat market.

The Quincy Building, formerly the Patterson & Thomas Building, on the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Curtis streets was built in 1887 by Thomas M. Patterson and Charles S. Thomas. It is of stone, pressed brick, and steel, and five stories high. The site was formerly owned by Edward Shapter whose residence stood there, and who was long connected with the management of Jack Langrishe's theaters.



David H. Moffat's residence on site of Moffat and Kassler building.

The Railroad Building on the north side of Larimer streets near Fifteenth and next east of the Pioneer Building, of Colorado granite, eight stories high, was built by the late Governor John Evans in 1888. It stands on the site of the notorious Criterion Hall, from which in the summer of 1860 went forth the would-be assassins of W. N. Byers. The old den, which was the worst of its or any other time in Denver, was afterward enlarged for a theater and known as "Mozart Hall;" and under that name its character was not much better. Still later, the old building became the grocery house of E. H. Kellogg & Co. When the Railroad Building was about completed, a boy named Ivers fell from its roof (about 100 feet above street grade,) struck upon strands of telephone wires below, and bounded off to the street. He was but little injured, and is still a resident here none the worse in consequence of his remarkable adventure.

The Riche Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets was built in 1880, and occupies the site of the old "Baptist Dug-out," of which some account has been given in Chapter LX. About 1874 the ground had been bought by Charles Leischenring who built the famous old

Walhalla Hall on it, which was used for public meetings, concerts, theatricals and the like. The State Legislature held its second session in Walhalla Hall, and in it Governor Frederick W. Pitkin was inaugurated, and Nathaniel P. Hill elected United States Senator. Walhalla Hall gave way to the present building. Adjoining Walhalla Hall, on Sixteenth street, Charles Leischenring opened a summer garden in 1877 which, in 1880, was converted into a theater by Jack Langrishe. Next to the garden were the barn and stables of the old horse railway company, extending L-shaped around to Curtis street.

H. Burton's residence formerly on northwest corner Fifteenth and Arapahoe streets.

The "Riethmann Building" on the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets, a plain old-fashioned structure, is one of the pioneers, and was among the early brick buildings. It was erected by William Graham, the pioneer druggist, in the early "Sixties," and from almost the beginning of Denver its site has been occupied by a drug-store. In December, 1858, Hickory Rogers, one of the Denver Town Company, built his cabin on that corner, and in the summer of 1859 Graham had followed it with a two-story frame structure into which he removed his drug-store.

The Skinner Brothers & Wright Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence streets, occupies historic ground. In 1880 the above-named firm was formed and erected on the corner a brick building for its business and which it occupied many years. In the progress of events the original building was enlarged and changed—practically rebuilt—and given its present dimensions; and in 1894 the "annex" on the Sixteenth street side was erected by the May Clothing Company, successor to Skinner Brothers & Wright. That corner of Sixteenth and Lawrence was originally occupied by the old Platte Valley Theater built in the fall of 1860, and re-christened the Denver Theater in 1861. Elsewhere we have given some account of this pioneer place of amusement, which was destroyed by fire March 19, 1877; the site remained vacant until its improvement in 1880. On part of the site of the "annex"—that next to the alley, and which is as large as, and uniform in appearance with, the corner structure, originally stood the carpenter shop, thirty-two by fifty feet, of E. A. Willoughby. Later, the Brunswick Hotel was built there, and it gave way to the present structure, into which it was remodelled.

The St. James Hotel on the south side of Curtis street, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, was given its present size and name in 1881, when a large addition was built on the west side of the old Wentworth House and the two structures united. That part of the St. James having the open galleries is the old Wentworth House erected in 1871-72 by Charles Wentworth who was its first landlord and who was succeeded in proprietorship by A. H. Estes.

The Steele Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Stout streets, was built in 1882 by Dr. H. K. Steele, the premises having previously been occupied by his residence.

The Symes Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Champa streets was built in 1880 by George G. Symes. The corner part of its site had been occupied by a two-story frame dwelling owned by Symes, and the new building was one of the early large business structures on Sixteenth street. Several terms of the United States District Court were held in the Symes Building before the erection of the Federal Building.

The Tabor Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets was built by the late Senator H. A. W. Tabor in 1879. It was the first building of dressed stone in the city, and the first to rise above four stories in height. The stone was quarried, and cut to architect's drawings, at Amherst, near Cleveland, Ohio, and shipped here by rail ready to be placed in position. This made the building extremely expensive, but at that time its builder did not care for expenses. It was the first really fine building planned in the city, and its erection marked the beginning of a new era in Denver. While it has since been surpassed by

The Daniels residence on site of Tabor Opera House.

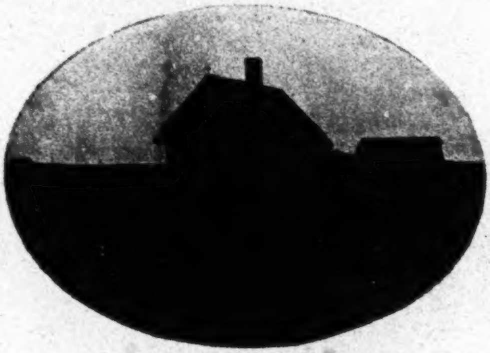
many others, it is still a conspicuous architectural landmark. Its site was that of the old Broadwell House, some account of which has heretofore been given.

The Tabor Grand Opera House on the northwest corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets was built by the late Senator H. A. W. Tabor in 1880-81. The building, which cost $750,000, is of red pressed-brick with light-colored sandstone trimmings, and while it is not as lofty as many others, the area of ground it covers is greater than that of any other commercial structure in the city—a large part of the building being used for business and office purposes. It was originally of four stories and a "mansard" fifth story, but in the winter of 1899-1900 the fifth story was squared up and the exterior appearance of the building considerably changed. The corner part of the Opera House site was occupied by the handsone two-story brick residence of the late A. B. Daniels from whom it was purchased by Mr. Tabor, and the large yard in which it stood was embellished by many trees, shrubs and flowers. The dwelling was built and first occupied by Samuel Howe, the first Sheriff of Arapahoe county under the jurisdiction of Colorado Territory. On the Curtis street side in the rear stood a small two-story frame dwelling, and adjoining this on the west was the residence of F. Z. Saloman.

George T. Clark's residence formerly on southwest corner of Sixteenth and Welton streets.

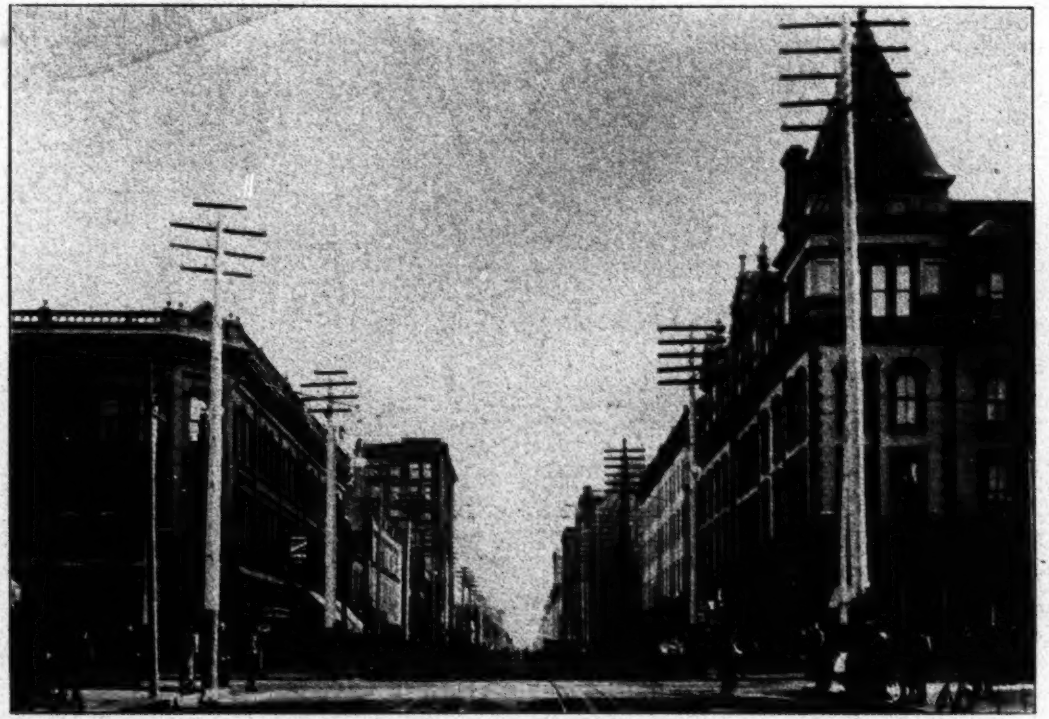
The Tappan Building on the west side of Fifteenth street next to the southwest corner of Fifteenth and Market streets was one of the early three-story buildings in the city and was, also, one of the Territory's numerous Capitols. It was built by Lewis N. Tappan in 1867, and in it were located the offices of Territorial Governor A. C. Hunt, Territorial Secretary Frank Hall, and those of the other Territorial officers, in 1868, after the Capital had been moved back to Denver from Golden in December, 1867. The upper floor was used as a Masonic lodge-room for several years. Immediately on the corner stood the two-story brick building of the Holladay Overland Mail Stage and Express. In later years this corner building was raised to three stories and its appearance made to conform with that of the Tappan Building. The consolidated structure later became the "Condon House;" and now the ground floor is used for business purposes, and the others as a rooming house, the "Hotel Royale." In its time the Tappan Building was one of the architectural ornaments of the town.

The Times Building on the north side of Lawrence street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, numbers 1547 to 1551, was built by R. W. Woodbury in 1881—a handsome cut stone front, three stories and office sub-basement in height. The light colored stone in this building was from quarries at Trinidad, Colorado, which had never been before used in Denver. It was the first business building in Denver to be finished throughout in hard wood—solid oak. It was also the first to have a sub-basement suitable for offices, and it was in one of those that all the earlier meetings of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce were held. In 1890 the building was damaged by fire and afterwards reconstructed in its present five-story form. When Mr. Woodbury bought the eastern lot from L. S. Gutelius in 1874, it was occupied by a two-story brick building of the unpretentious architecture of its era, and which became the temporary home of the Times. The old building was built about 1866, and was the birthplace of the Denver Tribune, in February, 1867. The Tribune continued to occupy it until 1871. The adjoining lot to the west was bought in 1881 by Mr. Woodbury from William and Moritz Barth, and the Times Building was immediately erected. It was in the old building that Geo. Francis Train spent the entire afternoon and early evening with Mr. Woodbury preparing for his famous railroad speech later in the evening, and which roused the citizens of Denver to organize the company that built the Denver Pacific railroad.



George W. McClure's residence on site of Post Office building.

The Toltec Building on the northwest corner of Seventeenth and Stout streets was built by E. F. Bishop and W. M. Cranston in 1891, and occupies the ground on which the residence of F. A. Keener formerly stood. It recently became the property



Seventeenth street southward from Lawrence street, in 1901.

of W. S. Stratton, of the noted Independence Mine at Cripple Creek.

The Tritch Building on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Curtis streets, was built by George Tritch in 1887. The site was previously occupied by the City Market with its barnacles of stands and booths, and by T. G. Anderson's skating rink which was a popular establishment for the brief period of the skating rink craze.

The United States Building on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Arapahoe streets was begun in the winter of 1884-85, and nearly eight years elapsed before it was entirely finished; the contractors having been McGilvray & Hayes. Its site was the residence property of George W. McClure, and in earlier times a log cabin built and occupied by Isidor Badolet stood on the ground. It has heretofore been stated that the site of the Federal Building was purchased by Horace A. W. Tabor and other citizens and donated to the government; but that was an error, the United States having paid $65,000 for the ground. The following "official history" of the building was provided us by the Supervising Architect, Treasury Department, Washington.

An Act of Congress approved May 8, 1882, authorized this building and limited the cost of same with site at $300,000. By an Act of February 24, 1887, this limit was extended to $575,000. The appropriations were made by Acts of May 8, 1882, March 3, 1883, July 7, 1884, March 3, 1885, March 3, 1887, March 30, 1888 (for extension in excess of limit, $60,000), October 2, 1888, March 2, 1889, March 3, 1891. An Act of June 8, 1896, appropriated $1,235.69 for payment of allowance on account of interior finish. October 15, 1883, a site was purchased for $65,000, fronting northwest 200 feet on Arapahoe Street and northeast 125 feet on Sixteenth Street. On the southeast side is an alley 16 feet wide. A contract was awarded January 23, 1885, for erection of the building, and the structure was completed and occupied in the latter part of 1892, the total cost of construction being $570,500.52.

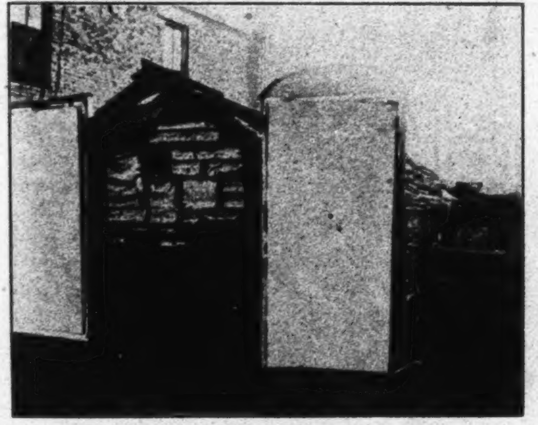
The building is constructed of gray sandstone. It contains a cubic area of 1,138,500 feet, is heated by steam, and is provided with passenger and freight elevator service. The number of rooms occupied are thirty-five, they being assigned principally to the postal, customs, internal revenue, and secret services, United States courts, land office, and weather bureau.

This Federal Building, or, as more commonly called, the Post Office Building, is one of the conspicuously inconvenient, ill-arranged, cramped, dark, and inadequate public structures evolved by "bureau architecture," and is wholly unfitted for present requirements.

The Union Block on the northwest corner of Arapahoe and Sixteenth streets was erected in 1882, by the Denver Safe Deposit & Savings Bank, P. Gottesleben, and John J. Riethmann, who owned the land in severalty, but united in building the block—hence its name. Its site was occupied by small buildings to which no especial interest attached.

The Walbrach Building on the northeast corner of Sixteenth and Champa streets, one of the older of the buildings in that quarter, was built in 1882 by C. Walbrach. The ground on which it stands was occupied by the residence of its builder and that of Mark A. Shaffenburg.

The Windsor Hotel, on the northeast corner of Eighteenth and Larimer streets, was built in 1879-80 by the "Denver Mansions Company," the stockholders of which were chiefly English people, and of which James Duff, who died in London in April, 1900, was manager. Its site had been occupied by the residence of J. H. Kehler, pioneer Sheriff of Arapahoe county. This building was the second brick building erected in "Denver City." The house afterward became the home of Major John S. Fillmore. Subsequent to Fillmore's death in 1864 it was used as a school house; it was finally converted into a carriage shop and so used until it was removed to make way for the hotel building. The Windsor was opened June 23, 1880.


Relic of 1859, Number 1426 Market street.

The Witter Building on the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Blake streets, built in 1875 by Daniel Witter, stands on the site of the old Planter's House, one of the old-time hotels. That hotel building was originally a large frame structure with a one-story annex built in 1860 by the Central Overland, California & Pike's Peak Express Company for a warehouse, stage and postoffice, and afterwards converted to hotel purposes. The hotel, which was kept by James McNassar, was almost wholly destroyed by fire in the spring of 1875, and was succeeded by the Witter building, which was the first apartment house erected in Denver.

The block of one-story business rooms on the southwest corner of Sixteenth and Welton streets, was built by W. S. Cheesman in 1897. It occupies the old residence premises of George T. Clark who lived there many years in the dwelling, built in 1873, which was removed when the present block was built.

On the north side of Lawrence street next to the corner building on Fifteenth, remains one of the log cabins built in 1859, which is now occupied by the "Old Log Cabin" saloon. With the exception of a new front made by modern carpenters and glaziers, the log walls of the old cabin remain. The building is number 1509, and is owned by Jacob Gregory.

On the southeast corner of Fifteenth and Larimer streets stands one of the pioneer brick buildings erected on the east side of Cherry creek, and which for a time was the Territorial Capitol. It is a two-story brick structure erected in 1860 by Stettauer Brothers, from Leavenworth, and occupied by their dry goods store. Later the Deitsch Brothers had their general store there. In 1861 Governor Gilpin installed the first executive offices of the Territory of Colorado on the second floor—an appropriate location, as the building occupies one of the lots on which stood the pioneer cabin of Moyne and Rice.

The building on the south side of Larimer street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets—numbers 1430 and 1434, stands on the site of one of the original log cabins, with the native earth for a floor, in which the first drug store in Denver was opened and kept. In the summer of 1859 William Graham established himself there with a small stock of drugs and medicines. Subsequently this pioneer drug store was removed to the "Riethmann corner," at Fifteenth and Larimer streets.

On the north side of Market street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets there stood until November, 1900, one of the old Auraria City hewed-log buildings that was of unusual historical interest. It was about twenty feet of front by forty feet in length, one story high, and was the peer of its neighbors when built. Byers and Dailey put it up in 1859 as a home for the Rocky Mountain News. The printing office was installed in the front part December 27, 1859, while Mr. Byers and his family lived in the rear portion, and Mr. Dailey found a sleeping place in the low attic. At the outbreak of the war it became a recruiting office, and many members of the First Regiment Colorado Volunteers enlisted there. Subsequently it became a military prison, the News having removed to its new location from which it was washed away by the Cherry creek flood of 1864. Then the old house was used as the town "lock-up," and later for a variety of purposes, that of a blacksmith's shop having been the last. It remained the property of Mr. Dailey until torn down in November, 1900.

On the south side of Market street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets stands another of the log relics of 1859; a little, one-story hewed-log cabin built in that year by Henry Sweigart, and afterward the store of Morton C. Fisher. About one-third of its height is below the present grade of the street. The building, now disused and nearly hidden by bill-poster's boards, is numbered 1426.

On the south side of Larimer street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets stands an old two-story brick building with a plain old-fashioned front, that was an important edifice in by-gone years. It is the Cole Building built by General Luther A. Cole early in the "Sixties." The second story was a large well-lighted hall in which dancing parties and other social festivities of that decade were given. Beside being the scene of many "society events" of those times, it was a favorite place for holding public meetings, and the old Board of Trade frequently assembled there. The ground floor is still used for business purposes, but the old hall has been converted into lodging rooms. The building embraces present street numbers 1528 to 1536, inclusive.

Until the spring of 1899 there stood on the north side of Larimer Street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets, and just east of the Railroad Building, a couple of old buildings that dated from pioneer times. The one nearer the Railroad Building and which bore numbers 1523 to 1529, was built in 1860 or 1861 by George W. McClure. It was of concrete, two stories high, with a later substituted brick front, and the ground floor was occupied by stores and saloons at different times. This building was also one of the Territorial Capitols. In 1865-66 the second floor was used by the District and Probate courts; and Territorial Governor Alexander Cummings, and Territorial Secretary S. H. Elbert, also had their offices there. It was from that building that Governor Cummings removed the Territorial archives from Denver to Golden in the winter of 1866-67, and in it the sessions of the Territorial Legislature of 1865-66 were held. The new two-story business structure covering its site, erected in the spring of 1899, embraces street numbers 1521 to 1537, inclusive.

In other chapters of this volume there are many references similar to those recorded in the foregoing, to other pioneer and later buildings concerning which there is no need of repetition of statement. The accounts given here and elsewhere of what we may for convenience term modern structures, in the "East Denver" business section and having distinctive names, cover, we believe, all the conspicuous ones, and about all the others to which noteworthy interest or association attaches, either to present edifices or to their predecessors. To further extend the accounts would, perhaps, be tedious and, furthermore, serve no important historical purpose.

CHAPTER LXXV.

DENVER'S BRIGHT PROSPECTS—OLD-TIME VIEWS OF ITS DESTINY—ORTON'S PREDICTION—THE CITY'S HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE—ITS PRESENT SUBSTANTIAL ADVANCEMENT—NOBLE SITE FOR A GREAT CITY—MASSES AND PEAKS OF COLORADO MOUNTAINS—THEIR VIEW FROM DENVER—NAMES AND ALTITUDES OF CONSPICUOUS ELEVATIONS—CITY'S ALTITUDE—INSPIRATION TO MUNICIPAL IDEALS—NEEDED MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENTS—DENVER ARCHITECTURE AND DENVER HOMES—CLIMATE AND INVALIDS—CONCLUSION.

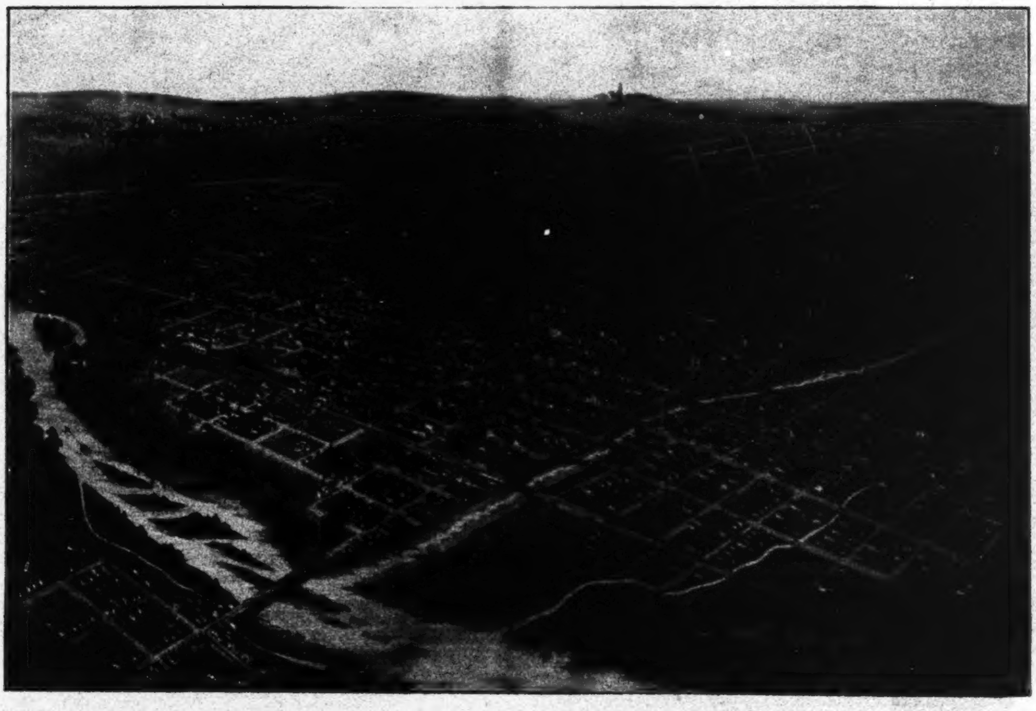
With the close of the Nineteenth Century but forty-two years had passed since the ragged and unpromising beginning of Denver was made here at the base of the Rocky Mountains; and not twenty-five had swept by since the struggling Territory of Colorado was admitted to the great Sisterhood of States. State and city entered upon the Twentieth Century with prospects fairer for their future than any that had beckoned them onward in the past. While, as they stand at the apex of the continent, they may look backward upon a record of development that, considering all the circumstances and conditions, the world has never seen surpassed, they may, from their lofty vantage point, with confidence turn their eyes forward and gaze upon the broad fields of boundless opportunity the coming years hold out to them. It is no indulgence in extravagant use of words to say that all that has been done here within the manhood life of still living men represents but little more than preparation for State and city entering upon possession of the great heritage the future holds for each. Remarkable as developments and progress here have been in the past, it would seem that they are to be overshadowed in relative magnitude by those that are yet to come.

Where Denver's beginning was made. Circle marks site of the Russell-Smith cabin. From a recent photograph from Fourteenth street viaduct.

Still, the victories already won, the things already done—how wonderful they appear in the short vista of forty-two years! Only a few of the men who came here in 1858 and 1859 ever gave thought to the possibility of a city, such as that upon which these majestic mountain peaks now look down, springing from the humble beginning made by Denver's stout-hearted pioneers; and those who did so and made known their thoughts were not seriously credited among their associates with having the gift of prophecy. After a year or two had passed, the feeling of isolation had begun to make way for one of fixed identity with the fortunes of the town, and the charms of the region had determined many theretofore wavering ones to make it their permanent home. After that there crept into the minds of others a conviction that Denver was destined in some way and at some time to become a great city. Yet, all these views were far more of faith in things unseen than a belief justified by then existing conditions; and were limited to a minority of the citizens. To those of Denver's pioneers who still survive, the developments they have witnessed in city and country must at times seem like visions that appear in dreams.

The situation and prospects here in 1859 were such as to make that experienced and unbiased observer of frontier life and ambitions, the Rev. William H. Goode, who figures in our narrative of pioneer church work here, rather cautious in his predictions of what the future would bring to Denver and its tributary country. In his report from the Auraria and Denver City Mission to the Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal church, under date August 3, 1859, he said:

"I have nothing to say about the mining operations in this district. One thing is certain: the enterprise will not be abandoned till pushed to its farthest practical test. This may require a term of years. Should the mines prove permanently remunerative, and should other discoveries be made,



"Bird's-eye view" of Denver in 1874. From a lithographed sketch. (Note the small areas of "North Denver" and "West Denver.")

a large mining community will be located here, and probably a State Government formed at no remote period."

In preceding chapters we have referred to the more sanguine anticipations of others in the early periods, and have quoted the seemingly prophetic utterances of Mr. William N. Byers in the Rocky Mountain News, and those of Governor William Gilpin at a later time. To what has been said on this subject we desire to record one more prediction; one that was made soon after Denver had achieved railway communication with the rest of the country. It is embodied in the following quotation from an address delivered to the Denver Chamber of Commerce by General Roger W. Woodbury on February 9, 1888:

"This address has already exceeded the limits I expected when I consented the first of the week to prepare one, and yet there are a number of subjects I have been obliged to omit, and which should be presented in a paper covering the whole ground. You will observe that I have not indulged in prophecy, but have been obliged to confine myself to hard facts. Had I designed merely to please you I would have said that the opportunities for making fortunes without capital are greater in Denver than in any other city in the world. I would have said that Denver in five years would possess nearer two hundred thousand than one hundred thousand people. I would have said in the year 1900 the cities of the United States exceeding Denver in population may be counted upon one hand. But I can do better than give you the testimony of an interested party like myself, and will call a witness from the grave who during life possessed a national reputation as a wise, sagacious and far-seeing man—Hon. William Orton—long president of the Western Union Telegraph company. Nearly a half generation ago he visited Colorado in company with the president of the Kansas Pacific Railway company, and inspected every point in the state which was accessible by their special car. Mr. Orton was a member of the governing committee of the New York stock exchange, and was inspecting the Kansas Pacific line preparatory to reporting to that exchange for or against the listing of Kansas Pacific stock. Hence he traveled only by day. The Kansas Pacific branch from Kit Carson to Pueblo was then in process of construction, and Mr. Orton's attention was particularly directed to the branch and to the importance of Pueblo, which was to be its terminus. It was asserted that the proximity of Pueblo to coal and iron, and its being on the Arkansas valley route across the continent would make it the metropolis of the State soon after the advent of the railroad. Circumstances prevented the completion of the road, and the rails were finally taken up; but the Atchison did build there, while the Rio Grande completed the Continental line. You know the result—how, after quite a number of years, the Atchison has thought it necessary to extend its line and make Denver its terminus. My witness, President Orton, returned to New York and shortly thereafter delivered an address in which he took occasion to state that in his opinion the four great cities of this continent were to be New York, Chicago, Denver and San Francisco."

The present Denver to a great extent represents things done since General Woodbury delivered that address; and to an extent difficult to realize, it stands as the embodiment of achievements since the advent of 1880. Only a comparatively small part of the city of 1875 remains, and but little of the Denver of 1870. Building and rebuilding in the later years have, as indicated in the preceding chapter, wrought radical changes in the older areas of the city. The great majority of those who have continuously lived here since 1870 ordinarily find it hard to appreciate the magnitude of these changes and that of other developments. They have been too close to the scenes and too much absorbed in the activities to comprehend at full value the significance of all that was going on around them and all that has been done. From their point of view the picture had no perspective; and without perspective a picture is deprived of the greater worth. They who came to Denver in the later or in very recent years are at far greater disadvantage in gaining understanding of the transformation that has been wrought. Indeed, to a very large portion of our people such an understanding is denied with the perspective of Denver's earlier years excluded from their view. It is one of the purposes of this work, aided by its many illustrations, to present a truthful picture of Denver's development in the preparation of which much attention has been given to perspective; to enable the reader who is of these times to see and understand the conditions and circumstances that lie off there in the background of remoter years; to compare conditions in the pioneer era with those of the present day; to show, also, the radical difference between Denver at the close in 1870 of the pioneer era and the city in the dawn of the Twentieth Century; and to preserve in enduring form for the dwellers in the Greater Denver of the future a record of the truly great Denver of the present.

However, it is not at all improbable that some writer in later years will compare the city of his day and generation with the Denver of these times, in much the same way that the present city is held forth in this volume as an object lesson of what faith, courage and energy have done in converting a remote frontier town, that had to fight for its right to live, into a great and growing metropolis of a wide domain the resources of which are yet but partly developed; and if our reader consents we will here ask the future historian to kindly take some notice of this prediction. For proof of Denver's present great renewal of vigor and activity we have only to look around us. It is not being proclaimed by bespangled heralds with blaring trumpets as of yore, and for that reason its advances are, perhaps, more truly significant. In 1900 the aggregate of considerations in real estate transactions exceeded $11,100,000, and in that year about $3,300,000 were expended upon new buildings—a large part of which went into new dwellings. While these figures do not match those of either of several earlier years, they stand for a sounder condition in that they represent outlays for existing needs instead of for more or less prospective requirements; and preparations for further improvements upon the same basis unmistakably promise much larger results in 1901.

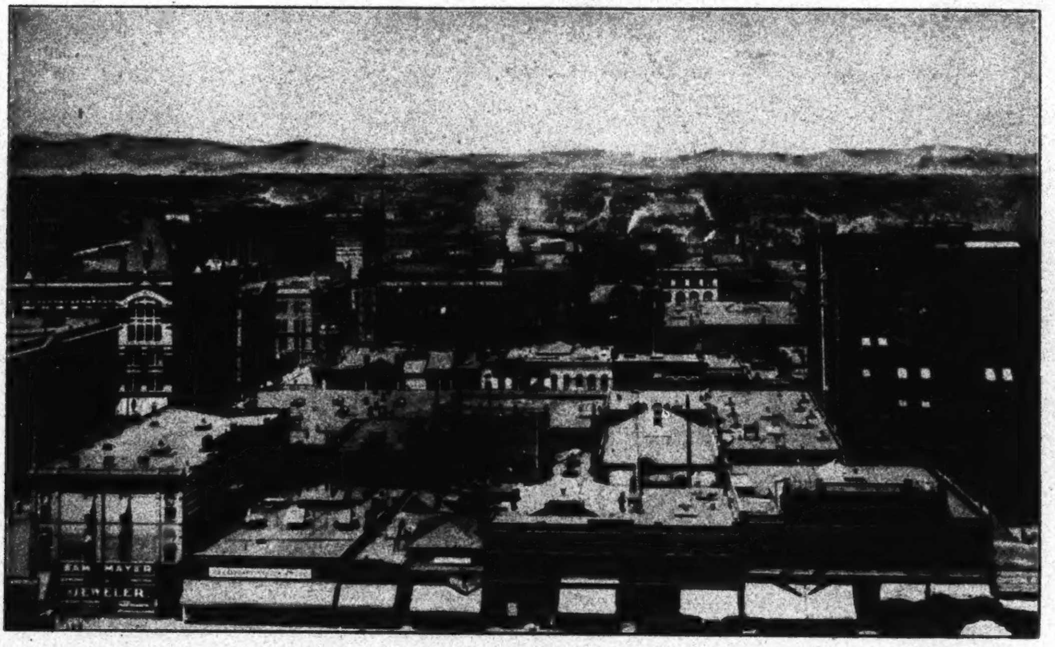
The site of Denver, notwithstanding that its choice was due as much to trivial incidents as to design, is a noble one for a great city. The magnificent scene, the middle foreground of which it occupies, is one of the majestically beautiful panoramas of nature's great work on this earth. In the care and hurry of every-day life we sometimes forget the city's noble setting, or familiarity with it leads us toward neglectfulness of its exquisite grandeur. Years ago it impressed Bayard Taylor, than whom no better qualified observer ever lived, as being one of the great scenic pictures of the world. We quote from him:

> "The view of the Rocky Mountains from the divide near Kiowa Creek is considered one of the finest in Colorado. From the breezy ridge, between scattered groups of pine, you look upon one hundred and fifty miles of the Snowy Range, from the Sangre de Christo to the spurs away toward Laramie. In variety and harmony of form, in effect against the dark-blue sky, in breadth and grandeur, I know no external picture of the Alps, which can be placed beside it. If you could take away the valley of the Rhone, and unite the Alps of Savoy with the Burnese Overland, you might obtain a tolerable idea of this view of the Rocky Mountains. Pike's Peak would then represent the Jungfrau; a nameless snowy giant in front of you, Monte Rosa; and Long's Peak, Mount Blanc. The altitudes very nearly correspond, and there is a certain similiarity in the forms. The average height of the Rocky Mountains, however, surpasses that of the Alps."

The finest view of the peaks and masses of Colorado's mountains, and not far distant from Denver, is from the crest of Mt. Lincoln in Park county; elevation 14,297 feet. From its summit, the mountains seem a wilderness of peaks; and with a good map and glass a week would scarce suffice to satisfy the feelings of pleasure to be derived from a landscape and pastime so sublime.

From the city by far the better attainable view is from the dome of the Capitol. There the eyes may follow the great snowy ranges, as they stretch away to the north and the south, for a distance exceeding one hundred and fifty miles, with here and there lofty peaks rising into the cloud-bearing regions of the air. Including mountains and plains the beholder sees one of the most magnificent landscape views in the world.

The higher of the Colorado peaks are not visible from Denver, even with optical assistance, some of them being hidden by intervening elevations, while



Tabor Opera House. View northwest from roof of Equitable Building, in 1901. Quincy Building.

the distance of others places them below the angle of the observer's view. There are seven that are higher that Mt. Evans, which is the loftiest elevation visible from the city. These are the Sierra Blanca in Costilla county, 14,483 feet; Mt. Elbert in Lake county, 14,436 feet; Mt. Massive in Lake county, 14,424 feet; Uncompahgre Peak in Gunnison county, 14,419 feet; Gray's Peak in Clear Creek county, 14,411 feet; Mt. Harvard in Chaffee county, 14,375 feet; and Torrey's Peak in Clear Creek county, 14,336 feet. The La Plata Peak in Chaffee county, 14,311 feet; Mt. Wilson in Dolores county, 14,309; and Buckskin Peak in Park county, 14,290 feet, are higher than either Pike's or Long's.

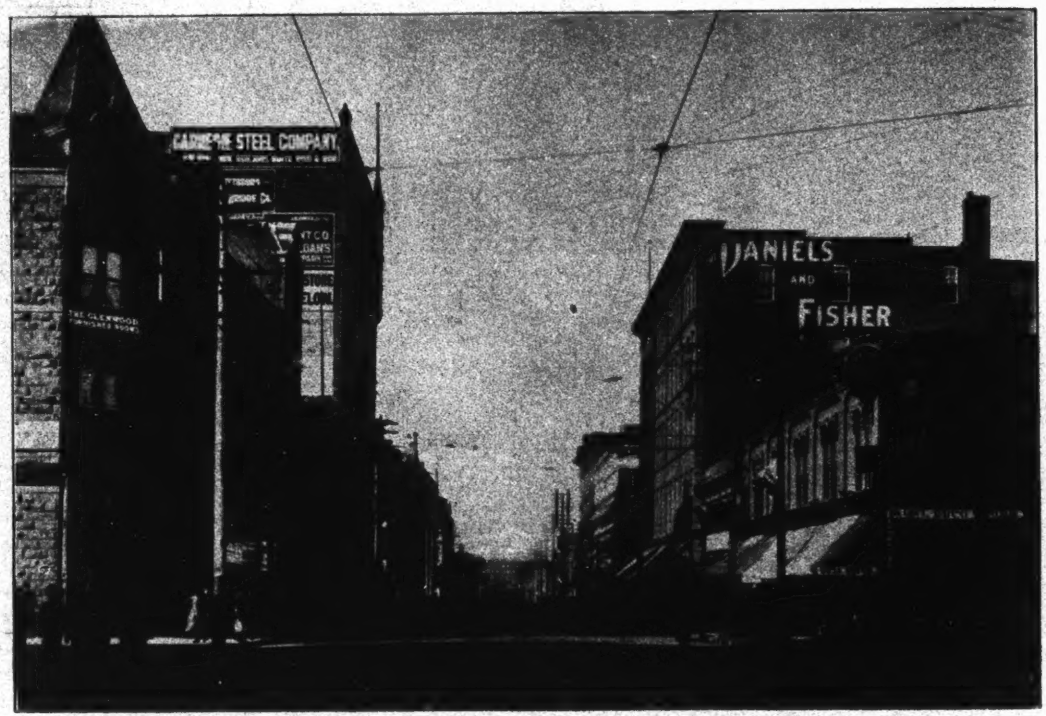
In the array of magnificence seen from the Capitol dome Pike's Peak, reminding us of so many historic associations, rises, seventy-five miles to the southward, to the height of 14,172 feet. While its altitude is less than that of twenty-five other Colorado mountains, its name and fame are more familiar to the people than those of all the rest. It is the historic and familiar land-mark for the entire region.

About eight miles south of due west from Denver, and thirty-five miles distant, stands Mt. Evans with its summit 14,321 feet above the sea. Much of its massiveness is hidden by what stands between. As heretofore mentioned, Bierstadt, the artist, gave it in 1864 the first name it bore, "Mt. Rosa;" but the name of Colorado's honored citizen, Governor John Evans, was bestowed upon it at a public meeting in Greeley at which the completion of Denver's first railroad—the Denver Pacific—was celebrated; an action that was later confirmed by a joint resolution of the Territorial Legislature. It was on this peak that Bierstadt received inspiration for his world-famous picture: "Storm in the Rocky Mountains."

Two miles southeast of Mt. Evans is Mt. Rosalie, 14,000 feet high; and in that general group are several unnamed peaks between 13,600 and 14,200 feet of elevation, two of which are visible from Denver.

Next in height among those nearly due west of the city is James' Peak, named for the botanist and historian of Long's exploring expedition after that of Pike was bestowed on the "Grand Peak" which Long named for James. The summit of James' Peak rises 13,283 feet, and appears about eight degrees north of the line of Colfax Avenue. It is about sixty miles distant.

Turning to the northward the majestic mass of Long's Peak stands out with impressive dignity. Its altitude of 14,271 feet gives it the twelfth place in Colorado elevations, but its proximity to the plains and its precipitous ruggedness make it appear to the eye the loftiest of all. By air-ship its summit's distance would be about fifty-five miles, but the route of travel to it is much longer. If Sixteenth street and its parallels were extended far enough they would strike the peak's base near the center, the mountain being in plain view through their vistas. It is extremely difficult of ascent. Mr. W. N. Byers, in 1868, was the first man who reached its summit, the view from which is magnificent beyond the power of words to describe.



Sixteenth street northward from Arapahoe street, in 1901. Long's Peak in distance.

Sixteen miles south of Long's is Arapahoe Peak, 13,200 feet high. It has a long horizontal summit with piled-up masses of rocks at each end that resemble old ruined castles, which make the mountain conspicuous as seen from Denver.

Midway between Long's and Arapahoe stands Audubon Peak with its altitude of 13,173 feet, plainly visible from the city, with its grandeur somewhat over-shadowed by its towering neighbor a thousand feet higher.

North of Long's Peak and prominent in the view from Denver is Mummy Mountain, its highest point being 13,832 feet. Its name was derived from an alleged resemblance requiring an active imagination to perceive.

The view from the Capitol dome embraces a domain larger than either of several eastern States. From the west where snow on the mountain summits is visible the whole year around, the eye may sweep away to the north over a fertile and beautiful agricultural region along the foothills; to the northeast where the South Platte winds its way, appearing like a ribbon of silver in its fringing of greenery; far to the east where the billowy plains roll to hazy distances until the sky bends down to meet them; to the south fifty miles away where the "divide" between the Platte and the Arkansas rivers stretches from the mountains far out on the plains, looking like one side of a flatly sloping roof. The city is spread out at the feet of the beholder who now appreciates its beauty,its extent, and the charm of its location as he never did, never could, before.

In the earlier years the immediate situation of Denver often caused newcomers and passing visitors from the east a feeling of surprise somewhat tinged with disappointment. Instead of finding the city built in the mountains as many had supposed, they saw it standing in the broad shallow valley of the South Platte river, and upon the gentle elevations at each side that were the ancient confines of that stream. The site of the city differs little, topographically, from other sections of the plains, and is far enough from being level to afford perfect drainage; but its departure from a plane is not enough to make any of the elevations within its bounds very conspicuous. From its westerly limits the foot-hills are twelve miles distant, the intervening country having a gentle slope from the hills to the river with a fall of about 400 feet. The city's elevation above sea-level ranges around one mile. In the business part —say the street grade at the Equitable Building, it is somewhere near forty feet under a mile; the azimuth monument of the United States Geological Survey in the southeast corner of the State Capitol park marking an elevation of 5,275 feet. The main floor of the Capitol Building is very near an even mile above the sea. In the farther eastern, and in the "North Denver," districts the

Sixteenth street southward from Arapahoe street, in 1901 Post Office building in foreground, on the right; State Capitol in distance.

altitude rises to a considerably greater elevation—probably two hundred feet more.

Denver's noble surroundings should inspire a high exaltation of municipal life. The Greater Denver of the Twentieth Century should also strive for something beyond mere greatness in size. Occupying one of Nature's most favored situations, in a region of untold resources and opportunities, and endowed with a climate of rare gentleness, the city should be made, in the administration of its affairs and in the attainment of urban ideals, an example, a standard, for other American municipalities. It is within the limits of reasonable expenditure of available means by honest and intelligent public administration, to have here where so much has already been done so well by individual effort, the most beautiful, most winsome, and most delightful city on the American continent.

It is not to be expected that approach to such municipal ideals may be swiftly made, nor that they could be attained within a few years. Denver is yet a very young city—it was but little more than one among other western towns twenty years ago. In the last half of the intervening period it braved an economic crisis such as few communities have had to meet; and the conditions entailed by that ordeal were such as to meanwhile forbid municipal undertakings beyond the line of actual needs. But those conditions are now things of the past and, with proper administration arising from the will of the people, there would be no economic difficulties in the way of the municipality entering in the near future upon the beginning of municipal works that would vastly contribute toward making Denver the City Beautiful.

Consider what could be accomplished within two decades if the municipality would, acting upon the principle of an ancient practice, devote the tithe of its income to such improvements, intelligently planned, and that would alike adorn the city and add to the welfare, convenience, and pleasure of all its people. Upon the present basis the tithe would be about $100,000 annually. Not a large sum for such purposes, it is true; yet, with its annual increase and with accumulated results of its intelligent application, great changes could be wrought within the first quarter of the new century.

The avoidable and blighting blemish—to use a mild term—caused by the presence of the wretched Cherry creek that cuts into the very heart of the city should be removed. In the way of doing so there are no serious engineering difficulties. By excavating, at a point a few miles eastward, a new channel a comparatively short distance, the stream may readily be diverted to Sand creek and its water passed around the city to discharge into the Platte river several miles below. With a trunk sewer in the creek's bed, that sandy and miserable waste could be succeeded by a fine avenue extending from the Fourteenth street viaduct to the southeastern limits of the corporation. The consequent value of reclaimed property and the enormously increased value of that now more or less blighted by the creek's presence probably would equal the entire cost of such an improvement.

Delay in the development of the park system as a whole ought not be longer continued; and to have the system well balanced, land for a large park in the "North Denver" division, and for another in the southern section of the city east of the river, should early be acquired. Then there should be formulated on an intelligent basis a circumferential system of boulevards connecting park with park, and so planned that construction at any time of any part of such a system would be a step toward completion of a coherent and harmonious whole. Such a system could be admirably amplified by a driveway along the Platte river in the whole of its course through the city. It is even now a reflection upon the city that the course of our only stream that may be regarded as a living one should, within the corporate limits, be so neglected, unsightly and forlorn; and its permanent surrender to such conditions and aspects as now attend it and that will become worse under continued neglect, would be an equally permanent reproach to the municipality, and a blemish that would always seriously impair the effect of other works designed to add to the city's beauty and to the convenience, comfort and happiness of its people.

Sherman Avenue Vista, south from near Eighteenth Avenue, in 1901.

It is not urged that the city at once plunge into municipal improvements on the scale suggested in the foregoing. Such works would properly require a rather long term of years for their consummation. But it would be expedient for the municipality to seriously consider something beyond the mere routine expenditure of income upon the transitory needs of the passing days. It would be expedient to formulate general plans for a system of permanent improvements that would also embellish the city, and to prepare for making a beginnig upon such a system. Aside from what has been done in park-making, the municipal organization, as such, in the past has borne an almost insignificant part in the upbuilding of this city. The present Denver is almost wholly the result of private enterprise and individual effort; and as a rule these have been admirably directed toward standards that included some consideration of ideals.

This has been well exemplified in the character of much of Denver architecture. It is of an order far higher than the modern city average, and makes a most favorable impression upon all who observe it. The Capitol, and the great structures in the business quarter, such as the Brown Palace Hotel, the Equitable, Cooper, Boston, Ernest & Cranmer, and other great buildings, are fine examples of modern ideas in design and construction; and scores of their smaller neighbors present equally pleasing aspects. But it is in the residence districts that Denver architecture shows at its best.

Denver is a city of many beautiful homes, and in their appearance they are charmingly impressive to the stranger, and potent incentives to the citizen who sees them every day. There are hundreds that exhibit striking, tasteful, harmonious designs in their every outline. The variety and beauty of dwelling architecture here are unusual, and to this result the fine, native, building material has contributed in no limited degree. Residences are not crowded together; they do not shoulder each other, but are surrounded by lawns set with shrubbery and flowers. This pleasing effect is heightened by the many luxuriant shade trees with which the residence streets are lined, making the city an exceptionally well shaded one and placing it in sharp and delightful contrast with the treeless plains coming up to it in the east. There are very few frame dwellings, as the city's building regulations forbid their erection; the few existent ones being of an earlier era. In all that men have done in the upbuilding of this city, the beautiful homes they have erected constitute the glory of their work. While the mere expenditure of money upon an edifice does not always assure it architectural beauty or elegance of interior aspects, large outlays and good taste have not been strangers in the production of Denver homes. There are hundreds of dwellings upon which from $10,000 to $25,000 were expended in their construction; scores that represent outlays of between $25,000 and $50,000 for the finished building, alone; and a large num- that required between $50,000 and $100,000.

So much has been, and is every day being, said and written about the beneficial and recuperative powers of Colorado climate, in everything implied by that term, that little more need be added here. Of its restorative effects upon invalids, thousands of robust people now living in Denver and elsewhere in the State afford living proof; for many of these came in health so impaired that it was questionable when they started whether their remaining vitality would sustain them through the journey. Of all who regain perfect health in Colorado a large portion reluctantly return to their former homes; but another large portion, though coming here for a temporary purpose, become so enamored of the country and its climatic conditions, that what was expected to be a limited sojourn turns out to be a permanent residence.

However, many exaggerations of the curative qualities of Colorado's climate and other possessions, have been sent broadcast over the world. For these, certain selfish interests engaged in tranportation and inn-keeping are largely responsible. Many of the ills to which flesh is heir defy the climate as they continue their encroachments, and the grim reaper does not regard our State as being outside his jurisdiction. Physicians find work for their hands and pills to do, here as elsewhere, and cemeteries do not remain tenantless; although we do not mean to imply direct connection between the two propositions stated in this sentence. But, for all the ailments catalogued under the general classification of pulmonary affections, the beneficial results of sojourn here are remarkable, to say of them the least.

Charles Building. Mining Exchange. Tabor Opera House.

View west from roof of Equitable Building, in 1901.

Within the last year or two a small cloud has appeared upon the horizon of public opinion, and more portentously upon that of the judgment of Boards of Health and of the medical profession, which casts a shadow upon the indiscriminate encouragement of the policy of making Colorado a vast sanitarium for the pulmonarily afflicted of the world. The vital point involved is whether the disease we call consumption is either contagious or infectious. Advanced beliefs hold that it is, as a disease, transmissible from person to person, not directly by contact, but by germs discarded in the expectorations of those in the extreme stages of the malady. In California these beliefs have been given the force and effect of quarantine against what are regarded as dangerous cases; but in our State the matter has at this time gone no further than serious and thorough consideration by those charged with the professional and the official duty of safe-guarding the vital welfare of their fellow-citizens. At first thought, the exclusion of invalids battling with disease for their lives, would seem to be an act of heartlessness; but it means something quite different from that—more than anything of sentiment. It involves the question as to whether the natural right of the healthy to retain health and be protected so far as may be against its impairment, is or is not one that should receive preference.

Our Story of Denver is ended. It has been brought forward to the limit had in view when it was undertaken—that it should round out with the close of the Nineteenth Century; and, also, with at least a sincere desire that it should be accurate and comprehensive. Whatever may have been the merits or otherwise of our manner of telling it, the Story of Denver is a romance among annals of American cities, and one in which lights and shadows more sharply defined than those which usually attend the lives and the works of men, are repeatedly in turn thrown upon the scenes; and in such shadows many of our pioneers walked through their later and their declining years.

It would have been gratifying to record that all of those who participated in the work of laying broad and deep the foundations of our city and of our Commonwealth of Colorado had prospered in their bounty and in their store; but it was not so. Comparatively few accumulated fortunes from the extraordinary development they were instrumental in beginning and carrying forward. Some, it is true, acquired riches in abundance; but later lost them, to the last dollar. In certain instances among these the frowns of Fortune were attended by circumstances even stranger, more remarkable, than those which had followed her smiles. Some others who gained wealth, retained it, and passed it to their descendants when the sun went down. In Denver, and elsewhere in the State, some members of the Old Guard survive in affluence—a group that probably could be represented by the fingers of the two hands.

But to the great majority of our pioneer founders and builders fortunes were denied. Many of them gained a modest competence sufficient to carry them through until their life-"claims" should be "worked out;" a greater number, a majority of that majority, failed of accomplishing so much as that, and the lives of some of these were beset by the trials of actual poverty and ended in the gloom of fruitless striving and disappointed hopes. It might be thought that where opportunities were so many and developments so great, that most of those who came here in the early years and stayed here, should have fared well in getting a share of the enormous increment. But the fickleness of Fortune is always hard to understand.

In a magazine article published several years ago, Mr. James McCarthy ("Fitz-Mac"), of Denver, an author whose charming tales of western life have made his a familiar name, said:

> "The history of Denver is a record of glory, but as in all glory, there are undertones of sadness, undiscernible to the young, the inexperienced, the unsympathetic."

The reader who has followed our narrative as it has outlined, step by step, the origin, rise and remarkable progress of Denver, will probably have been conscious of the presence of such undertones. In annals of the later times the notes were fainter, but through those of the earlier periods they were like a refrain of the gentle melody that follows an autumn breeze in a forest of pines; and akin to the whispering memories that come stealing in when thoughts at a winter evening fireside go drifting away across the years to the morningtime of life's endeavors.